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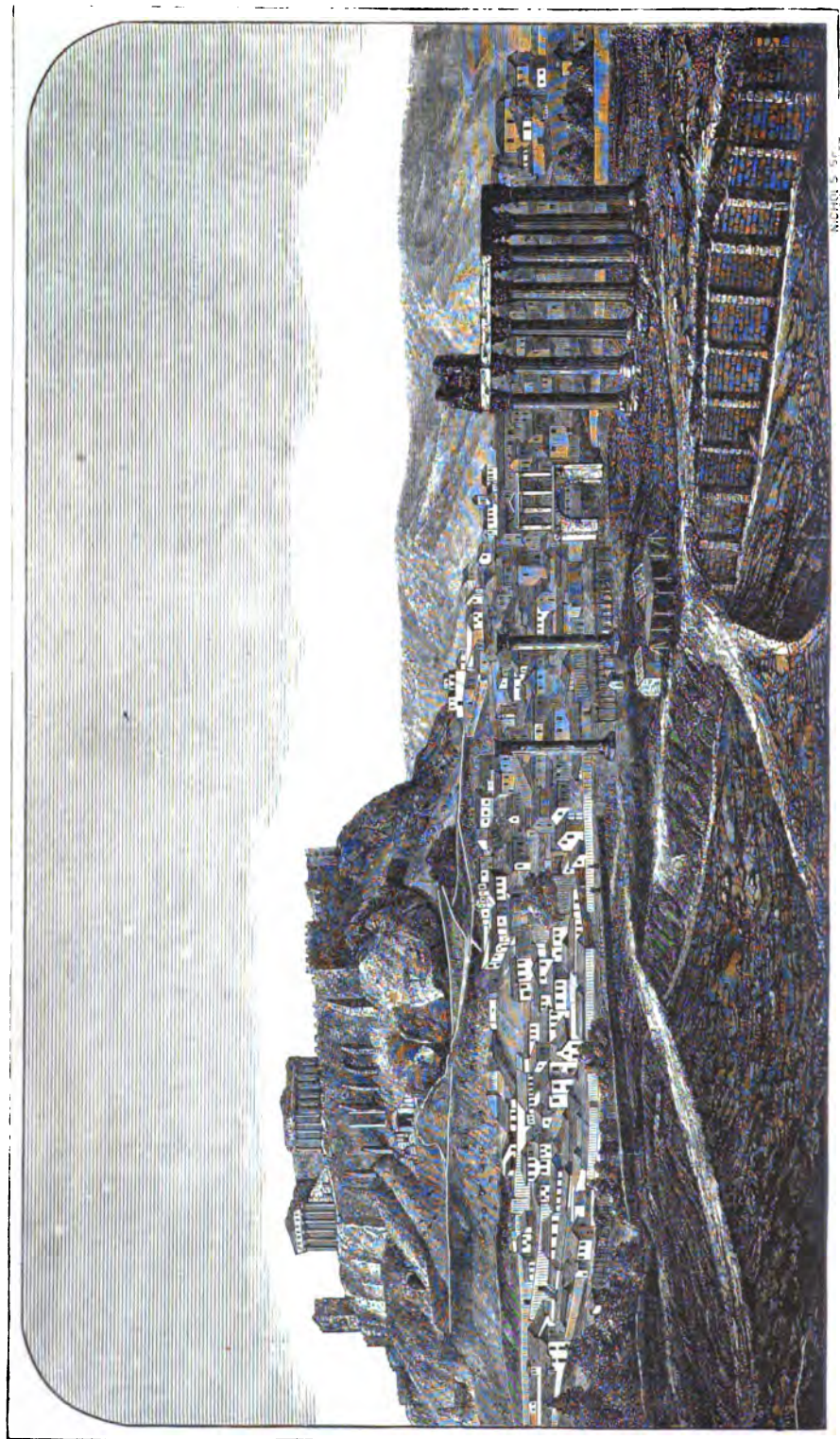
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PHOTOGRAPHIC VIEW OF ATHENS. TAKEN IN 1845.

HISTORY OF GREECE,

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST

WITH SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS ON

THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE AND ART

^{Sir} 1814-1893
BY WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D.,

EDITOR OF THE DICTIONARIES OF "GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES," "BIOGRAPHY
AND MYTHOLOGY," AND "GEOGRAPHY."

WITH NOTES, AND A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME,

BY C. C. FELTON, LL.D.,

ELIOT PROFESSOR OF GREEK LITERATURE IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.



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P R E F A C E

OF THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

THE works of Dr. William Smith, on Classical Biography, Antiquities, and Geography, are so well known in the United States, that any commendation of them would be superfluous in this place. The History of Greece published by him in 1854 is marked by excellences similar to those of his other books, and is, beyond all question, the best summary in our language of the ancient history of that country, for the use of schools and colleges.

The editor of the present American republication has carefully revised the text, and corrected a number of misprints which escaped the author in the original English edition. In one place, a passage of some length is inadvertently repeated in nearly identical terms; the repetition, in this edition, has of course been omitted.* In the Chronological Table, the heading of the third book is omitted; that omission has been supplied. An attempt has been made to introduce a greater degree of uniformity in the spelling of the classical names. The example of Grote and other high authorities in English literature is now beginning to be followed, and English usage, in this respect, is gradually conforming itself to that which has been established among the scholars of Germany. Still I have not ventured to carry out the principle in all cases, having limited myself generally to those in which an opposite practice has not been irrevocably fixed. With regard to the Modern Greek names, I have followed the orthography of the Greek rather than of any other language. Thus, I have written Tricoupēs,

* Pages 172, 173, and pages 181, 182, of the English work.

and not Tricoupi; Rhēgas, and not Rigas; Colocotronēs, and not Colocotroni; and so of many others.

With regard to the passages from the poets, cited by Dr. Smith in his excellent chapters on Greek Literature, I have in a few cases substituted other translations. This has been done for the purpose of more exactly representing *the form* of the originals. The foot-notes are, for the most part, founded upon personal observations in Greece. All the vignettes, maps, and wood-cut illustrations of Dr. Smith's work have been retained, and a considerable number have been added, besides those prefixed to the new chapters. One of them, the Gate of Lions at Mycenæ, has been redrawn, for the sake of representing it in its present condition. When I visited Mycenæ, the approach to the gate had been entirely cleared of the rubbish which formerly blocked it up, and the pavement of the street, with the ancient wheel-ruts, was laid open. The drawing in the present edition exhibits it precisely as it now appears. The view of the Acropolis in its present state is copied from a drawing made by an accomplished English friend, whose society I had the pleasure of enjoying at Athens. It exhibits exactly the appearance of the western end of the Acropolis, since the excavations made under the superintendence of M. Beulé, a member of the French school in Athens, brought to light an ancient door at the foot of the marble stairs, and is, I think, in other respects, the most faithful representation ever yet published. This copy, and all the other new drawings, have been executed by the skilful hand of Mr. Ernest Sandoz.

As the Greek nation has wonderfully survived through the disastrous period of the Middle Ages, and their long subjection to the oppression of the Turks, I have thought it would add to the interest of the volume to complete the story down to the present day. The method of accomplishing this object has been a matter of some perplexity. The space is necessarily limited, and the time to be included in it embraces many centuries. A complete narrative would fill several volumes; a mere enumeration of the events in chronological order would be tedious and dry. Instead of following either of these courses, I decided to select those events and persons that have most prominently influenced the course of Hellenic history during the periods in question, or that seemed best to illustrate the condition and genius of the race. It is hoped that the reader will find

that, in proportion to the original work, a tolerably full and clear account has been given on all these points. The present condition of the Greek people is one of deep interest. In the kingdom of Hellas a remarkable progress has been made in letters and education, during the quarter of a century since the close of the terrible war of the Revolution. The Greeks have been greatly misrepresented by the hasty judgments of travellers, and the complicated interests involved in the Eastern war now raging have tended to disseminate political prejudices against them, both in Europe and America. Yet the war of the Revolution proved to an admiring world that a noble spirit still animated the breasts of the Greeks, after so many ages of suffering and slavery. In patience, in bravery, in public and individual devotion to the cause of their country, the Greeks of that day bear a favorable comparison with any nation which has ever struggled to redeem itself from oppression. The distinguished and heroic personages who appeared on the scene of action during the long-drawn and bloody drama of the Revolution prove that the race and the age were fruitful of the highest qualities of character. The names of Marcos Botzarēs, Karaïskakēs, Diakos, Alexander and Demetrius Ypselantēs, and numerous other departed warriors and patriots, shine in history with an imperishable lustre; while among the living, Alexander Mavrocordatos, Tricoupēs, Kalergēs, Psyllas, Pericles Argyropoulos, and others equally deserving, though less conspicuous, exhibit to the world the most conclusive proof that talents and integrity, in ample measure, still adorn the land of Pericles and Demosthenes. The capacity of the Greeks for political affairs and self-government has been demonstrated from the first opening of the Revolution. Among the earliest cares of those who commenced the struggle, the establishment of a regular constitutional administration held the most conspicuous place; and during the whole conflict, though its progress was marked at times by civil dissensions, and the overwhelming power of the enemy brought the insurgents more than once to the brink of destruction, yet the spirit of legality and the forms of representative government carried the people through their fiery trials.

After the establishment of a monarchy, the desire for a constitutional government continued to animate the heart of the nation, and in 1843 that desire was fulfilled by the formation

of a constitution, which was adopted at the beginning of the following year. The mode in which the people gained this great object of their long-postponed hopes; the moderation which marked their proceedings; the good feeling they exhibited towards the king and queen, and the confidence in the people manifested by these august personages; the proceedings at the elections, and the acts of the members of the assembly that framed the constitution; the excellent features of the constitution itself,—entitle the people and the popular leaders to the applause of enlightened lovers of order and liberty everywhere.

In literature and scholarship the Greeks are fast rising to distinction. The private schools established in many places, the system of public instruction supported by the government, and encouraged by the most liberal private contributions, are admirable. The activity of the press supplies the country with translations of the best foreign books, and numerous original works by the industrious scholars and writers of Hellas; and the names of Asopios, Argyropoulos, Rangabēs, Kontogonēs, Philippos Johannis, and Manousēs would do honor to any European university. The History of the Greek Revolution, now nearly completed, by his Excellency Spyridon Tricoupēs, the Greek Minister at the Court of St. James, in point of style and matter compares well with the historical works of the classical ages.

Since the Revolution—to sum up in a few words the progress of the Greeks—cities and villages have been rebuilt, commerce has widely extended its operations, and the mercantile marine has largely increased; a general system of public instruction has been established, which places the opportunity of education within the reach of every child in Greece, at the public charge. Organic legislative bodies are established by the constitution, and the laws are ably and impartially administered by the judiciary; the trial by jury and an able and independent bar guard the rights of the citizens against the encroachments of power. The freedom of the press is guaranteed by the constitution. Surely, a people just emancipated from four centuries of enslavement, who have effected all this in a quarter of a century, are entitled to respect, even if their roads are rough, and their plains ill cultivated, and the public domain not so wisely administered as the friends of Greece might desire.

I am therefore of opinion, that the interest which attaches

itself to the Hellenic name does not cease at the Roman conquest. In the existing state of affairs, the Greeks form the saving and intellectual element of the Eastern world; and if ever those regions — so richly endowed by nature with the most varied resources for national prosperity and happiness, and so long sunk in wretchedness by the vices of Turkish misrule and the pernicious institutions of a society founded on the Mohammedan imposture — are to be restored to civilization, it must be through the influence of the Hellenic race and the Oriental Church, liberalized and purified by the science and letters and general intellectual culture of the Western nations.

The study of Greek literature is, all over the civilized world, one of the most powerful agents of liberal education. The political institutions of the Ancient Greeks are the most instructive subjects of study to the citizens of a free commonwealth. But there are peculiar and striking analogies, which make these studies especially important to the citizens of the United States. Greek literature must for ever be congenial to the political tendencies which sway a republican people. The spirit which breathes from the historians, orators, and poets of Ancient Greece can best be appreciated under constitutional governments like those of England and the United States; and the struggles for freedom which have marked the modern history of Greece meet with the heartiest sympathy among a free people, who, like those of the United States, stand aloof from the political entanglements of Europe, which checked the sympathies naturally to be expected from Christian nations in behalf of a Christian nation striking for liberty. The services rendered by America to Greece in her war of independence are not forgotten by a grateful people. The feelings of the American nation found fit utterance in the admirable papers of Mr. Everett, — especially in an article published in the *North American Review* for October, 1823, which exhibited the qualities of comprehensive and elegant scholarship, with the rarest beauties of style, and appealed to the Christian sentiment and literary sympathies of the country. This was followed by the speech of Mr. Webster, delivered in Congress, in January, 1824, which, in power of argument and classical finish of language, stands on a level with the masterly models handed down from the brilliant days of the Athenian republic. These noble efforts of scholarship and eloquence were followed up by the most im-

portant practical results, chiefly through the agency of Dr. S. G. Howe, — a name which future ages will not willingly let die, either in Greece or in the United States. Large contributions of money were forwarded to the government, and abundant supplies of clothing and provisions were shipped at different times, by which hundreds of the sufferers were saved from perishing. These generous movements were well deserved by the people for whose benefit they were made, not only on account of the illustrious associations with the great ancients, but on account of the virtues and calamities of the living race. And now the love of constitutional government, the eager desire of knowledge, the capacity for letters, politics, and eloquence, the industry, frugality, and high spirit, which characterize the inhabitants of the Hellenic kingdom, entitle them to respect and cordial sympathy. They have a difficult part to perform in the conflicts now drenching the East with blood; and if they commit errors, they should not be censured on a partial view of their position and their political relations. There are two sides to every question. But whatever opinion may be formed of particular transactions, arising out of the crisis of the moment, all well-informed men will agree, that the welfare of the East of Europe depends in no small measure on the future development of the Hellenic-Christian element in that part of the world.

In preparing the chapters which I have added to Dr. Smith's work, I have consulted, — 1. The Byzantine Historians. 2. Mr. Finlay's "Greece under the Romans," "Mediæval Greece and Trebizond," and "Byzantine and Greek Empires," and Gibbon's "Decline and Fall." 3. Sir James Emerson Tennent's "History of Modern Greece." 4. Gordon and Howe's Histories of the Greek Revolution. 5. Zinkeisen's "Geschichte Griechenlands." 6. Pouqueville's "Histoire de la Grèce." 7. Professor Paparregopoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους*. 8. Tricoures, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως*, and *Οἱ σωζόμενοι Λόγοι*. 9. *Τὸ Σύνταγμα τῆς Ἑλλάδος*. 10. The English Parliamentary Papers. 11. Numerous Greek Pamphlets, Discourses, and other Documents collected at Athens. 12. Various articles in English, French, and other periodical publications.

C. C. FELTON.

CAMBRIDGE, January, 1855.

P R E F A C E.

THE following work is intended principally for schools. It was commenced several years ago, at a time when the Grecian histories used in schools were either the superficial and inaccurate compilations of Goldsmith and older writers, or the meagre abridgments of more recent scholars, in which the facts were presented in so brief a manner as to leave hardly any recollection of them in the minds of the readers. Since that time, one or two school histories of Greece of a superior kind have appeared, but they have not been written from the same point of view which I had proposed to myself; and in the best of them the history of literature and art, as well as several other subjects which seemed to me of importance, have been almost entirely omitted. I have therefore seen no reason to abandon my original design, which now requires a few words of explanation.

My object has been to give the youthful reader as vivid a picture of the main facts of Grecian history, and of the leading characteristics of the political institutions, literature, and art of the people, as could be comprised within the limits of a volume of moderate size. With this view, I have omitted entirely, or dismissed in a few paragraphs, many circumstances recorded in similar works, and have thus gained space for narrating at length the more important events, and for bringing out prominently the characters and lives of the great men of the nation. It is only in this way that a school history can be made instructive and interesting, since a brief and tedious enumeration of every event, whether great or small, important or unimportant, confuses the reader, and leaves no permanent impression upon

his memory. Considerable space has been given to the history of literature and art, since they form the most durable evidences of a nation's growth in civilization and in social progress. A knowledge of these subjects is of far more importance to a pupil at the commencement of his classical studies, than an acquaintance with every insignificant battle in the Peloponnesian war, or with the theories of modern scholars respecting the early population of Greece; and as it cannot be expected that a school-boy should read special treatises upon Grecian literature and art, these subjects find their appropriate place in a work like the present.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to observe, that I have availed myself of the researches of the eminent scholars, both in this country and in Germany, whose writings have thrown so much light upon the history of Greece; but the obligations I am under to Mr. Grote require a more particular acknowledgment. It is not too much to say, that his work forms as great an epoch in the study of the history of Greece, as Niebuhr's has done in the study of the history of Rome, and that Mr. Grote's contributions to historical science are the most valuable that have been made within the present generation. As my own studies have led me over the same ground as Mr. Grote, I have carefully weighed his opinions and tested his statements by a reference to his authorities; and in almost all cases I have been compelled to adopt his conclusions, even where they were in opposition to generally received opinions and prejudices, as, for instance, in his views respecting the legendary history of Greece, the legislation of Lycurgus, the object of ostracism, the general working of the Athenian constitution, and the character of the Sophists. Indeed, it will be admitted by the most competent judges, that any school history of Greece, which aspires to represent the present state of knowledge upon the subject, must necessarily be founded to a great extent upon Mr. Grote's history; but I have derived such valuable assistance from his researches, that I am anxious to express, in the fullest manner, the great obligations this work is under to that masterpiece of historical literature. In a brief outline of Grecian history, original research is of course out of place; all that can be expected from the writer is a clear and accurate account of the most recent results at which the best modern scholars have arrived; and in this respect it is hoped that the intelligent reader will not be disappointed. Of

the many other modern works which I have consulted, it is only necessary to refer to Colonel Mure's "Critical History of Greek Literature," from which I have derived valuable assistance in the chapters of the work devoted to that subject.

As a general rule, references to ancient and modern works are not given, since they are useless to the pupil, and occupy valuable space, while the scholar will look for the authorities elsewhere. The illustrations, of which the majority have been drawn by my friend, Mr. George Scharf, consist of maps of different districts, plans of battles and places, views of public buildings, works of art and other objects, the representation of which renders the descriptions in the history more intelligible and interesting to the reader.

WM. SMITH.

LONDON, NOVEMBER, 1853.



Greek and Persian Combatants. From the Frieze of the Temple of Niké Apteros.
(See pp. 203, 366.)

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HISTORY OF GREECE.



Vale of Tempe in Thessaly.

INTRODUCTION.

OUTLINES OF GRECIAN GEOGRAPHY.

§ 1. The three Peninsulas of Southern Europe. § 2. Position and Boundaries of Greece. § 3. Size of the Country. § 4. Name. § 5. Northern Greece: Thessaly and Epeirus. § 6. Central Greece: its Principal Divisions and Mountains. § 7. Eastern Half of Central Greece: Doris, Phocis, Locris, Boeotia, Attica, Megaris. § 8. Western Half of Central Greece: Ozolian Locris, Ætolia, Acarnania. § 9. Peloponnesus: Arcadia. § 10. Achaia, Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, Elis. § 11. The Grecian Islands. § 12. Influence of the Physical Geography of Greece upon the Political Destinies of the People. § 13. Likewise upon their Intellectual Character. § 14. Rivers and Chief Productions. § 15. Climate.

§ 1. **THREE** peninsulas, very different in form, project from the South of Europe into the Mediterranean Sea. The most westerly, that of Spain and Portugal, is a quadrangular figure united to the mainland by an isthmus. The central one, that of Italy, is a long tongue of land, down which runs from north to south the backbone of the Apennines. The most easterly, of which Greece forms the southern part, is in the shape of a

triangle with its base extending from the top of the Adriatic to the mouths of the river Danube, and having its two sides washed by the sea.

§ 2. At the fortieth degree of latitude a chain of mountains called the Cambunian, and continued under the name of Lingon, runs across the peninsula from east to west, and forms the northern boundary of Greece. At a time when the Mediterranean was the great highway of commerce and civilization, no position could be more favorable than that of Greece. The Ægean Sea, which bathes its eastern shores, is studded with numerous islands, inviting the timid mariner from one to the other, and thus establishing an easy communication between Asia and Greece. Towards the south it faces one of the most fertile portions of Africa; and on the west it is divided from Italy by a narrow channel, which in one part is not more than thirty miles in breadth.

§ 3. Greece, which commences at the fortieth degree of latitude, does not extend farther than the thirty-sixth. Its greatest length, from Mount Olympus to Cape Tænarum, is not more than 250 English miles; its greatest breadth from the western coast of Acarnania to Marathon in Attica is only 180 miles. Its surface is considerably less than that of Portugal. This small area was divided among a number of independent states, many of them containing a territory of only a few square miles, and none of them larger than an English county. But it is not the magnitude of their territory which constitutes the greatness of a people; and the heroism and genius of the Greeks have given an interest to the insignificant spot of earth bearing their name, which the vast empires of Russia and China have never equalled.

§ 4. The name of *Greece* was never used by the inhabitants of the country. They called their land *Hellas*, and themselves *Hellènes*. It is from the Romans that we have derived the name of Greece; though why the Romans gave it a different appellation from that used by the natives cannot be determined.* It is, however, a well-known fact, that foreigners frequently call a people by a name different from the one in use among themselves. Thus the nation called Germans by us bear the appellation of *Deutschen* among themselves; and the people whom the Romans named Etruscans or Tuscans, were known in their own language by that of *Rasena*.

The word *Hellas* signified at first only a small district in Thessaly, the original abode of the Hellenes. From this district the people, and along with them their name, gradually spread over the whole country south of the Cambunian Mountains. The rude tribes of Epeirus, however, were not reckoned among the Hellenes, and the northern boundary of *Hellas*

* The Græci, *Γραικοί*, were one of the ancient tribes living in the neighborhood of Dodona. The primitive connection between the inhabitants of the North of Greece and of Italy was probably the origin of the prevalence of this name among the Romans. — ED.

proper was a line drawn from the Ambracian Gulf to the mouth of the river Penæus. The term Hellas was also employed in a more extended sense, to signify the abode of the Hellenes, wherever they might be settled; and accordingly the Grecian cities of Cyrene in Africa, of Syracuse in Sicily, and of Tarentum * in Italy, were as much parts of Hellas as Athens, Sparta, and Corinth.

§ 5. Midway between the Ionian and Ægean Seas the chain of mountains forming the northern boundary of Greece is intersected at right an-



Map of Greece, showing the general direction of the Mountain Ranges.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1. Thessaly. | 7. Boeotia. | 13. Arcadia. | 18. Elis. |
| 2. Epeirus. | 8. Attica. | 14. Achaia. | 19. Euboea. |
| 3. Doris. | 9. Megaris. | 15. Argolis. | 20. Salamis. |
| 4. Phocia. | 10. Locri Ozolis. | 16. Laconia. | 21. Ægina. |
| 5. Locri Epizeuridii. | 11. Ætolia. | 17. Messenia. | 22. Cythera. |
| 6. Locri Opuntii. | 12. Acarnania. | | |

* Called Taras (Τάρας) by the Greeks.

gles by the long and lofty range of Pindus, running from north to south, like the Apennines of the Italian peninsula. From Mount Pindus two lateral branches stretch towards the eastern sea, running parallel to one another at the distance of sixty miles, and inclosing the plain of *Thessaly*, the richest and largest in Greece. The southern of these two branches bore the name of Othrys; the northern, which has been already mentioned under the name of the Cambunian Mountains, terminates upon the coast in the lofty summit of Olympus, the highest in all Greece, being 9,700 feet above the level of the sea, and scarcely ever free from snow. South of Olympus another range, known under the successive names of Ossa and Pelion, stretches along the coast parallel to that of Pindus. Thus Thessaly is inclosed between four natural ramparts, which are only broken at the northeastern extremity by the celebrated Vale of Tempe, between Olympus and Ossa, through which the river Penæus finds its way into the sea.

Pindus forms the boundary between Thessaly and *Epeirus*. The latter country contains no inclosed plain like that of Thessaly, but is covered by rugged ranges of mountains running from north to south, through which the Achelous, the largest river of Greece, flows towards the Corinthian Gulf.

§ 6. At about the thirty-ninth degree of latitude Greece is contracted into a kind of isthmus by two opposite gulfs, the Ambracian on the west and the Malian on the east. This isthmus separates the peninsula of Central Greece from the mainland of Thessaly and Epeirus.

Central Greece, again, may be divided into two unequal halves, the eastern half containing the countries of Doris, Phocis, Locris, Bœotia, Attica, and Megaris, the western comprising Ozolian Locris, Ætolia, and Acarnania.

A little above the thirty-ninth degree of latitude there is a summit in the range of Pindus, called Mount Tymphrestus, from which ranges of mountains radiate, as from a centre, in all directions. On the east two gigantic arms branch off towards the sea: the one which runs nearly due east under the name of Othrys has been already mentioned; the other, which bears the name of Cæta, has a southeasterly direction, and forms the northern barrier of Central Greece. The only entrance into Central Greece from the north is through a narrow opening left between Mount Cæta and the sea, immortalized in history under the name of Thermopylæ.

South of Tymphrestus the chain of Pindus divides into two great branches, and no longer bears the same name: one strikes to the south-east under the names of Parnassus, Helicon, Cithæron, and Hymettus, and finally reaches the sea at Sunium, the southernmost point of Attica; the other diverges to the southwest under the names of Corax and the Ozolian Mountains, and joins the sea near the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf.

§7. In the highlands between Ceta and Parnassus is a narrow plain called *Doris*, from which the Dorians are said to have issued to the conquest of Peloponnesus. Here rises the river Cephissus, which flows into Phocis. The greater part of *Phocis* is occupied by Parnassus, which rises to the height of 8,000 feet, but between this mountain and those of Eastern Locris is a fertile plain drained by the Cephissus.

From the eastern extremity of Mount Ceta a range of mountains runs southwards along the coast. It passes through the country of the *Locrians*, called respectively *Epicnemidian*, from Mount Cnemis, and *Opuntian*, from the town of Opus. *Bœotia* extends from sea to sea, but it is separated from the Eubœan channel by a continuation of the Locrian mountains and from the Corinthian Gulf by the lofty range of Helicon, celebrated in poetry as the abode of the Muses. On its northern frontier the offshoots of Parnassus and the Locrian mountains leave only a narrow opening through which the Cephissus flows; and on the south the country is shut in by the lofty barrier of Cithæron and Parnes, which separate it from Attica. Bœotia is thus a large hollow basin, inclosed on every side by mountains, and containing a considerable quantity of very fertile land. The Cephissus, and the streams which descend from the surrounding hills, form in the centre of the country the lake Copaïs, which finds an outlet for its waters through subterraneous channels in the limestone mountains.

Attica is in the form of a triangle, having two of its sides washed by the sea and its base united to the land. The range of Cithæron and Parnes, which forms its northern boundary, shuts off this peninsula from the rest of Greece. Cithæron is prolonged towards the southwest, skirting the shores of the Corinthian Gulf and forming the mountainous country of *Megaris*. Here it rises into a new chain under the name of the Geranean Mountains, which stretch across Megaris from west to east, parallel to Cithæron. These mountains sink down southwards towards the Isthmus, which separates Central Greece from Peloponnesus. Here the Corinthian Gulf on the west and the Saronic Gulf on the east penetrate so far inland as to leave only a narrow neck of land between them, not more than four miles across at its narrowest part. The Isthmus is comparatively level, but immediately to the south rise the Onean hills, protecting Peloponnesus from invasion by land.

§8. The western half of Central Greece consists, as already said, of Locris, Ætolia, and Acarnania. *Locris*, called *Ozolian* to distinguish it from the eastern district of this name, lies upon the Corinthian Gulf, and is a wild and mountainous country, nearly covered by the offshoots of the Phocian Parnassus and the Ætolian Corax. *Ætolia* and *Acarnania*, separated by the river Achelous, are also mountainous, the greater part of their surface being occupied by a continuation of the hills of Epeirus, but at the same time containing a few fertile plains upon the banks of the Achelous.

All three countries were the haunts of rude robber tribes even as late as the Peloponnesian war.

§ 9. The Isthmus which connects Central Greece with the southern peninsula is so small in comparison with the outspread form of the latter, that the ancients regarded the peninsula as an island, and gave it the name of *Peloponnesus*, or the island of Pelops, from the mythical hero of this name. Its form was compared in antiquity to the leaf of the plane-tree or the vine, and its modern name, the *Morea*, was bestowed upon it from its resemblance to the leaf of the mulberry.

The mountains of Peloponnesus have their roots in the centre of the country, from which they branch out towards the sea. This central region, called *Arcadia*, is the Switzerland of the peninsula. It is surrounded by a ring of mountains, forming a kind of natural wall, which separates it from the other Peloponnesian states. These mountains are unbroken on the northern, eastern, and southern frontiers, and it is only on the western side that the waters of the Alphæus, the chief river in the peninsula, find their way through a narrow opening towards the Ionian Sea. It is on the northern frontier that the Arcadian mountains are the loftiest and most massive; and at the northeastern extremity of the country Mount Cyllene rises to the height of 7,788 feet above the level of the sea, a grand and majestic object as seen from the Isthmus and the Corinthian Gulf.

§ 10. The other chief divisions of Peloponnesus were Achaia, Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, and Elis. *Achaia* was a narrow slip of country lying between the northern barrier of Arcadia and the Corinthian Gulf. It is intersected by numerous ranges of hills, which descend from the Arcadian mountains, and either run out into the sea in the form of bold promontories, or subside before reaching the shore. The plains thus left on the coast, and the valleys between the mountains, are for the most part very fertile.

Argolis was used as a collective term to signify the territories of several independent states. Of these the most important were Corinth and Sicyon, near the eastern extremity of the Corinthian Gulf, and Argos, situated at the head of the Argolic Gulf, in a plain ten or twelve miles in length and from four to five in breadth. The remainder of Argolis consisted of a rocky peninsula between the Saronic and Argolic Gulfs, containing at its eastern extremity the territories of Epidaurus, Trœzen, and Hermione.

Laconia and *Messenia* occupied the whole of the south of Peloponnesus from sea to sea. They were separated by the lofty range of Taygetus, running from north to south and terminating in the promontory of Tænarum (now Cape Matapan), the southernmost point of Greece and Europe. Along the eastern side of Laconia the range of Mount Parnon extends from north to south parallel to that of Taygetus, and terminates in the promontory of Malea. Between these two ranges is the valley of the Eurotas, in which Sparta stood, and which south of this city opens out

into a plain of considerable extent towards the Laconian Gulf. Messenia in like manner was drained by the Pamisus, whose plain is still more extensive and fertile than that of the Eurotas.

Elis was the region between the western barrier of Arcadia and the Ionian Sea. It is covered to a great extent with the offshoots of the Arcadian mountains, but contains several plains. In the centre of the country is the memorable plain of Olympia, through which the Alphæus flows, and in which the city of Pisa stood.

§ 11. The numerous islands which line the Grecian shores were occupied in historical times by the Grecian race. Of these the most important was *Eubœa*, ninety miles in length, stretching along the coasts of Bœotia and Attica. Through it ran from north to south a long chain of mountains, which may be regarded as a continuation of the range of Ossa and Pelion. South of *Eubœa* was the group of islands called the *Cyclades*, lying round Delos as a centre; and east of these were the *Sporades*, near the Asiatic coast. South of these groups lay the two large islands of *Crete* and *Rhodes*. In the Saronic Gulf between Attica and Argolis were the celebrated islands of *Salamis* and *Ægina*, the former reckoned as part of Attica, and the latter long the rival and eyesore of Athens. Off the western coast of Greece, in the Ionian Sea, we find *Corcyra* opposite Epeirus, *Cephalenia* and *Ithaca* opposite Acarnania, and *Zacynthus* near the coast of Elis in Peloponnesus. *Cythera* was separated by a narrow channel from the southern extremity of Laconia.

§ 12. The physical features of the country exercised an important influence upon the political destinies of the people. Greece is one of the most mountainous countries of Europe. Its surface is occupied by a number of small plains, either entirely surrounded by limestone mountains or open only to the sea. Mountains, not rivers, have in all ages proved the greatest barriers to intercourse between neighboring tribes. This was the case in Greece, and thus the very nature of the land tended to produce that large number of independent states which is one of the most striking phenomena in Grecian history. Each of the principal Grecian cities was founded in one of the small plains already described; and as the mountains which separated it from its neighbors were lofty and rugged, it grew up in solitary independence, and formed its own character before it could be affected by any external influence.

The mountainous nature of the country also protected it from foreign invasion, as well as rendered it difficult for one section of the Grecian race to subdue the rest. The Vale of Tempe between Mounts Ossa and Olympus, the pass of Thermopylæ between Northern and Central Greece, the passes over Mount Cithæron between Bœotia and Attica, and those over the Geranean and Onean Mountains on either side of the Isthmus, could easily be defended by a handful of resolute men against vastly superior numbers.

But, while the Grecian states were separated from their nearest neighbors by their mountains, the sea afforded them easy intercourse with one another and with the rest of the world. One of the most striking peculiarities of the geography of Greece is the wonderful extent of its sea-coast. In this respect it has the advantage over every other country of Europe. Although its surface is not so great as that of Portugal, its line of coast exceeds that of the whole peninsula of Portugal and Spain. Not only is it surrounded by the sea on every side except on its northern frontier, but its coast is also broken by a number of bays and gulfs running far into the land. Thus almost every Grecian state had ready and easy access to the sea, and Arcadia was almost the only political division that did not possess some territory upon the coast.

§ 13. Of all natural objects the mountains and the sea have ever been the most powerful instruments in moulding the intellectual character of a people. The Greeks were both mountaineers and mariners, and as such they possessed the susceptibility to external impressions, the love of freedom, and the spirit of adventure, which have always characterized, more or less, the inhabitants of mountainous and maritime districts. The poetical beauty of the Grecian mountains has often called forth the admiration of modern travellers. Their craggy, broken forms and rich silvery color give to the Grecian landscape a peculiar charm, and justify the description of the poet Gray, when he speaks of Greece as a land

"Where each *old poetic mountain*
Inspiration breathes around."

The beauty of the scenery is still further enhanced by the gorgeous atmosphere in which every object is bathed. To a native of the northern latitudes of Europe nothing is more striking in the Grecian climate than the transparent clearness of the air and the brilliant coloring of the sky. When Euripides represents the Athenians as

"Ever delicately marching
Through most *pellucid air*," *

he is guilty of no poetical exaggeration, and the *violet* color which the Roman poet assigns to the hills of Hymettus † is literally true.

§ 14. Greece is deficient in a regular supply of water. During the autumnal and winter months the rain, which falls in large quantities, fills the crevices in the limestone of the hills and is carried off by torrents. In summer rain is almost unknown, and the beds of the torrents full of water in the winter then become ravines, perfectly dry and overgrown with shrubs. Even the rivers, which are partly supplied by springs, dwindle in the summer into very insignificant streams. None of the Grecian rivers

* 'Αεὶ διὰ λαμπροῦρου

βαίνοντες ἀβρῶς αἰθέρος — Eurip. *Med.* 829.

† "Est prope *purpureos* colles florentis Hymetti
Fons sacer." — Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 3. 687.

are navigable, and the Achelous, which is the most considerable of all, has a course of only 130 miles.

The chief productions of Greece in ancient times were wheat, barley, flax, wine, and oil. The hills afforded excellent pasture for cattle, and in antiquity were covered with forests, though they are at present nearly destitute of wood.

In almost every part of Greece there were rich veins of marble, affording materials for the architect and the sculptor, such as hardly any other country in the world possesses. The limestone, of which most of its mountains is composed, is well adapted for military architecture; and it is to this hard and intractable stone that we owe those massive polygonal walls, of which the remains still crown the summits of so many Grecian hills. Laurium near the southern extremity of Attica yielded a considerable quantity of silver, but otherwise Greece was poor in the precious metals. Iron was found in the range of Taygetus in Laconia, and copper as well as iron near Chalcis in Eubœa.

§ 15. The climate of Greece appears to have been more healthy in ancient times than it is at present. The malaria which now poisons the atmosphere in the summer months could not have existed to the same extent when the land was more thickly peopled and more carefully cultivated. Owing to the inequalities of its surface, to its lofty mountains and depressed valleys, the climate varies greatly in different districts. In the highlands in the interior the winter is often long and rigorous, the snow lying upon the ground till late in the spring, while in the lowlands open to the sea, severe weather is almost unknown. The rigor of winter is frequently experienced in the highlands of Mantinœa and Tegœa in the month of March, while at the same time the genial warmth of spring is felt in the plains of Argos and Laconia, and almost the heat of summer in the low grounds at the head of the Messenian Gulf. To this difference in climate the ancients attributed the difference in the intellectual character of the natives of various districts. Thus the dulness of the Bœotians was ascribed to the dampness and thickness of their atmosphere, while the dry and clear air of Attica was supposed to sharpen the faculties of its inhabitants.



Arch of Tiryns.



Head of Olympian Zeus.

BOOK I.

THE MYTHICAL AGE.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF GREECE.

§ 1. Legendary Character of early Grecian History. § 2. Legends of the Greeks respecting their Origin. § 3. The Hellenes and their Diffusion in Greece. § 4. Connection of the Hellenes with the Indo-European Stem. § 5. The Pelasgians. § 6. Foreign Settlers in Greece. § 7. Egyptian Colonies of Cecrops and Danaus. § 8. Phrygian Colony of Pelops. § 9. Phœnician Colony of Cadmus.

§ 1. THE clouds which envelop the early history of Greece are lighted up by the brilliant hues of Grecian fable; but the reader must carefully guard against believing in the reality of the personages or of the events commemorated by these beautiful legends. Some of them, it is true, probably sprang out of events which actually occurred, and may therefore contain a kernel of historical truth; but we have no means of distinguishing between what is true and what is false, between the historical facts and their subsequent embellishments. Till events are recorded in written documents, no materials exist for a trustworthy history; and it was not till the epoch known by the name of the first Olympiad, corresponding to the year 776 before Christ, that the Greeks began to employ writing as a means for perpetuating the memory of any historical facts. Before that

period everything is vague and uncertain; and for two centuries afterwards we meet with only a few isolated events, and possess nothing in the form of a continuous history. But even the mythical age must not be passed over entirely. In all cases the traditions of a people are worthy of record; and this is especially true of the Greeks, whose legends moulded their faith and influenced their conduct down to the latest times.

§ 2. Few nations have paid more attention to their genealogy than the Greeks. In modern times families are ambitious of tracing back their origin to some illustrious ancestor; but in Greece this feeling was not confined to families, but pervaded alike all associations of men. Every petty tribe or clan claimed descent from a common ancestor, whose name was borne by each member of the community. This ancestor was usually represented as the son or immediate descendant of a god, or else as sprung from the earth,* which was in such cases regarded as a divine being. Thus the Greek people considered themselves the children of one common father, in whose name they gloried as the symbol of fraternity. This ancestor was HELLEN, the son of Deucalion and Pyrrha, from whom the people derived the name of Hellēnes. Hellen had three sons, Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus. Of these Dorus and Æolus gave their names to the Dorians and Æolians; and Xuthus, through his two sons, Ion and Achæus, became the forefather of the Ionians and Achæans. In this way the four great divisions of the Greek race, the Dorians, Æolians, Ionians, and Achæans, were supposed to be the descendants of the patriarch Hellen.

§ 3. The descent of the Hellēnes from a common ancestor, Hellen, was a fundamental article in the popular faith. It was a general practice in antiquity to invent fictitious persons for the purpose of explaining names of which the origin was buried in obscurity. It is in this way that Hellen and his sons came into being. But though they never had any real existence, their history may be regarded as the traditional history of the races to whom they gave their names. Thus, when we are told that Hellen reigned in the South of Thessaly, near the foot of Mount Othrys, which was the part of Greece first called Hellas, we may conclude that the Greeks believed this district to be the original abode of their race. In like manner the migrations of the sons of Hellen from the South of Thessaly, and their settlements in the different parts of Greece, represent the current belief respecting the early history of the four great divisions of the race.

Æolus succeeded his father Hellen as king of Hellas in Thessaly, but his descendants occupied a great part of Central Greece, as far as the Isthmus of Corinth, and also took possession of the western coast of Peloponnesus. The Æolians were the most widely diffused of all the descendants of Hellen. Many of their towns, such as Corinth and Iolcus in Thessaly

* Hence called an *Autochthon* (Αὐτόχθων).

were situated upon the coast, and the worship of Poseidon (Neptune), the god of the sea, prevailed extensively among them.

The Achæans appear in the latter part of the Heroic Age as the most warlike of the Grecian races. At that time they are represented as inhabiting the original abode of the Hellènes in Thessaly, and also the cities of Mycenæ, Argos, and Sparta, in the Peloponnesus. The most distinguished of the Grecian heroes in the Trojan war were Achæans; and such was the celebrity of the race at that period, that Homer frequently gives their name to the whole body of the Greeks.

The Dorians and Ionians are of far less importance in the ancient legends, though they afterwards became the two leading races in Greece, to whom the Spartans and Athenians respectively belonged. The Dorians were almost confined to the small mountainous district named after them, lying between Thessaly and Phocis; the Ionians were found chiefly in Attica and along the narrow slip of coast in the North of Peloponnesus, which in historical times was known by the name of Achaia.

§ 4. Such was the general belief of the Greeks respecting the early diffusion of their race. But it is natural for us to go farther back, and to endeavor to ascertain the real origin of the people. Now the only sure and certain means of ascertaining the origin of any people is a knowledge of its language. Tradition misleads as often as it guides the inquirer; and the indications afforded by mythology, manners, and customs are frequently deceptive and always vague. Language, on the other hand, is an enduring memorial; and, whatever changes it may have undergone in the course of ages, it rarely loses those fundamental elements which proclaim its origin and affinities. If then we conduct our inquiry into the origin of the Greek people by means of their language, we have no difficulty in coming to a satisfactory conclusion. The Greek language is a member of that great family of languages to which modern scholars have given the name of Indo-European. The various nations speaking the different varieties of this language were originally one people, inhabiting the high table-land of Central Asia. At some period, long antecedent to all profane history, they issued from their primeval seats, and spread over a considerable portion both of Asia and of Europe. In Asia the ancient Hindoos, who spoke Sanscrit, and the Medes and Persians, whose language was the Zend, were the two principal branches of this people. In Europe the Germans, Pelasgians, Slavonians, and Celts were the four chief varieties. It is foreign to our present purpose to give any account of the other branches of the Indo-European family; but a few remarks must be made upon the Pelasgians, from whom the Greeks derived their origin.

§ 5. The Pelasgians are represented by the Greeks themselves as the most ancient inhabitants of their land. The primitive name of Greece is said to have been Pelasgia. In the historical period, those parts of Greece which had been subject to the fewest changes of inhabitants were supposed

to be peopled by the descendants of the Pelasgians. This was especially the case with Arcadia and Attica, which claimed to have been inhabited by the same tribes from time immemorial. The Pelasgians were spread over the Italian as well as the Grecian peninsula; and the Pelasgic language thus formed the basis of the Latin as well as of the Greek. It is true that Herodotus speaks of the Pelasgic as a foreign language, totally distinct from the Greek; but his testimony on such a subject is not entitled to any weight, since the ancients were lamentably deficient in philological knowledge, and had no notion of the affinity of languages.

Of the Pelasgians themselves our information is scanty. They were not mere barbarians. They are represented as tilling the ground and dwelling in walled cities.* Their religion appears to have been essentially the same as the religion of the Hellēnes. Their great divinity was Zeus, the national Hellenic god, and the chief seat of his worship was Dodōna in Epirus. Hence Homer gives to the Dodonæan Jove the title of Pelasgic; and his oracle at Dodona was always regarded as the most ancient in Greece.

The Pelasgians were divided into several tribes, such as the Hellēnes, Lelēges, Caucōnes, and others. In what respects the Hellēnes were superior to the other Pelasgic tribes we do not know; but they appear at the first dawn of history as the dominant race in Greece. The rest of the Pelasgians disappeared before them or were incorporated with them; their dialect of the Pelasgic tongue became the language of Greece; and their worship of the Olympian Zeus gradually supplanted the more ancient worship of the Dodonæan god.

§ 6. The civilization of the Greeks and the development of their language bear all the marks of home growth, and probably were little affected by foreign influence. The traditions, however, of the Greeks would point to a contrary conclusion. It was a general belief among them, that the Pelasgians were reclaimed from barbarism by Oriental strangers, who settled in the country and introduced among the rude inhabitants the first elements of civilization. Many of these traditions, however, are not ancient legends, but owe their origin to the philosophical speculations of a later age, which loved to represent an imaginary progress of society, from the time when men fed on acorns and ran wild in woods, to the time when they became united into political communities and owned the supremacy of law and reason. The speculative Greeks who visited Egypt in the sixth and fifth centuries before the Christian era were profoundly impressed with the monuments of the old Egyptian monarchy, which even in that early age of the world indicated a gray and hoary antiquity. The Egyptian priests were not slow to avail themselves of the impression made upon their visitors, and told the latter many a wondrous tale to prove that

* A fortified town was called *Larissa* by the Pelasgians.

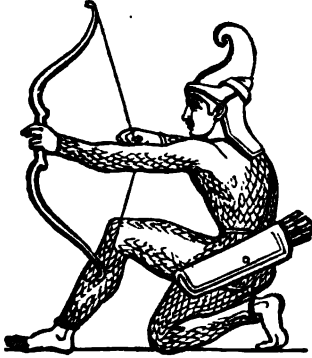
the civilization, the arts, and even the religion of the Greeks, all came from the land of the Nile. These tales found easy believers; they were carried back to Greece, and repeated with various modifications and embellishments; and thus, no doubt, arose the greater number of the traditions respecting Egyptian colonies in Greece.

§ 7. Although we may therefore reject with safety the traditions respecting these Egyptian colonies, two are of so much celebrity that they cannot be passed over entirely in an account of the early ages of Greece. Attica is said to have been indebted for the arts of civilized life to Cecrops, a native of Sais in Egypt. To him is ascribed the foundation of the city of Athens, the institution of marriage, and the introduction of religious rites and ceremonies. The Acropolis or citadel of Athens, to which the original city was confined, continued to bear the name of Cecropia even in later times. Argos, in like manner, is said to have been founded by the Egyptian Danaus, who fled to Greece with his fifty daughters to escape from the persecution of their suitors, the fifty sons of his brother Ægyptus. The Egyptian stranger was elected king by the natives, and from him the tribe of the Danai derived their name, which Homer frequently uses as a general appellation for the Greeks. The only fact which lends any countenance to the existence of an Egyptian colony in Greece is the discovery of the remains of two pyramids at no great distance from Argos; but this form of building is not confined to Egypt. Pyramids are found in India, Babylonia, and Mexico, and may therefore have been erected by the early inhabitants of Greece independently of any connection with Egypt.

§ 8. Another colony, not less celebrated and not more credible than the two just mentioned, is the one led from Asia by Pelops, from whom the southern peninsula of Greece derived its name of Peloponnesus. Pelops is usually represented as a native of Sipylus in Phrygia, and the son of the wealthy King Tantalus. By means of his riches, which he brought with him into Greece, he became king of Mycenæ and the founder of a powerful dynasty, one of the most renowned in the Heroic Age of Greece. From him was descended Agamemnon, who led the Grecian host against Troy.

§ 9. The case is different with the Phœnician colony, which is said to have been founded by Cadmus at Thebes in Bœotia. We have decisive evidence that the Phœnicians planted colonies at an early period in the islands of Greece; and it is only natural to believe that they also settled upon the shores of the mainland. Whether there was such a person as the Phœnician Cadmus, and whether he built the town called Cadmêa, which afterwards became the citadel of Thebes, as the ancient legends relate, cannot be determined; but, setting aside all tradition on the subject, there is one fact which proves indisputably an early intercourse between Phœnicia and Greece. It was to the Phœnicians that the Greeks were indebted for the art of writing; for both the names and the forms of

the letters in the Greek alphabet are evidently derived from the Phœnician. With this exception the Oriental strangers left no permanent trace of their settlements in Greece; and the population of the country continued to be essentially Grecian, uncontaminated by any foreign elements.



Paris, from the Eginetan Sculptures.*

* In the Glyptothek at Munich. — Ed.



Ajax, from the Eginetan Sculptures.*

CHAPTER II.

THE GRECIAN HEROES.

§ 1. Mythical Character of the Heroic Age. § 2. Hercules. § 3. Theseus. § 4. Minos. § 5. Voyage of the Argonauts. § 6. The Seven against Thebes and the Epigoni. § 7. The Trojan War as related in the Iliad. § 8. Later Additions. § 9. Return of the Grecian Heroes from Troy. § 10. Date of the Fall of Troy. § 11. Whether the Heroic Legends contain any Historical Facts. § 12. The Homeric Poems present a Picture of a Real State of Society.

§ 1. It was universally believed by the Greeks, that their native land was in the earlier ages ruled by a noble race of beings, possessing a super-human though not a divine nature, and superior to ordinary men in strength of body and greatness of soul. These are the Heroes of Grecian mythology, whose exploits and adventures form the great mine from which the Greeks derived inexhaustible materials for their poetry, —

“Presenting Thebes or Pelops’ line,
Or the tale of Troy divine.”

According to mythical chronology the Heroic Age constitutes a period of about two hundred years, from the first appearance of the Hellenes in Thessaly to the return of the Greeks from Troy. Since the legends of this period belong to mythology and not to history, they find their proper

* In the Glyptothek at Munich. — Ed.

place in a work devoted to the former subject. But some of them are so closely interwoven with the historical traditions of Greece that it is impossible to pass them by entirely. Among the heroes three stand conspicuously forth: Hercules, the national hero of Greece; Theseus, the hero of Attica; and Minos, king of Crete, the principal founder of Grecian law and civilization.

§ 2. Of all the Heroic families none was more celebrated than that of Danaus, king of Argos. In the fifth generation we find it personified in Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius, whom Zeus wooed in a shower of gold, and became by her the father of Perseus, the celebrated conqueror of Medusa. Perseus was the ancestor of Hercules, being the great-grandfather both of Alcmena and of her husband Amphitryon. According to the well-known legend, Zeus, enamored of Alcmena, assumed the form of Amphitryon in his absence, and became by her the father of Hercules. To the son thus begotten Zeus had destined the sovereignty of Argos; but the jealous anger of Hera (Juno) raised up against him an opponent and a master in the person of Eurystheus, another descendant of Perseus, at whose bidding the greatest of all heroes was to achieve those wonderful labors which filled the whole world with his fame. In these are realized, on a magnificent scale, the two great objects of ancient heroism, — the destruction of physical and moral evil, and the acquisition of wealth and power. Such, for instance, are the labors in which he destroys the terrible Nemean lion and Lernean hydra, carries off the girdle of Ares from Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons, and seizes the golden apples of the Hesperides, guarded by a hundred-headed dragon. At the same time, however, we perceive, as is the case with all the Grecian heroes, that the extraordinary endowments of Hercules did not preserve him from human weakness and error, and the consequent expiation which they demanded. After slaying in his ungovernable rage his friend and companion, Iphitus, the son of Eurytus, he is seized with sickness, becomes the slave of the Lydian queen, Omphalé, devotes himself to effeminate occupations, and sinks into luxury and wantonness. At a subsequent period another crime produces his death. The rape of Iolé, the daughter of the same Eurytus whose son he had slain, incites his wife Deianira to send him the fatal shirt, poisoned with the blood of the centaur, Nessus. Unable to endure the torments it occasions, he repairs to Mount Ceta, which becomes the scene of his apotheosis. As he lies on the funeral pile there erected for him by Hyllus, his eldest son by Deianira, a cloud descends and bears him off amidst thunder and lightning to Olympus, where he is received among the immortal gods, and, being reconciled to Hera, receives in marriage her daughter Hebé, the goddess of youth.

§ 3. Theseus was the son of Ægeus, king of Athens, and of Æthra, daughter of Pittheus, king of Trœzen. On his return to Athens Ægeus left Æthra behind him at Trœzen, enjoining her not to send their son to

Athens till he was strong enough to lift from beneath a stone of prodigious weight his father's sword and sandals, which would serve as tokens of recognition. Theseus, when grown to manhood, accomplished the appointed feat with ease, and took the road to Athens over the Isthmus of Corinth, a journey beset with many dangers from robbers, who barbarously mutilated or killed the unhappy wayfarers who fell into their hands. But Theseus overcame them all, and arrived in safety at Athens, where he was recognized by Ægeus, and declared his successor. Among his many memorable achievements the most famous was his deliverance of Athens from the frightful tribute imposed upon it by Minos for the murder of his son. This consisted of seven youths and seven maidens, whom the Athenians were compelled to send every nine years to Crete, there to be devoured by the Minotaur, a monster with a human body and a bull's head, which Minos kept concealed in an inextricable labyrinth. The third ship was already on the point of sailing with its cargo of innocent victims, when Theseus offered to go with them, hoping to put an end for ever to the horrible tribute. Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, became enamored of the hero, and having supplied him with a clew to trace the windings of the labyrinth, Theseus succeeded in killing the monster, and in tracking his way out of the mazy lair. As he returned towards Athens, the pilot forgot to hoist the white sail, agreed on as the signal of success, in place of the black sail usually carried by the vessel which bore that melancholy tribute, whereupon Ægeus, thinking that his son had perished, threw himself into the sea which afterwards bore his name.

Theseus, having now ascended the throne, proceeded to lay the foundations of the future greatness of Athens. He united into one political body the twelve independent states into which Cecrops had divided Attica, and made Athens the capital of the new kingdom. In order to accommodate the increased population of the city, he covered with buildings the ground lying to the south of the Cecropian citadel; and in commemoration of the union, he instituted the festivals of the Panathenæa and Synoikia in honor of Athena (Minerva), the patron goddess of the city. He then divided the citizens into three classes; namely, *Eupatridæ*, or nobles, *Geomori*, or husbandmen, and *Demiurgi*, or artisans. He is further said to have established a constitutional government, retaining in his own hands only certain definite powers and privileges, so that he was regarded in a later age as the founder of civil equality at Athens. He also extended the Attic territory to the confines of Peloponnesus, and established the games in honor of Poseidon (Neptune), which were celebrated on the isthmus. He subsequently engaged in a variety of adventures in conjunction with Hercules and Peirithous, king of the Lapithæ. But on his return to Athens after these exploits, the Athenians refused to obey him any longer, whereupon he retired to the island of Scyros, and was there murdered through the treachery of King Lycomedes.

§ 4. Minos, king of Crete, whose story is connected with that of Theseus, appears, like him, the representative of an historical and civil state of life. Minos is said to have received the laws of Crete immediately from Zeus; and traditions uniformly represent him as king of the sea. Possessing a numerous fleet, he reduced the surrounding islands, especially the Cyclades, under his dominion, and cleared the sea of pirates. A later legend recognizes two heroes of the name of Minos; one, the son of Zeus and Europa, who after his death became a judge in the lower world, and the other his grandson, who held the dominion of the sea.

§ 5. If, turning from the exploits of individual heroes, we examine the enterprises undertaken by a collective body of chiefs, we shall again find three expeditions more celebrated than the rest. These are the Voyage of the Argonauts, the War of the Seven against Thebes, and the Siege of Troy.

In the Voyage of the Argonauts the Æolids play the principal part. Pelias, a descendant of Æolus, had deprived his half-brother Æson of his dominion over the kingdom of Iolcus in Thessaly. When Jason, son of Æson, had grown up to manhood, he appeared before his uncle and demanded back his throne. Æson consented only on condition that Jason should first fetch the golden fleece from Æa,* a region in the farthest East, ruled by Æetes, offspring of the Sun-god. Here it was preserved in the grove of Ares (Mars), suspended upon a tree, and under the guardianship of a sleepless dragon.

The Argo, a ship built for the expedition, gave its name to the adventurers, who, under the conduct of Jason, embarked in the harbor of Iolcus, for the purpose of bringing back the fleece. They consisted of the most renowned heroes of the time. Hercules and Theseus are mentioned among them, as well as the principal leaders in the Trojan war. Jason, however, is the central figure and the real hero of the enterprise. When he and his companions arrived, after many adventures, at Æa, King Æetes promised to deliver to him the golden fleece, provided he yoked two fire-breathing oxen with brazen feet, ploughed with them a piece of land, sowed in the furrows thus made the remainder of the teeth of the dragon slain by Cadmus, and vanquished the armed men that would start from his seed. Here also, as in the legend of Theseus, love played a prominent part. Medæa, the daughter of Æetes, who was skilled in magic and supernatural arts, furnished Jason with the means of accomplishing the labors imposed upon him; and as her father still delayed to surrender the fleece, she cast the dragon asleep during the night, seized the fleece, and set sail in the Argo with her beloved Jason and his companions. Æetes pursued them; but after many long and strange wanderings, they at length reached Iolcus in safety.

* Identified by the Greeks of a later age with Colchis.

§ 6. In the Heroic Age Thebes was already one of the principal cities of Greece. Towards the close of this period it became the scene of the last struggles of a fated race, whose legendary history is so full of human crime, of the obscure warnings of the gods, and of the inevitable march of fate, as to render it one of the favorite subjects of the tragic poets of Athens.

Laius, king of Thebes, was warned by an oracle to beget no children, or he would be murdered by his son. He neglected the prediction, but to obviate its effects caused his son Œdipus by Jocasta to be exposed to death. The infant, however, was saved and carried to Corinth, where King Polybus reared him as his own. Grown up to manhood, and stung by the reproaches which he heard cast upon his birth, Œdipus consulted the Delphic oracle representing his parentage, and was warned by it not to return to his native land, as he was there destined to slay his father and commit incest with his mother. Œdipus, believing Polybus to be his real father, now avoided Corinth and took the road to Thebes, but by so doing incurred the very fate which he sought to avoid. Meeting Laius in a narrow road, he slew him in a quarrel, and then, proceeding to Thebes, obtained the hand of his mother, Queen Jocasta, promised as a reward to the man who should solve a riddle propounded by the Sphinx, a monster which had long infested the land, but which was driven to slay itself by the solution of its enigma. Two sons and two daughters were the fruit of the incestuous marriage. These horrors drew down a pestilence on the land, and in order to avert it, an oracle commanded the banishment of the murderer of Laius. The inquiries instituted to discover the guilty man revealed the fatal truth. Jocasta hangs herself; Œdipus, unable any longer to bear the light of day, puts out his eyes, and being expelled from the city by his two sons, Eteocles and Polynices, pronounces upon them a curse which speedily takes effect. In a struggle for undivided dominion, Polynices is driven out of Thebes by his brother, and, repairing to Argos, obtains the aid of King Adrastus to reinstate him in his rights. Besides that monarch and Polynices five other heroes join the expedition, making the confederacy known under the name of the "Seven against Thebes." All of them except Adrastus are slain, whilst Polynices and Eteocles fall by each other's hands.

Ten years later the sons of the allied princes undertake another expedition against Thebes in order to avenge their fathers' fate, hence called the war of the *Epigoni*, or the Descendants. It proved successful. Thebes was taken and razed to the ground after the greater part of its inhabitants had left the city on the advice of the prophet Tiresias.

§ 7. In mythological chronology the war of the *Epigoni* immediately precedes the expedition against Troy, whose legend forms the termination of the Heroic age. While it was the last, it was also the greatest of all the Heroic achievements. It formed the subject of innumerable epic poems, and has been immortalized by the genius of Homer.

Paris, son of Priam, king of Ilium or Troy, abused the hospitality of Menelaus, king of Sparta, by carrying off his wife, Helen, the most beautiful woman of the age. All the Grecian princes looked upon the outrage as one committed against themselves. Responding to the call of Menelaus, they assemble in arms, elect his brother, Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, leader of the expedition, and sail across the Ægean in nearly twelve hundred ships to recover the faithless fair one. Several of the confederate heroes excel Agamemnon in fame. Among them Achilles, chief of the Thessalian Myrmidons, stands preëminent in strength, beauty, and valor, whilst Odysseus, king of Ithaca, surpasses all the rest in the mental qualities of counsel, subtilty, and eloquence. Thus, though by opposite endowments, these two heroes form the centre of the group. Next to them we observe the aged Nestor, king of Pylus, distinguished for his wisdom and experience; the valiant Diomedes, king of Argos, son of Tydeus, slain at Thebes, and one of the Epigoni; the Telamonian Aias (Ajax) of Salamis, who, though somewhat heavy and unwieldy, is next to Achilles in person and fighting power; and lastly, Idomeneus of Crete, a grandson of Minos.

Among the Trojans, Hector, one of the sons of Priam, is most distinguished for heroic qualities, and forms a striking contrast to his handsome but effeminate brother, Paris. Next to Hector in valor stands Æneas, son of Anchises and Aphrodité (Venus). Even the gods take part in the contest, encouraging their favorite heroes, and sometimes fighting by their side or in their stead.

It is not till the tenth year of the war that Ilium yields to the inevitable decree of fate, and it is this year which forms the subject of the Iliad. Achilles, offended by Agamemnon, abstains from the war, and even entreats his mother Thetis to obtain from Zeus (Jove) victory for the Trojans. In his absence the Greeks are no match for Hector. The Trojans drive them back into their camp and are already setting fire to their ships, when Achilles gives his armor to his friend Patroclus, and allows him to charge at the head of the Myrmidons. Patroclus repulses the Trojans from the ships, but the god Apollo is against him, and he falls under the spear of Hector. Desire to avenge the death of his friend proves more powerful in the breast of Achilles than anger against Agamemnon. He appears again in the field in new and gorgeous armor, forged for him by the god Hephæstos (Vulcan) at the prayer of Thetis. The Trojans fly before him, and although Achilles is aware that his own death must speedily follow that of the Trojan hero, he slays him in single combat.

§ 8. The Iliad closes with the burial of Hector. The death of Achilles and the capture of Troy were related in later poems, as well as his victories over Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons, and Memnon, king of Æthiopia. The hero of so many achievements perishes by an arrow shot by

the unwarlike Paris, but directed by the hand of Apollo. The noblest combatants had now fallen on either side, and force of arms had proved unable to accomplish what stratagem at length effected. It is Odysseus (Ulysses) who now steps into the foreground and becomes the real conqueror of Troy. By his advice a wooden horse is built, in whose inside he and other heroes conceal themselves. The infatuated Trojans admit the horse within their walls. In the dead of night the Greeks rush out and open the gates to their comrades. Ilium is delivered over to the sword, and its glory sinks in ashes.

§ 9. The return of the Grecian leaders from Troy forms another series of poetical legends. Several meet with tragical ends. Agamemnon is murdered, on his arrival at Mycenæ, by his wife, Clytæmnestra, and her paramour, Ægisthus. Diomedes, who also finds his house defiled, is driven from Argos and settles in Italy. But of these wanderings the most celebrated and interesting are those of Odysseus (Ulysses), which form the subject of the *Odyssey*. After twenty years' absence he arrives at length in Ithaca, where he slays the numerous suitors who devoured his substance and contended for the hand of his wife, Penelope.

§ 10. It has been already stated that the Trojan war closes the Heroic age, and the poet Hesiod relates that the divine race of heroes was exhausted before the walls of Thebes and on the plain of Ilium. As the Trojan war was thus supposed to mark an epoch in Grecian history, great pains were taken in the later periods of antiquity to fix its date. That of Eratosthenes, a grammarian at Alexandria, enjoyed most credit, which placed the fall of that city four hundred and seven years before the first Olympiad, and consequently in the year 1184 B. C.

§ 11. In relating the legends of the Heroic Age we have made no attempt to examine their origin, or to deduce from them any historical facts. All such attempts are in our opinion vain and fruitless. Whether there were real persons of the name of Hercules, Theseus, and Minos can neither be affirmed nor denied. Our only reason for believing in their existence is the tradition of the Greeks respecting them; and knowing how worthless is tradition, especially when handed down by a rude and unlettered people, we cannot accept the Grecian heroes as real personages upon such evidence. It has been supposed by many modern writers, that the wonderful story of the Argonauts took its rise from the adventurous voyages of early Greek mariners to the coasts of the Euxine; that the expeditions of the "Seven against Thebes" and their descendants represented in a legendary form an actual contest between Argos and Thebes; and that the Homeric tale of the Trojan war was based upon historical facts. But for such statements we have no authority. They are at the best only probable conjectures. While, therefore, we do not deny the possibility of an historical Trojan war, we cannot accept it as a fact supported by trustworthy evidence, since Homer is our sole authority for it.

§ 12. Although the Homeric poems cannot be received as a record of historical persons and events, yet they present a valuable picture of the institutions and manners of a real state of society. Homer lived in an age in which antiquarian research was unknown; his poems were addressed to unlettered hearers, and any description of life and manners which did not correspond to the state of things around them would have been unintelligible and uninteresting to his contemporaries. In addition to this, there is an artless simplicity in his descriptions which forces upon every reader the conviction that the poet drew his pictures from real life, and not from an antiquated past or from imaginary ideas of his own. The description which he gives of the government, manners, society, and customs of his age demands our attentive consideration, since with it our knowledge of the Greek people commences.



Gate of Lions at Mycenæ.

CHAPTER III.

STATE OF SOCIETY OF THE HEROIC AGE.

§ 1. Political Condition of Greece. — The Kings. § 2. The *Boulé*, or Council of Chiefs. § 3. The *Agora*, or General Assembly of Freemen. § 4. The Condition of common Freemen and Slaves. § 5. State of Social and Moral Feeling. § 6. Simplicity of Manners. § 7. Advances made in Civilization. § 8. Commerce and the Arts. § 9. The Physical Sciences. § 10. The Art of War.

§ 1. IN the Heroic Age Greece was already divided into a number of independent states, each governed by its own king. The authority of the king was not limited by any laws; his power resembled that of the patriarchs in the Old Testament; and for the exercise of it he was responsible only to Zeus, and not to his people. It was from the Olympian god that his ancestors had received the supremacy, and he transmitted it, as a divine inheritance, to his son. He had the sole command of his people in war, he administered to them justice in peace, and he offered up on their behalf prayers and sacrifices to the gods. He was the general, judge, and priest of his people. They looked up to him with reverence as a being of divine descent and divine appointment; but at the same time he was obliged to possess personal superiority, both of body and mind, to keep alive this feeling in his subjects. It was necessary that he should be brave in war, wise in counsel, and eloquent in debate. If a king became weak in body or feeble in mind, he could not easily retain his position; but as long as his personal qualities commanded the respect of his subjects, they quietly submitted to acts of violence and caprice. An ample domain was assigned to him for his support, and he received frequent presents to avert his enmity and gain his favor.

Although the king was not restrained in the exercise of his power by any positive laws, there were, even in the Heroic Age, two bodies which must practically have limited his authority, and which became in republican Greece the sole depositaries of political power. These were the *Boulé*, or council of chiefs, and the *Agora*, or general assembly of freemen.

§ 2. The king was surrounded by a limited number of nobles or chiefs, to whom the title of *Basileus* was given, as well as to the monarch himself. Like the king, they traced their descent from the gods, and formed his *Boulé*, or Council, to which he announced the resolutions he had already formed, and from which he asked advice. The *Boulé* possessed no veto upon the measures of the king, and far less could it originate any measure itself. This is strikingly shown by the submissive manner in which Nestor tenders his advice to Agamemnon, to be adopted or rejected, as the "king of men" might choose,* and by the description which Homer frequently gives of the meetings of the gods in Olympus, which are evidently taken from similar meetings of men upon earth. In heaven, Zeus, like the Homeric king, presides in the councils of the gods and listens to their advice, but forms his own resolutions, which he then communicates to them.

§ 3. When the king had announced his determination to the Council, he proceeded with his nobles to the *Agora*. The king occupied the most important seat in the assembly, with the nobles by his side, while the people sat in a circle around them. The king opened the meeting by announcing his intentions, and the nobles were then allowed to address the people. But no one else had the right to speak; no vote was taken; the people simply listened to the debate between the chiefs; and the assembly served only as a means for promulgating the intentions of the king. It is true that this assembly formed a germ, out of which the sovereignty of the people subsequently sprang; but in the Heroic Age the king was the only person who possessed any political power, and Homer expresses the general feeling of his time in the memorable lines, — "The rule of many is not a good thing: let us have only one ruler, one king, — him to whom Zeus has given the sceptre and the authority."† There was another important purpose for which the *Agora* was summoned. It was in the *Agora* that justice was administered by the king, sometimes alone and sometimes with the assistance of his nobles. It may be remarked in passing, that this public administration of justice must have had a powerful tendency to check corruption and secure righteous judgments.

§ 4. The Greeks in the Heroic Age were divided into the three classes of nobles, common freemen,‡ and slaves. § The nobles were raised far above the rest of the community in honor, power, and wealth. They were distinguished by their warlike prowess, their large estates, and their

* *Iliad*, ix. 95 – 101.

‡ *δῆμος, λαοί.*

† *Iliad*, ii. 203 – 206.

§ *δμῶες.*

numerous slaves. The condition of the general mass of freemen is rarely mentioned. They possessed portions of land as their own property, which they cultivated themselves: but there was another class of poor freemen, called *Thêtes*, who had no land of their own, and who worked for hire on the estates of others. Among the freemen we find certain professional persons, whose acquirements and knowledge raised them above their class, and procured for them the respect of the nobles. Such were the seer, the bard, the herald, and likewise the smith and the carpenter, since in that age a knowledge of the mechanical arts was confined to a few.

Slavery was not so prevalent in the Heroic Age as in republican Greece, and it appears in a less odious aspect. The nobles alone possessed slaves, and they treated them with a great degree of kindness, which frequently secured for the masters their affectionate attachment.

§ 5. The state of social and moral feeling in the Heroic Age presents both bright and dark features. Among the Greeks, as among every people which has just emerged from barbarism, the family relations are the grand sources of lasting union and devoted attachment. The paternal authority was highly revered, and nothing was so much dreaded as the curse of an offended father. All the members of a family or a clan were connected by the closest ties, and were bound to revenge with their united strength an injury offered to any individual of the race. The women were allowed greater liberty than they possessed in republican Greece; and to Penelope, Andromache, and other women of the Heroic Age, there is an interest attaching, which we never feel in the women of the historical period. The wife occupied a station of great dignity and influence in the family, but was purchased by her husband from her parents by valuable presents,* a custom which prevailed among the ancient Jews and the barbarous nations of Germany. In the Heroic Age, as in other early stages of society, we find the stranger treated with generous hospitality. The chief welcomes him to his house, and does not inquire his name nor the object of his journey till he has placed before him his best cheer. If the stranger comes as a suppliant, he has a still greater claim upon his host, — although this tie may expose the latter to difficulty and danger, and may even bring upon him the hostility of a more powerful neighbor; for Jove punishes without mercy the man who disregards the prayer of a suppliant.

The three facts we have mentioned — the force of the family relations, hospitality to the stranger, and protection to the suppliant — form the bright features in the social and moral feelings of the age. We now turn to the darker side of the picture.

The poems of Homer represent a state of society in which the protection of law is practically unknown. The chief who cannot defend himself

* Called *ἑδνα*, or *ἔδνα*.

is plundered and maltreated by his more powerful neighbor. The occupation of a pirate is reckoned honorable; homicides are of frequent occurrence; and war is conducted with the most ferocious cruelty. Quarter is rarely given; the fallen foe is stripped of his armor, which becomes the spoil of his conqueror, and if the naked corpse remains in the power of the latter, it is cast out to beasts of prey. The poet ascribes to his greatest heroes savage brutalities. Achilles sacrifices twelve human victims on the tomb of Patroclus, and drags the corpse of Hector around the walls of Troy, while the Greek chiefs pierce it with their spears.

§ 6. The society of the Heroic Age was marked by simplicity of manners. The kings and nobles did not consider it derogatory to their dignity to acquire skill in the manual arts. Ulysses is represented as building his own bed-chamber and constructing his own raft, and he boasts of being an excellent mower and ploughman. Like Esau, who made savory meat for his father Isaac, the Heroic chiefs prepared their own meals and prided themselves on their skill in cookery. Kings and private persons partook of the same food, which was of the simplest kind. Beef, mutton, and goat's flesh were the ordinary meats, and cheese, flour, and sometimes fruits, also formed part of the banquet. Bread was brought on in baskets, and the guests were supplied with wine diluted with water. Before drinking, some of the wine was poured on the ground as a libation to the gods, and the guests then pledged each other with their cups. But their entertainments were never disgraced by intemperance, like those of our Northern ancestors. The enjoyment of the banquet was heightened by the song and the dance, and the chiefs took more delight in the lays of the minstrel than in the exciting influence of the wine.

The wives and daughters of the chiefs, in like manner, did not deem it beneath them to discharge various duties which were afterwards regarded as menial. Not only do we find them constantly employed in weaving, spinning, and embroidery, but, like the daughters of the patriarchs, they fetch water from the well and assist their slaves in washing garments in the river.

§ 7. Although the Heroic Age is strongly marked by martial ferocity and simplicity of habits, it would be an error to regard it as one essentially rude and barbarous. On the contrary, the Greeks in this early period had already made considerable advances in civilization, and had successfully cultivated many of the arts which contribute to the comfort and refinement of life. Instead of living in scattered villages like the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, they were collected in fortified towns, which were surrounded by walls and adorned with palaces and temples. The houses of the nobles were magnificent and costly, glittering with gold, silver, and bronze, while the nobles themselves were clothed in elegant garments and protected by highly-wrought armor. From the Phœnician merchants they obtained the finest productions of the Sidonian loom, as well as tin, iron,

and electrum. They travelled with rapidity in chariots drawn by high-bred steeds, and they navigated the sea with ease in fifty-oared galleys. Property in land was transmitted from father to son; agriculture was extensively practised, and vineyards carefully cultivated. It is true that Homer may have occasionally drawn upon his imagination in his brilliant pictures of the palaces of the chiefs and of their mode of living, but the main features must have been taken from life, and we possess even in the present day memorials of the Heroic Age which strikingly attest its grandeur. The remains of Mycenæ and Tiryns and the emissaries of the lake Copais belong to this period. The massive ruins of these two cities, and the sculptured lions on the gate of Mycenæ, still excite the wonder of the beholder.* The emissaries or tunnels which the inhabitants of Orchomenus constructed to carry off the waters of the lake Copais, in Bœotia, are even more striking proofs of the civilization of the age. A people who felt the necessity of such works, and who possessed sufficient industry and skill to execute them, must have already made great advances in social life.†

§ 8. Commerce, however, was little cultivated, and was not much esteemed. It was deemed more honorable for a man to enrich himself by robbery and piracy than by the arts of peace. The trade of the Mediterranean was then exclusively in the hands of the Phœnicians, who exchanged the commodities of the East for the landed produce and slaves of the Greek chiefs. Commerce was carried on by barter; for coined money is not mentioned in the poems of Homer. Statuary was already cultivated in this age, as we see from the remains of Mycenæ, already mentioned; and although no paintings are spoken of in Homer, yet his descriptions of the works of embroidery prove that his contemporaries must have been acquainted with the art of design. Whether the Greeks were acquainted at this early period with the art of writing is a question that has given rise to much dispute, and which will demand our attention when we come to speak of the origin of the Homeric poems. Poetry, however, was cultivated with success, though yet confined to epic strains, or the narration of the exploits and adventures of the Heroic chiefs. The bard sung his own song, and was always received with welcome and honor in the palaces of the nobles.

§ 9. In the state of society already described, men had not yet begun to study those phenomena of nature which form the basis of the physical sciences. They conceived the earth to be a plane surface surrounded by an ever-flowing river called Oceanus, from which every other river and sea derived their waters. The sky was regarded as a solid vault supported by Atlas, who kept heaven and earth asunder. Their geographical

* See drawings on pp. 9, 24.

† One of these tunnels is nearly four English miles in length, with numerous shafts let down into it. One shaft is about 150 feet deep.

knowledge was confined to the shores of Greece and Asia Minor and the principal islands of the Ægean Sea. Beyond those limits all was uncertain and obscure. Italy appears to have been unknown to Homer, and Sicily he peoples with the fabulous Cyclops. Libya, Egypt, and Phœnicia were known only by vague hearsay, while the Euxine is not mentioned at all.*

§ 10. In the battles of the Heroic Age, as depicted in the poems of Homer, the chiefs are the only important combatants, while the people are introduced as an almost useless mass, frequently put to rout by the prowess of a single hero. The chief is mounted in a war-chariot drawn by two horses, and stands by the side of his charioteer, who is frequently a friend. He carries into battle two long spears, and wears a long sword and a short dagger; his person is protected by shield, helmet, breastplate, and greaves. In the wars, as in the political system, of the Heroic Age, the chiefs are everything and the people nothing.

* This is rather too strongly expressed. Phœnicia and Egypt were doubtless well known to the Greeks in the Heroic Age. — ED.



Greek Warrior.



Hercules and Bull. (From a bas-relief in the Vatican.)

CHAPTER IV.

RETURN OF THE HERACLEIDÆ INTO PELOPONNESUS, AND FOUNDATION OF THE EARLIEST GREEK COLONIES.

§ 1. The Mythical Character of the Narrative of these Events. § 2. Migration of the Bœotians from Thessaly into Bœotia. § 3. Conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians. § 4. The Legendary Account of this Event. The Invasion. § 5. The Legendary Account continued. The Division of Peloponnesus among the Conquerors. § 6. Remarks upon the Legendary Account. § 7. Foundation of the Greek Colonies in Asia Minor. § 8. The Æolic Colonies. § 9. The Ionic Colonies. § 10. The Doric Colonies. § 11. Colonization of Crete by the Dorians. § 12. Conclusion of the Mythical Age.

§ 1. AT the commencement of Grecian history in the first Olympiad we find the greater part of Peloponnesus occupied by tribes of Dorian conquerors, and the western shores of Asia Minor covered by Greek colonies. The time at which these settlements were made is quite uncertain. They belong to a period long antecedent to all historical records, and were known to the Greeks of a later age by tradition alone. The accounts given of them are evidently fabulous, but at the same time these stories are founded upon a basis of historical truth. That Peloponnesus was at some early period conquered by the Dorians, and that Greek colonies were planted in Asia, are facts which admit of no dispute; but whether the conquest of Peloponnesus and the colonization of Asia Minor took place in the manner and at the time described by the ancient legends, is a very different question. These legends are not entitled to more credit than those of Hercules and Theseus, although they are proved in these

particular cases to have been fashioned out of real events ; for, as we have already said, it is impossible to separate the historical facts from the subsequent embellishments.

§ 2. Before relating the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians, we must say a few words respecting an earlier, though less celebrated, migration, namely, that of the Bœotians from Thessaly into Bœotia. The Thessalians were a rude and uncivilized race, who originally dwelt in the district of Epirus, called Thesprotia, from which they migrated into the country named after them, Thessaly. These Thessalian conquerors either subdued or expelled the original inhabitants of the country. The Bœotians, who inhabited the fertile district of Æolis, in the centre of Thessaly, wandered southwards into the country called after them Bœotia, where they drove out in their turn the ancient inhabitants of the land. According to mythical chronology this event happened in 1124 B. C., or sixty years after the fall of Troy.

§ 3. The conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians is said to have taken place twenty years after the expulsion of the Bœotians from Thessaly, and was accordingly placed in 1104 B. C. We have already seen that these dates are of no historical value ; and the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus probably took place after the time of Homer, since neither in the *Iliad* nor in the *Odyssey* do we find any traces of Dorians in Peloponnesus. The Dorians were a warlike tribe in Northern Greece, who had frequently changed their homes, and who at length settled in a mountainous district between Thessaly, Locris, and Phocis. They now appear for the first time in Grecian history. They had no share in the glories of the Heroic Age ; their name does not occur in the *Iliad*, and they are only once mentioned in the *Odyssey* as a small portion of the many tribes of Crete : but they were destined to form in historical times one of the most important elements of the Greek nation. Issuing from their mountain fastnesses, they overran the greater part of Peloponnesus, destroyed the ancient Achæan monarchies, and expelled or reduced to subjection the original inhabitants of the land, of which they became the undisputed masters. This brief statement contains all that we know for certain respecting this celebrated event. We now proceed to give the mythical account.

§ 4. The Dorians were led to the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Heracleidæ, or descendants of the mighty hero, Hercules. Hence this migration is called the Return of the Heracleidæ. The children of Hercules had long been fugitives upon the earth. They had made many attempts to regain possession of the dominions in the Peloponnesus of which their great sire had been deprived by Eurystheus, but hitherto without success. In their last attempt, Hyllus, the son of Hercules, had perished in single combat with Echemus of Tegea ; and the Heracleidæ had become bound by a solemn compact to renounce their enterprise for a hundred years. This period had now expired ; and the great-grand-

sons of Hyllus — Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus — resolved to make a fresh attempt to recover their birthright. They were assisted in the enterprise by the Dorians. This people espoused their cause in consequence of the aid which Hercules himself had rendered to the Dorian king, Ægimius, when the latter was hard pressed in the contest with the Lapithæ. The invaders were warned by an oracle not to enter Peloponnesus by the Isthmus of Corinth, but across the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf. The inhabitants of the northern coast of the gulf were favorable to their enterprise. Oxylus, king of the Ætoliæ, became their guide; and the Ozolian Locrians granted them a port for building their fleet, from which memorable circumstance the harbor was soon afterwards called Naupactus.* Here Aristodemus was struck by lightning and died, leaving twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles; but his remaining brothers crossed over the gulf in safety, landed in Achaia, and marched against Tisamenus, son of Orestes, then the most powerful monarch in Peloponnesus. A single battle decided the contest. Tisamenus was defeated, and retired with a portion of his Achæan subjects to the northern coast of Peloponnesus, then occupied by the Ionians. He expelled the Ionians, and took possession of the country, which continued henceforth to be inhabited by the Achæans, and to be called after them. The Ionians withdrew to Attica, and the greater part of them afterwards emigrated to Asia Minor.

§ 5. The Heracleidæ and the Dorians now divided between them the dominions of Tisamenus and of the other Achæan princes. The kingdom of Elis was given to Oxylus as a recompense for his services as their guide; and it was agreed that Temenus, Cresphontes, and the infant sons of Aristodemus should draw lots for Argos, Sparta, and Messenia. Argos fell to Temenus, Sparta to the sons of Aristodemus, and Messenia to Cresphontes.

The settlement of the conquerors in their new territories is said to have been made with scarcely any opposition. The Epæans, who inhabited Elis, submitted to Oxylus and his Ætoliæ after their king had been killed in single combat by one of the Ætolian chiefs. From this time the Epæans disappear from history, and their place is supplied by the Elæans, who are represented as descendants of the Ætolian conquerors.

The share of Temenus originally comprehended only Argos and its immediate neighborhood; but his sons and sons-in-law successively occupied Træzen, Epidaurus, Ægina, Sicyon, and Phlius, which thus became Doric states.

The sons of Aristodemus obtained possession of Sparta by the treason of an Achæan, named Philonomus, who received as a recompense the neighboring town and territory of Amyclæ. The towns are said to have

* From ναῦς, "a ship," and the root παγ, which occurs in πῆγνυμι, "fasten" "build."

submitted without resistance, with the exception of Helos, the inhabitants of which were, as a punishment, reduced to slavery, thus giving rise to the class of slaves or serfs called Helots.

Messenia yielded to Cresphontes without a struggle. Melanthus, who ruled over the country as the representative of the race of the Pylian Nestor, withdrew to Attica with a portion of his subjects.

Corinth was not conquered by the Dorians till the next generation. One of the descendants of Hercules, named Hippôtēs, had put to death the seer Carnus, when the Heracleidæ were on the point of embarking at Naupactus. He had in consequence been banished for ten years, and was not allowed to take part in the enterprise. His son, Alêtēs, who derived his name from his long wanderings, subsequently attacked Corinth at the head of a body of Dorians. The mighty dynasty of the Sisypheids was expelled, and many of the Æolian inhabitants emigrated to foreign lands.

§ 6. Such are the main features of the legend of the Return of the Heracleidæ. In order to make the story more striking and impressive, it compresses into a single epoch events which probably occupied several generations. It is in itself improbable that the brave Achæans quietly submitted to the Dorian invaders after a momentary struggle. We have, moreover, many indications that such was not the fact, and that it was only gradually and after a long-protracted contest that the Dorians became undisputed masters of the greater part of Peloponnesus. The imagination loves to assign to one cause the results of numerous and different actions. Thus in our own history we used to read that the conquest of England by the Normans was completed by the battle of Hastings, in which Harold fell, whereas we now know that the Saxons long continued to offer a formidable resistance to the Norman invaders, and that the latter did not become undisputed masters of the country for two or three generations.

That portion of the tradition which makes the Dorians to have been conducted into Peloponnesus by princes of Achæan blood, may safely be rejected, notwithstanding the general belief of the fact in ancient times. The Dorians, as we have already seen, were poor in mythical renown; and it would appear that the royal family at Sparta, though of Dorian origin, claimed Hercules as their founder in order to connect themselves with the ancient glories of the Achæan race. They thus became the representatives of Agamemnon and Orestes; and in the Persian war the Spartans on one occasion laid claim to the supreme command of the Grecian forces in consequence of this connection. We cannot err in supposing the story to be a fabrication of later times, seeing that there are such obvious reasons for its forgery, and such inherent improbability in its truth.

§ 7. The foundation of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor is closely connected in the legends with the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians. There is nothing improbable in the statement, that the original inhabitants,

who had been dislodged by the invaders, sought new homes on the coasts of Asia Minor; but in this case, as in the conquest of Peloponnesus, many separate occurrences are unquestionably grouped into one. The stream of migration probably continued to flow across the *Ægean* from Greece to Asia Minor for several generations. New adventurers constantly joined the colonists who were already settled in the country, and thus in course of time the various Greek cities were founded, which were spread over the western coast of Asia Minor, from the Propontis on the north to Lycia on the south. These cities were divided among the three great races of *Æolians*, *Ionians*, and *Dorians*, — the *Æolians* occupying the northern portion of the coast, together with the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos, the *Ionians* the central part, with the islands of Chios, Samos, and the Cyclades, and the *Dorians* the southwestern corner, with the islands of Rhodes and Cos.

§ 8. The *Æolic* colonies are said to have been the earliest. *Achæans*, who had been driven out of Peloponnesus by the *Dorians*, were led by their native princes, the descendants of *Orestes*, to seek new homes in the East. In *Boeotia* they were joined by a part both of the original inhabitants of the country and of their *Boeotian* conquerors. From the latter, who were *Æolians*, the migration is called the *Æolic*, but sometimes also the *Boeotian*. The united body of emigrants, however, still continued under the command of the *Achæan* princes. They embarked at the port of *Aulis*, from which *Agamemnon* had sailed against *Troy*. They first occupied *Lesbos*, where they founded six cities; and a detachment of them settled on the opposite coast of Asia Minor, from the foot of Mount *Ida* to the mouth of the river *Hermus*. *Smyrna* was originally an *Æolic* city, but it afterwards passed into the hands of the *Ionians*. In the historical times there were eleven *Æolic* cities on the mainland, but of these *Cymæ* was the only one which rose to importance.*

§ 9. The *Ionic* migration was more important than the preceding one, and gave rise to some of the most flourishing cities in the Hellenic world. It derived its name from the *Ionians*, who had been expelled by the *Achæans* from their homes on the *Corinthian Gulf*, and had taken refuge in *Attica*. The *Ionians*, however, appear to have formed only a small part of the emigrants. Inhabitants from many other parts of Greece, who had been driven out of their native countries, had also fled to *Attica*, which is said to have afforded protection and welcome to all these fugitives. The small territory of *Attica* could not permanently support this increase of population; and accordingly these strangers resolved to follow the example of the *Æolians* and seek new settlements in the East. They were led by princes of the family of *Codrus*, the last king of *Attica*. In their pas-

* The names of the eleven *Æolic* cities were *Cymæ*, *Temnos*, *Larissa*, *Neon-Tychos*, *Ægæ*, *Myrina*, *Grynium*, *Cilla*, *Notium*, *Ægiroëssa*, *Pitanë*.

sage across the Ægean Sea they colonized most of the Cyclades ; and in Asia Minor they took possession of the fertile country from the Hermus to the Mæander, which was henceforth called Ionia, and also of the neighboring islands of Chios and Samos. In this district we find twelve independent states in later times, all of which adopted the Ionic name, notwithstanding the diversity of their origin, and were united by the common worship of the god Poseidon (Neptune) at the great Pan-Ionic festival.* There can be no doubt that these cities were really founded at different periods and by different emigrants, although their origin is ascribed to the great legendary migration of which we have been speaking, and which is referred by chronologists to one special year, one hundred and forty years after the Trojan war.



Map of the chief Greek Colonies in Asia Minor.

* The names of the twelve Ionic cities, enumerated from south to north, were Miletus, Mytilene, Priene, Samos, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Erythrae, Chios, Clazomenae, Rhodæ. To these twelve Smyrna was afterwards added.

§ 10. The Doric colonies in the southwestern corner of Asia Minor and in the neighboring islands may be traced in like manner to the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians. In the general change of population and consequent emigrations caused by this important event, some of the Doric chiefs were also induced to quit the country they had recently subdued, and to lead bodies of their own countrymen and of the conquered Achæans to Asia. The most celebrated of the Doric migrations was that conducted by the Argive Althæmenes, a descendant of Temenus, who, after leaving some of his followers at Crete, proceeded with the remainder to the island of Rhodes, where he founded the three cities of Lindus, Ialysus, and Camîrus. About the same time Dorians settled in the neighboring island of Cos, and founded the cities of Halicarnassus and Cnidus on the mainland. These six colonies formed a confederation, usually called the Doric Hexapolis.

§ 11. Doric colonies were also founded in mythical times in the islands of Crete, Melos, and Thera. The colonization of Crete more particularly deserves our attention, on account of the similarity of the institutions of its Doric cities to those of Sparta. There were Dorians in Crete in the time of the Odyssey, but their chief migrations to this island took place in the third generation after their conquest of Peloponnesus. Of these two are expressly mentioned, one conducted under the auspices of Sparta, and the other by the Argive Althæmenes. Of the latter we have already spoken; the former consisted chiefly of Minyans, who had been settled at Amyclæ by the Achæan Philonomus, to whom the Spartans had granted this city on account of his treachery, as has been already related. These Minyans, having revolted against Sparta, were sent out of the country as emigrants, but accompanied by many Spartans. They sailed towards Crete, and in their passage settled some of their number in the island of Melos, which remained faithful to Lacedæmon, even in the time of the Peloponnesian war. In Crete they founded Gortys and Lyctus, which are mentioned as Spartan colonies. The Doric colonists in Crete were anxious to connect themselves with the mythical glories of Minos, and consequently ascribed their political and social institutions to this celebrated hero. Hence the tradition arose that the Spartan institutions were borrowed by Lycurgus from those of Crete; but it seems more probable that their similarity was owing to their common origin, and that the Dorians of Crete brought from the mother country usages which they sought to hallow by the revered name of Minos.

§ 12. The Return of the Heracleidæ and the foundation of the above-mentioned colonies form the conclusion of the Mythical Age. From this time to the commencement of authentic history in the first Olympiad, there is a period of nearly three hundred years, according to the common chronology. Of this long period we have scarcely any record. But this ought not to excite our surprise. The subjects of mythical narrative are drawn,

not from recent events, but from an imaginary past, which is supposed to be separated from the present by an indefinite number of years. Originally no attempt was made to assign any particular date to the grand events of the Mythical Age. It was sufficient for the earlier Greeks to believe that their gods and heroes were removed from them by a vast number of generations; and it was not till a later time that the literary men of Greece endeavored to count backwards to the Mythical Age, and to affix dates to the chief events in legendary Greece.



Temple of Ares in Halicarnassus.



Homer enthroned.

CHAPTER V.

THE POEMS OF HOMER.

§ 1. Importance of the Subject. § 2. Rise of Poetry in Greece. Epic Ballads preparatory to the Epopee. § 3. The Poems of the Epic Cycle, in which the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were included. § 4. Diversity of Opinions respecting the Life and Date of Homer. § 5. *Iliad* and *Odyssey* recited to Public Companies by the Rhapsodists. § 6. A standard Text of the Poems first formed by Peisistratus. § 7. Modern Controversy respecting the Origin of the Homeric Poems. Prolegomena of Wolf. § 8. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were originally not committed to writing. § 9. They were preserved by the Rhapsodists. § 10. They did not consist originally of separate Lays, but were composed by one Poet, as is shown by their Poetical Unity.

§ 1. No history of Greece would be complete without some account of the poems of Homer, and of the celebrated controversy to which they have given rise in modern times. Homer was called by the Greeks themselves *The Poet*. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were the Greek Bible. They were the ultimate standard of appeal on all matters of religious doctrine and early history. They were learnt by boys at school, they were the study of men in their riper years, and even in the time of Socrates there were Athenian gentlemen who could repeat both poems by heart. In whatever part of the ancient world a Greek settled, he carried with him a love for the great poet; and long after the Greek people had lost their

independence the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* continued to maintain an undiminished hold upon their affections. No production of profane literature has exercised so wide and long-continued an influence, and consequently the history of these poems demands and deserves our careful attention.

§ 2. The origin of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* cannot be understood without a short account of the rise of poetry in Greece. Among the Greeks, as among all other nations, poetry was cultivated before prose. The first poetical compositions appear to have been hymns addressed to the gods, or simple ballads recounting the adventures and exploits of some favorite hero. We have already seen that the Greeks of the Heroic Age were passionately fond of poetry, and that the entertainments of the nobles were enlivened by the songs of the bard. Originally these songs appear to have been short, unconnected lays. They may be regarded as epic poems in the more indefinite sense of the term, since they perpetuated and adorned the memory of great men or great deeds. The next important step in the progress of popular poetry was to combine these separate epical songs into one comprehensive whole. Such a poem may be called an *Epopée*, and presents a much more advanced state of the art. It requires genius of a far higher order, a power of combination and construction, not needed in poems of the former class. Short epical poems appear to have existed before the time of Homer, as we may infer from the *Lay of the Trojan Horse*, sung by the bard Demodocus in the *Odyssey*; but the construction of the *epopée*, or the epic poem in the nobler sense, is probably to be attributed to the genius of Homer.

§ 3. A large number of these epic poems were extant in antiquity. We know the titles of more than thirty of them. Their subjects were all taken from the Greek legends. They were arranged by the grammarians of Alexandria, about the second century before the Christian era, in a chronological series, beginning with the intermarriage of Heaven and Earth, and concluding with the death of Odysseus by the hands of his son Telegonus. This collection was known by the name of the *Epic Cycle*, and the poets whose works formed part of it were called *Cyclic poets*. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were comprised in the Cycle, and consequently the name of *Cyclic poet* did not originally carry with it any association of contempt. But as the best poems in the Cycle were spoken of by themselves or by the titles of their separate authors, the general name of *Cyclic poets* came to be applied only to the worst, especially as many of the inferior poems in the Cycle appear to have been anonymous. Hence we can understand why Horace* and others speak in such disparaging terms of the *Cyclic writers*, and how the inferiority of the *Cyclic poems* is contrasted with the excellence of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, although the latter had been originally included among them.

* "Nec sic incipies, ut scriptor cyclicus olim." — Hor. *Ars Poet.* 187.

§ 4. All these poems are now lost with the exception of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which stood out prominently above all the others. Throughout the flourishing period of Greek literature these unrivalled works were universally regarded as the productions of a single mind. At a later time some of the Alexandrine grammarians attributed the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to two different authors; but this innovation in the popular belief was never regarded with much favor, and obtained few converts.* Although antiquity was nearly unanimous in ascribing the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to Homer, there was very little agreement respecting the place of his birth, the details of his life, or the time in which he lived. Nor is this surprising. His poems were the productions of an age in which writing was either totally unknown or at all events little practised, and which was unaccustomed to anything like historical investigation. Seven cities laid claim to his birth,† and most of them had legends to tell respecting his romantic parentage, his alleged blindness, and his life of an itinerant bard acquainted with poverty and sorrow. It cannot be disputed that he was an Asiatic Greek; but this is the only fact in his life which can be regarded as certain. Several of the best writers of antiquity supposed him to have been a native of the island of Chios, where there existed a poetical gens or fraternity of Homerids, who traced their descent from a divine progenitor of this name. Most modern scholars believe Smyrna to have been his birthplace. The discrepancies respecting his date are no less worthy of remark. The different epochs assigned to him offer a diversity of nearly five hundred years. Herodotus places Homer four hundred years before himself, according to which he lived about B. C. 850. This date, or a little later, appears more probable than any other. He must be placed before the first Olympiad, or B. C. 776; while, if we suppose him to have lived very long before that epoch, it becomes still more wonderful that his poems should have come down from such an age and society to historical times.

§ 5. The mode in which these poems were preserved has occasioned great controversy in modern times. On this point we shall speak presently; but even if they were committed to writing by the poet himself, and were handed down to posterity in this manner, it is certain that they were rarely read. We must endeavor to realize the difference between ancient Greece and our own times. During the most flourishing period of Athenian literature, manuscripts were indifferently written, without division into parts and without marks of punctuation. They were scarce and costly, could only be obtained by the wealthy, and only read by those who had had considerable literary training. Under these circumstances the Greeks could never become a reading people; and thus the great mass

* The grammarians who maintained the separate origin of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were called *Chorizontes* (χωρίζοντες) or Separatists.

† "Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, Salamis, Rhodes, Argos, Athens, Orbis de patria certant, Homere, tua."

even of the Athenians became acquainted with the productions of the leading poets of Greece only by hearing them recited at their solemn festivals and on other public occasions. This was more strikingly the case at an earlier period. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were not read by individuals in private, but were sung or recited at festivals or to assembled companies. They were addressed to the ear and feelings of a sympathizing multitude; and much of the impression which they produced must have been owing to the talent of the reciter, and would have disappeared altogether in solitary reading. The bard originally sung his own lays to the accompaniment of his lyre. He was succeeded by a body of professional reciters, called *Rhapsodists*,* who rehearsed the poems of others. They employed no musical accompaniment, and depended solely for effect upon voice and manner. They travelled from town to town, bearing in their hands a laurel branch or wand as their badge of office; and many of them seem to have acquired great excellence in their art. We do not know at what time the rhapsodist succeeded to the bard; but the class of professional reciters must have arisen as epic poetry ceased to be produced; and it is certain that before the time of Solon the epic poems were recited exclusively by the Rhapsodists, either in short fragments before private companies, or as continuous poems at public festivals.

§ 6. In early times the Rhapsodists appear to have had exclusive possession of the Homeric poems. But in the seventh century before the Christian era, literary culture began to prevail among the Greeks; and men of education and wealth were naturally desirous of obtaining copies of the great poet of the nation. From this cause copies came to be circulated among the Greeks; but most of them contained only separate portions of the poems, or single rhapsodies, as they were called. Entire copies of such extensive works must have been very rare at this early period of literature. The way in which the separate parts should be arranged seems to have given rise to some dispute; and it was found that there were numerous variations in the text of different copies. The very popularity and wide extension of the poems contributed to the corruption of the text. Since the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were the recognized standard of early history and mythology, each tribe was anxious that honorable mention should be made of their heroes and their race in these poems, and endeavored to supply such omissions by interpolating passages favorable to themselves. The Rhapsodists also introduced alterations, and, in order to gratify their vanity, inserted lines of their own composition. From these causes, as well as from others, we can easily account for the variations found in the text by

* The etymology of the word Rhapsodist (*ῥαψῳδός*) is uncertain; some deriving it from the staff or wand of office (*ῥάβδος*, or *ῥάπισ*), and others from *ῥάπτειν ἀοιδῶν* to denote the coupling together of verses without any considerable pauses, — the even, unbroken flow of the epic poem as contrasted with lyric verses.

the reading class which began to be formed in the seventh century. The discovery of these varieties naturally led to measures for establishing a standard text of the national poet. Solon is said to have introduced improved regulations for the public recitations of the poems at the Athenian festivals; but it is to Peisistratus, the tyrant or despot of Athens, that the great merit is ascribed of collecting and arranging the poems in their present form, in order that they might be recited at the great Panathenaic festival at Athens. It is expressly stated by Cicero,* that Peisistratus is "reputed to have arranged the books of Homer, previously in a state of confusion, in the form in which we now possess them"; and this statement is supported by the testimony of other ancient writers. From this time, therefore, (about B. C. 530,) we may conclude that the Greeks possessed a standard text of their great poet, which formed the basis of all subsequent editions.

§ 7. We have already seen that the whole of antiquity, with scarcely an exception, regarded the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as the productions of the one poet, called Homer. This opinion continued to be held by almost all modern scholars down to the year 1795, when the celebrated German Professor, F. A. Wolf, published his *Prolegomena*, or Prefatory Essay to the *Iliad*. In this work he maintained the startling hypothesis that neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey* was composed as a distinct whole, but that they originally consisted of separate epical ballads, each constituting a single poem, and that these separate lays, which had no common purpose nor fixed arrangement, were for the first time reduced to writing and formed into the two great poems of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* by Peisistratus and his friends. Strange and startling as this theory seems, it was not entirely new. The substance of it had been already propounded by Vico, a Neapolitan writer of great originality, and by our own great countryman, Bentley; † but their opinions had not been supported by arguments, and were soon forgotten. Accordingly, the publication of Wolf's Essay took the whole literary world by surprise, and scarcely any book in modern times has effected so complete a revolution in the opinions of scholars. Even those who were the most opposed to his views have had their own opinions to some extent modified by the arguments which he brought forward, and no one has been able to establish the old doctrine in its original integrity. It is impossible in the present work to enter into the details of the controversy to which Wolf's Essay has given rise. We can only endeavor to give a sketch of his principal arguments and of the chief

* De Oratore, iii. 84.

† Vico died in 1744. The words of Bentley are: "Homer wrote a sequel of songs and rhapsodies, to be sung by himself, for small earnings and good cheer, at festivals and other days of merriment; the *Iliad* he made for the men, the *Odysseys* for the other sex. These loose songs were not collected together into the form of an epic poem until five hundred years after."

objections of his opponents, stating at the same time the opinion which seems to us the most probable.

§ 8. The first argument which Wolf brought forward to support his position was, that no written copies of the Iliad and the Odyssey could be shown to have existed during the earlier times to which their composition is referred, and that, without writing, such long and complicated works could neither have been composed nor transmitted to posterity. In order to prove this, he entered into a minute discussion concerning the age of the art of writing. It is sufficient to state here a few of the more important results at which he arrived. In early times the Greeks had no easy and convenient materials for writing, such as must have been indispensable for long manuscripts like the Iliad and the Odyssey. Moreover, the traces of writing in Greece are exceedingly rare, even in the seventh century before the Christian era, and we have no remaining inscriptions earlier than the 40th Olympiad (B. C. 620). In the Homeric poems themselves there is not a single trace of the art of writing.* We find no mention of any epitaph or inscription; coins are unknown, and even the supercargo of a ship has no written list of his cargo, but is obliged to remember it.† In addition to this, the absence of the letter called Digamma in the text of the poems is a strong proof that they were not originally committed to writing. This letter existed at the time of the composition of the poems, and was constantly employed by the poet, but it had entirely vanished from the language when they were first written.

§ 9. It seems, therefore, necessary to admit the former part of Wolf's first argument, that the Iliad and Odyssey were originally not written; but does it therefore follow, that without this means such long poems could neither have been composed nor handed down to posterity? These two questions are not necessarily connected, though they have been usually discussed together. Those who have maintained the original unity of the Iliad and Odyssey, in opposition to Wolf, have generally thought it incumbent upon them to prove that the poems were written from the beginning. But this appears to us quite unnecessary. In the present day the memory has become so much weakened by the artificial aid of writing, that it may be difficult for us to conceive of the production of a long work without such assistance. But there is nothing impossible in it. Even modern poets have composed long poems, and have preserved them faithfully in their memories, before committing them to writing. It must also be recollected, that poetry was the profession of the ancient bards; that it was not the amusement of their leisure hours, but that they devoted to it

* The only passage in which letters are supposed to be mentioned is in the Iliad, vi. 168; but here the *σήματα λυγρά* are supposed by Wolf and others to signify pictorial, and not alphabetical characters.

† He is *φόρτου μνήμων*. Odys. viii. 164.

all the energies of their hearts and souls. The poems which they thus composed were treasured up in the memories of their faithful disciples, and were handed down to posterity by the Rhapsodists, whose lives were also devoted to this object. The recollection of these poems was rendered easier by the simple nature of the story, by the easy structure of the verse, by the frequent recurrence of the same words, phrases, and similes, and by the absence of abstract ideas and reflective thoughts. Accordingly, we believe that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* might have been composed and might have been handed down to posterity without being written.

§ 10. The second argument employed by Wolf to maintain his hypothesis was derived from an examination of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* themselves. He endeavored to show that the only unity of the poems arises from their subjects, and that the numerous contradictions found in them plainly prove that they could not have been the productions of a single mind. The Trojan war and the wanderings of Ulysses (*Odysseus*), he remarks, had formed the subjects of numerous epic ballads, and it was only because they had happened to fit into one another that they were combined into two comprehensive poems by Peisistratus and his literary friends. A modern disciple of his school has gone so far as to attempt to resolve the *Iliad* into the original independent lays out of which he supposes the poem to have been formed. Now it is evident that this question can only be settled by a minute examination of the structure of the poems, for which there is no space in the present work. We can only state, that the best modern scholars, with very few exceptions, have come to a conclusion directly contrary to Wolf's daring theory. Some of the ablest critics in modern times have directed their attention to this subject, and while they have not denied the existence of interpolations, more or less extensive, in both poems, the general result has been to establish their poetical unity, and to vindicate their claim to be the greatest models of the epic art.



Bust of Homer



Primitive Vessels from Athens and Argos.

BOOK II.

GROWTH OF THE GRECIAN STATES.

B. C. 776 – 500.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE GREEK PEOPLE.

§ 1. Nature of the Subject. § 2. The Chief Ties which bound the Greeks together. Community of Blood and of Language. § 3. Community of Religious Rites and Festivals. § 4. The Amphictyonic Council. § 5. The Olympic Games. § 6. The Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian Games. § 7. The Influence of these Festivals. § 8. Influence of the Oracle of Apollo at Delphi. § 9. Community of Manners and Character. § 10. The Independent Sovereignty of each City a settled Maxim in the Greek Mind.

§ 1. THE present Book will contain the History of Greece from the first Olympiad, or the year 776 B. C., to the commencement of the revolt of the Ionic Greeks from Persia, in the year 500 B. C.

Our knowledge of the early part of this period is very scanty, and consists of only a small number of solitary facts, which have little or no connection with one another. The division of Greece into a number of small independent states is a circumstance that causes great difficulties to the historian. Unlike the history of Rome, which is confined to an account of the origin and development of a single people, the history of Greece from its commencement to its close suffers to a greater or a less extent from a want of unity in its subject. This is strikingly the case with the first two

centuries of the period narrated in the present Book ; and it is not till we come to its close, that we are able to present a connected history of the Grecian nation. It was the Persian invasions of Greece which first impressed the leading Greek states with the necessity of uniting together against the common foe ; and since the military resources of Sparta were then confessedly superior to those of all the other Greeks, they naturally intrusted to her the conduct of the war. In this way Grecian history acquires a unity of interest which is altogether wanting in the earlier times. There are, however, some facts during the earlier period which claim our attention. Of these the most important are the growth of Sparta and Athens ; the number of despots who arose in the various Grecian cities ; the foundation and progress of the numerous colonies planted on the coasts of the Mediterranean and its connected seas ; and, last of all, the origin and progress of literature and art.

Before we proceed to give an account of these events, it may be useful to take a general survey of the Greeks in the earlier period of their history, and to point out the various causes which united them as a people, notwithstanding their separation into so many independent communities.

§ 2. The chief ties, which bound together the Grecian world, were community of blood and language, community of religious rites and festivals, and community of manners and character. Of these the first and the most important was the possession of a common descent and a common language. The Greeks were all of the same race and parentage ; they all considered themselves descendants of Hellen ; and they all described men and cities which were not Grecian by the term *Barbarian*. This word has passed into our own language, but with a very different idea ; for the Greeks applied it indiscriminately to every foreigner, to the civilized inhabitants of Egypt and Persia, as well as to the rude tribes of Scythia and Gaul. Originally it seems to have expressed repugnance to one using a foreign language ; but as the Greeks became in course of time superior in intelligence to the surrounding nations, it conveyed also a notion of contempt. Notwithstanding the various dialects employed in different parts, there was, throughout the Grecian world, sufficient uniformity in the language to render it everywhere intelligible to a Greek ; and there can be no doubt that the wide-spread popularity of the Homeric poems in early times powerfully assisted in maintaining the same type of language among the different Greek races.

§ 3. The second bond of union was a community of religious rites and festivals. From the earliest times the Greeks appear to have worshipped the same gods ; but originally there were no religious meetings common to the whole nation. Such meetings were of gradual growth. They were either formed by a number of neighboring towns, which entered into an association for the periodical celebration of certain religious rites, or they grew out of a festival originally confined to a single state, but which was

gradually extended to the inhabitants of other cities, till at length it became open to the whole Grecian world. Of the former class we have an example in the Amphictyonies, of the latter in the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games.

- § 4. The word *Amphictyony* is usually derived from the mythical hero Amphictyon; but the name probably signifies only residents around and neighbors,* and was used to designate a religious association of neighboring tribes or cities, who were accustomed to meet at fixed times to offer sacrifices to the god of a particular temple, which was supposed to be the common property and under the common protection of all. There were many religious associations of this kind in Greece; but there was one of so much celebrity, that it threw all the others into the shade, and came to be called the Amphictyonic Council. This assembly seems to have been originally of small importance; and it acquired its superiority over other similar associations by the wealth and grandeur of the Delphian temple, of which it was the appointed guardian. It held two meetings every year, one in the spring at the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and the other in the autumn at the temple of Demeter (Ceres) at Thermopylæ. Its members, who were called The Amphictyons,† consisted of sacred deputies sent from twelve tribes, each of which contained several independent cities or states. The deputies were composed of two classes of representatives from each tribe,—a chief called Hieromnēmōn, and subordinates named Pylagoræ. The names of these twelve tribes are not the same in all accounts, but they were probably as follows: Thessalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhæbians, Magnètes, Locrians, Ceteans, Achæans, Phocians, Dolopes, and Malians. These names are of themselves sufficient to prove the great antiquity of the Council. Several of the tribes here mentioned scarcely ever occur in the historical period; and the fact of the Dorians standing on an equality with the Dolopes and the Malians, shows that the Council must have existed before the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus. The tribes represented in it stood on a footing of perfect equality, two votes being given by the deputies from each of the twelve.

Of the duties of the Amphictyonic Council nothing will give us a better idea than the oath taken by its members. It ran thus: "We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town, nor cut it off from running water, in war or peace: if any one shall do so, we will march against him and destroy his city. If any one shall plunder the property of the god, or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things in his temple at Delphi, we will punish him with foot, and hand, and voice, and by every means in our power." We thus see that the main duties of the

* The original form of the name seems to have been Ἀμφικτιονία, not Ἀμφικτυονία. The word ἀμφικτιόες signifies those that dwell round or near.

† Οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες.

Council were to restrain acts of aggression against its members, and to preserve the rights and dignity of the temple of Delphi. It is true that the Amphictyons sometimes took a larger view of their functions; but these were only employed for political purposes when they could be made subservient to the views of one of the leading Grecian states. They were never considered as a national congress, whose duty it was to protect and defend the common interests of Greece. If such a congress had ever existed, and its edicts had commanded the obedience of the Greeks, the history of the nation would have had a different course; the Macedonian kings would probably have remained in their subordinate condition, and united Greece might even have defied the legions of conquering Rome.

The Amphictyonic Council is rarely mentioned, except in connection with the Delphian temple; but when the rights of the god had been violated, it invoked the aid of the different members of the league. Of this we have a memorable instance in the earlier period of Greek history. The Phocian town of Crissa was situated on the heights of Mount Parnassus, near the sanctuary of the god, which belonged to this town in the most ancient times.* It possessed a fertile and valuable territory, extending down to the Corinthian Gulf, on which it had a port called Cirrha. Gradually the port seems to have grown into importance at the expense of the town; while at the same time the sanctuary of the god fell into the hands of the Dorian tribe of the Delphians, and expanded into a town under the name of Delphi. It was at the port of Cirrha that most of the strangers landed who came to consult the god; and the inhabitants of this place availed themselves of their position to levy exorbitant tolls upon the pilgrims, and to ill-use them in other ways. In consequence of these outrages the Amphictyons resolved to punish the Cirrhæans; and after waging war against them for ten years (B. C. 595–585), the Council at length succeeded, chiefly by the assistance of the Thessalians and Athenians, in taking the guilty city. It is related, but on rather suspicious authority, that the city was taken by a stratagem of Solon, who poisoned the waters of the river Pleistus, which flowed through the place. Cirrha was razed to the ground, and its territory — the rich Cirrhæan or Crissæan plain — was consecrated to the god, and curses imprecated upon any one who should cultivate it. Thus ended the First Sacred War, as it is usually called; and the spoils of the city were employed by the victorious allies in founding the Pythian games.

§ 5. The four great festivals of the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and

* Crissa was situated at the foot of Mount Parnassus, where it descends precipitously to the Crissæan Plain. The present name is Chryso. The situation is one of remarkable beauty, having the lofty heights of Parnassus in the rear, and between it and the Corinthian Gulf, the beautiful Crissæan Plain, with its picturesque olive-groves and fertile fields, watered by the Pleistus. There are considerable remains of the ancient walls, which, as well as the existing name, serve to identify the place. — ED.

Nemean games were of greater efficacy than the Amphictyonic Council in promoting a spirit of union among the various branches of the Greek race, and in keeping alive a feeling of their common origin. They were open to all persons who could prove their Hellenic blood, and were frequented by spectators from all parts of the Grecian world. The most ancient as well as the most famous of these festivals was that celebrated at Olympia, on the banks of the Alphæus, in the territory of Elis, and near the ancient temple of the Olympian Zeus. The origin of this festival is lost in the Mythical Ages. It is said to have been revived by Iphitus, king of Elis, and Lycurgus, the Spartan legislator, in the year 776 B. C.; and accordingly, when the Greeks at a later time began to use the Olympic contest as a chronological era, this year was regarded as the first Olympiad. It continued to maintain its celebrity for many centuries after the extinction of Greek freedom; and it was not till 394 A. D. that it was finally abolished by the Emperor Theodosius. It was celebrated at the end of every four years,* and the interval which elapsed between each celebration was called an Olympiad. The whole festival was under the management of the Eleans, who appointed some of their own number to preside as judges, under the name of the Hellanodicæ.† During the month in which it was celebrated all hostilities were suspended throughout Greece. The territory of Elis itself was considered especially sacred during its continuance, and no armed force could enter it without incurring the guilt of sacrilege. The number of spectators was very great; and consisted not only of those who were attracted by private interest or curiosity, but of deputies ‡ from the different Greek states, who vied with one another in the number of their offerings and the splendor of their general appearance, in order to support the honor of their native cities. At first the festival was confined to a single day, and consisted of nothing more than a match of runners in the stadium; but in course of time so many other contests were introduced, that the games occupied five days. They comprised various trials of strength and skill, such as wrestling, boxing, the Pancrætium (boxing and wrestling combined), and the complicated Pentathlon (including jumping, running, the quoit, the javelin, and wrestling), but no combats with any kind of weapons. There were also horse-races and chariot-races; and the chariot-race, with four full-grown horses, became one of the most popular and celebrated of all the matches.

The only prize given to the conqueror was a garland of wild-olive; but this was valued as one of the dearest distinctions in life. To have his

* The festival was called by the Greeks a *Pentaeteris* (πενταετηρίς), because it was celebrated every fifth year, according to the ancient mode of the reckoning. In the same manner, a festival which occurred at the end of every two years was said to be celebrated every third year, and was called a *Trieteris* (τριετηρίς).

† Ἑλλανοδίκαι.

‡ Called *Theori* (Θεωροί).

name proclaimed as victor before assembled Hellas was an object of ambition with the noblest and the wealthiest of the Greeks. Such a person was considered to have conferred everlasting glory upon his family and his country, and was rewarded by his fellow-citizens with distinguished honors. His statue was generally erected in the Altis or sacred grove of Zeus at Olympia; and on his return home he entered his native city in a triumphal procession, in which his praises were sung, frequently in the loftiest strains of poetry. He also received still more substantial rewards. He was generally relieved from the payment of taxes, and had a right to the front seat at all public games and spectacles. An Athenian victor in the Olympic games received, in accordance with one of Solon's laws, a prize of five hundred drachmas, and a right to a place at the table of the magistrates in the prytanēum or town-hall; and a Spartan conqueror had the privilege of fighting on the field of battle near the person of the king.

§ 6. During the sixth century before the Christian era the three other festivals of the Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games, which were at first only local, became open to the whole nation. The Pythian games, as a national festival, were instituted by the Amphictyons after the destruction of Crissa in 585 B. C., in honor of Apollo, as has been already related. They were celebrated in every third Olympic year, on the Cirrhæan plain, under the superintendence of the Amphictyons. The games consisted not only of matches in gymnastics and of horse and chariot races, but also of contests in music and poetry. They soon acquired celebrity, and became second only to the great Olympic festival.

The Nemean and Isthmian games occurred more frequently than the Olympic and Pythian. They were celebrated once in two years, — the Nemean in honor of the Nemean Zeus, in the valley of Nemea, between Phlius and Cleonæ, originally by the Cleonæans and subsequently by the Argives, — and the Isthmian by the Corinthians, on their isthmus, in honor of Poseidon (Neptune). As in the Pythian festival, contests in music and in poetry, as well as gymnastics and chariot-races, formed part of these games.

§ 7. Although the four great festivals of which we have been speaking had little influence in promoting the political union of Greece, they nevertheless were of great importance in making the various sections of the race feel that they were all members of one family, and in cementing them together by common sympathies and the enjoyment of common pleasures. The frequent occurrence of these festivals, for one was celebrated every year, tended to the same result. The Greeks were thus annually reminded of their common origin, and of the great distinction which existed between them and barbarians. Nor must we forget the incidental advantages which attended them. The concourse of so large a number of persons from every part of the Grecian world afforded to the merchant op-

portunities for traffic, and to the artist and the literary man the best means of making their works known. During the time of the games the Altis was surrounded with booths, in which a busy commerce was carried on ; and in a spacious hall appropriated for the purpose, the poets, philosophers, and historians were accustomed to read their most recent works.

The perfect equality of persons at the festival demands particular mention. The games were open to every Greek, without any distinction of country or of rank. The horse-races and chariot-races were necessarily confined to the wealthy, who were allowed to employ others as riders and drivers ; but the rich and poor alike could contend in the gymnastic matches. This, however, was far from degrading the former in public opinion ; and some of the greatest and wealthiest men in the various cities took part in the running, wrestling, boxing, and other matches. Cylon, who attempted to make himself tyrant of Athens, had gained the prize in the foot-race ; Alexander, son of Amyntas, prince of Macedon, had also run for it ; and instances occur in which cities chose their generals from the victors of these games.

§ 8. The habit of consulting the same oracles in order to ascertain the will of the gods, was another bond of union. It was the universal practice of the Greeks to undertake no matter of importance without first asking the advice of the gods ; and there were many sacred spots in which the gods were always ready to give an answer to pious worshippers. Some of these oracles were consulted only by the surrounding neighborhood, but others obtained a wider celebrity ; and the oracle of Apollo at Delphi in particular surpassed all the rest in importance, and was regarded with veneration in every part of the Grecian world. So great was its fame that it was sometimes consulted by foreign nations, such as the Lydians, Phrygians, and Romans ; and the Grecian states constantly applied to it for counsel in their difficulties and perplexities. In the centre of the temple at Delphi there was a small opening in the ground, from which it was said that a certain gas or vapor ascended. Whenever the oracle was to be consulted, a virgin priestess, called *Pythia*, took her seat upon a tripod, which was placed over the chasm. The ascending vapor affected her brain, and the words she uttered in this excited condition were believed to be the answer of Apollo to his worshippers. They were always in hexameter verse, and were reverently taken down by the attendant priests. Most of the answers were equivocal or obscure ; but the credit of the oracle continued unimpaired long after the downfall of Grecian independence.

§ 9. A further element of union among the Greeks was the similarity of manners and character. It is true, the difference in this respect between the polished inhabitants of Athens and the rude mountaineers of Acarmania was marked and striking ; but if we compare the two with foreign contemporaries the contrast between them and the latter is still more

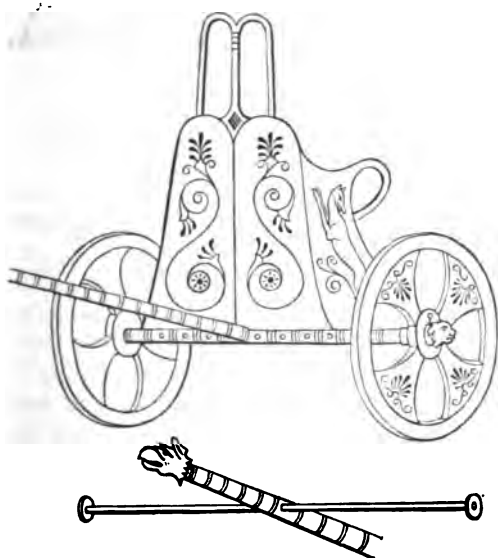
striking. Absolute despotism, human sacrifices, polygamy, deliberate mutilation of the person as a punishment, and selling of children into slavery, existed in some part or other of the barbarian world, but are not found in any city of Greece in the historical times. Although we cannot mention many customs common to all the Greeks and at the same time peculiar to them, yet we cannot doubt that there did exist among them certain general characteristics in their manners and customs, which served as a bond of union among themselves, and a line of demarcation from foreigners.

§ 10. The elements of union of which we have been speaking — community of blood and language, of religion and festivals, and of manners and character — only bound the Greeks together in common feelings and sentiments. They never produced any political union. The independent sovereignty of each city was a fundamental notion in the Greek mind. The only supreme authority which a Greek recognized was to be found within his own city walls. The exercise of authority by one city over another, whatever advantages the weaker city might derive from such a connection, was repugnant to every Greek. This was a sentiment common to all the different members of the Greek race, under all forms of government, whether oligarchical or democratical. Hence the dominion exercised by Thebes over the cities of Bœotia, and by Athens over subject allies, was submitted to with reluctance, and was disowned on the first opportunity. This strongly rooted feeling deserves particular notice and remark. Careless readers of history are tempted to suppose that the territory of Greece was divided among a comparatively small number of independent states, such as Attica, Arcadia, Bœotia, Phocis, Locris, and the like; but this is a most serious mistake, and leads to a total misapprehension of Greek history. Every separate city was usually an independent state, and consequently each of the territories described under the general names of Arcadia, Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris, contained numerous political communities independent of one another. Attica, it is true, formed a single state, and its different towns recognized Athens as their capital and the source of supreme power; but this is an exception to the general rule.

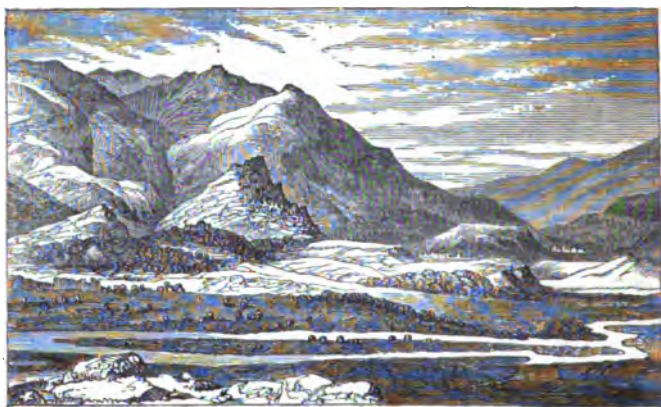
The patriotism of a Greek was confined to his city, and rarely kindled into any general love for the common welfare of Hellas. The safety and the prosperity of his city were dearer to him than the safety and prosperity of Hellas, and to secure the former he was too often contented to sacrifice the latter. For his own city, a patriotic Greek was ready to lay down his property and his life, but he felt no obligation to expend his substance or expose his life on behalf of the common interests of the country. So complete was the political division between the Greek cities, that the citizen of one was an alien and a stranger in the territory of another. He was not merely debarred from all share in the government, but he could not acquire property in land or houses, nor contract a marriage with a native

woman, nor sue in the courts of justice, except through the medium of a friendly citizen.* The cities thus mutually repelling each other, the sympathies and feelings of a Greek became more centred in his own. It was this exclusive patriotism which rendered it difficult for the Greeks to unite under circumstances of common danger. It was this political disunion which led them to turn their arms against each other, and eventually made them subject to the Macedonian monarchs.

* Sometimes a city granted to a citizen of another state, or even to the whole state, the right of intermarriage and of acquiring landed property. The former of these rights was called *ἐπιγαμία*, the latter *ἐγκτησις*.



Greek Car used in Games.



View of Mount Taygetus from the Site of Sparta.

CHAPTER VII.

EARLY HISTORY OF PELOPONNESUS AND LEGISLATION OF LYCURGUS

§ 1. Conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians. Division of the Peloponnesus into the Doric States, Elis, Achaia, and Arcadia. § 2. Division of the Doric States in Peloponnesus. Argos originally the first Doric State, Sparta second, Messene third. § 3. Pheidon of Argos. § 4. Legislation of Lycurgus. § 5. Life of Lycurgus. § 6. The Chief Object of Lycurgus in his Legislation. § 7. Population of Laconia divided into three Classes. Spartans. § 8. Perioeci. § 9. Helots. § 10. Political Government of Sparta. The Kings. The Senate. The Popular Assembly. The Ephors. § 11. Training and Education of the Spartan Youths and Men. § 12. Training of the Spartan Women. § 13. Division of Landed Property. § 14. Other Regulations ascribed to Lycurgus. Iron Money. § 15. Defensible Position of Sparta. § 16. Growth of the Spartan Power, a Consequence of the Discipline of Lycurgus. Conquest of Laconia.

§ 1. IN the Heroic Ages Peloponnesus was the seat of the great Achæan monarchies. Mycenæ was the residence of Agamemnon, king of men, Sparta of his brother Menelaus, and Argos of Diomedes, who dared to contend in battle with the immortal gods. But before the commencement of history all these monarchies had been swept away, and their subjects either driven out of the land or compelled to submit to the dominion of the Dorians. The history of the conquest of Peloponnesus by this warlike race is clothed in a legendary form, and has been already narrated in the preceding Book. In what manner this conquest was really effected is beyond the reach of history, but we have good reasons for believing that it was the work of many years, and was not concluded by a single battle, as the legends would lead us to suppose. We find, however

in the early historical times, the whole of the eastern and southern parts of Peloponnesus in the undisputed possession of the Dorians.

The remaining parts of the peninsula were in the hands of other members of the Greek race. On the western coast from the mouth of the Neda to that of the Larissus was the territory of Elis, including the two dependent states of Pisa and Triphylia. The Eleans are said to have been descendants of the Ætolians, who had accompanied the Dorians in their invasion, and received Elis as their share of the spoil. The Pisatans and the Triphylians had been originally independent inhabitants of the peninsula, but had been conquered by their more powerful neighbors of Elis.

The strip of land on the northern coast of Peloponnesus, and south of the Corinthian Gulf, was inhabited by Achæans, and was called after them Achaia. This territory extended from the mouth of the river Araxus on one side to the confines of Sicyonia on the other, and was divided among twelve Achæan cities, which are rarely mentioned in the earlier period of Greek history, and only rose to importance in the Macedonian times.

The mountainous region in the centre of Peloponnesus was inhabited by the Arcadians, who may be regarded as genuine Pelasgians, since they are uniformly represented as the earliest inhabitants of the country. Their country was distributed into a large number of villages and cities, among which Tegæa and Mantinëa were the two most powerful.

§ 2. The division of Peloponnesus among the Dorian states differed at various times. At the close of the period which forms the subject of the present Book, Sparta was unquestionably the first of the Dorian powers, and its dominions far exceeded those of any other Dorian state. Its territory then occupied the whole of the southern region of the peninsula from the eastern to the western sea, being separated from the dominions of Argos by the river Tanus, and from Triphylia by the river Neda. At that time the territory of Argos was confined to the Argolic peninsula, but did not include the whole of this district, the southeastern part of it being occupied by the Doric cities of Epidaurus and Trœzen, and the Dryopian city of Hermione. On the Isthmus stood the powerful city of Corinth, westward Sicyon, and to the south of these Cleonæ and Philus, both also Doric cities. North-east of Corinth came Megara, the last of the Doric cities, whose territory stretched across the Isthmus from sea to sea.

But if we go back to the first Olympiad, we shall find Sparta in possession of only a very small territory, instead of the extensive dominion described above. Its territory at that time appears to have comprehended little more than the valley of the river Eurotas. Westward of this valley, and separated from it by Mount Taygétus, were the Messenian Dorians, while eastward of it the whole of the mountainous district along the coast, from the head of the Argolic Gulf down to Cape Malæa, was also independent of Sparta, belonging to Argos. In the earliest historical times Argos appears as the first power in the Peloponnesus, a fact which the

legend of the Heracleids seems to recognize by making Temenus the eldest brother of the three. Next came Sparta, and last the Messênê. The importance of Argos appears to have arisen not so much from her own territory as from her being the head of a powerful confederacy of Dorian states. Most of these states are said to have been founded by colonies from Argos, such as Cleônæ, Phliûs, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Træzen, and Ægina. They formed a league, the patron god of which was Apollo Pythæus, whose common worship was a means of uniting them together. There was a temple to this god in each of the confederated cities, while his most holy and central sanctuary was on the acropolis of Argos. But the power of Argos rested on an insecure basis; the ties which held the confederacy together became gradually weakened; and Sparta was able to wrest from her a large portion of her territory, and eventually to succeed to her place as the first Dorian state in the peninsula.

§ 3. The importance of the privileges possessed by Argos before the rise of the Spartan power is shown by the history of Pheidon. This remarkable man may be placed about the eighth Olympiad, or 747 B. C., and claims our attention the more as one of the first really historical personages hitherto presented to us. He was king of Argos, and is represented as a descendant of the Heracleid Temenus. Having broken through the limits which had been imposed on the authority of his predecessors, he changed the government of Argos into a despotism. He then restored her supremacy over all the cities of her confederacy, which had become nearly dissolved. He appears next to have attacked Corinth, and to have succeeded in reducing it under his dominion. He is further reported to have aimed at extending his sway over the greater part of Peloponnesus, — laying claim, as the descendant of Hercules, to all the cities which that hero had ever taken. His power and his influence became so great in the Peloponnesus, that the Pisâtans, who had been accustomed to preside at the Olympic games, but who had been deprived of this privilege by the Eléans, invited him, in the eighth Olympiad, to restore them to their original rights and expel the intruders. This invitation fell in with the ambitious projects of Pheidon, who claimed for himself the right of presiding at these games, which had been instituted by his great ancestor, Hercules. He accordingly marched to Olympia, expelled the Eléans from the sacred spot, and celebrated the games in conjunction with the Pisâtans. But his triumph did not last long; the Spartans took the part of the Eléans, and the contest ended in the defeat of Pheidon. In the following Olympiad the Eléans again obtained the management of the festival.

It would appear that the power of Pheidon was destroyed in this struggle, but of the details of his fall we have no information. He did not however fall without leaving a very striking and permanent trace of his influence upon Greece. He was the first person who introduced a copper and a silver coinage and a scale of weights and measures into Greece.

Through his influence they became adopted throughout Peloponnesus and the greater part of the North of Greece, under the name of the Æginetan scale. There arose subsequently another scale in Greece called the Euboic, which was employed at Athens and in the Ionic cities generally, as well as in Eubœa. It is usually stated that the coinage of Pheidon was struck in the island of Ægina, but it appears more probable that it was done in Argos, and that the name of Æginetan was given to the coinage and scale, not from the place where they first originated, but from the people whose commercial activity tended to make them more generally known.

§ 4. The progress of Sparta from the second to the first place among the states in Peloponnesus was mainly owing to the peculiar institutions of the state, and more particularly to the military discipline and rigorous training of its citizens. The singular constitution of Sparta was unanimously ascribed by the ancients to the legislator Lycurgus, but there were different stories respecting his date, birth, travels, legislation, and death. Some modern writers, on the other hand, have maintained that the Spartan institutions were common to the whole Doric race, and therefore cannot be regarded as the work of a Spartan legislator. In their view, Sparta is the full type of Doric principles, tendencies, and sentiments. This, however, appears to be an erroneous view; it can be shown that the institutions of Sparta were peculiar to herself, distinguishing her as much from the Doric cities of Argos and Corinth, as from Athens and Thebes. The Cretan institutions bore, it is true, some analogy to those of Sparta, but the resemblance has been greatly exaggerated, and was chiefly confined to the *sysitia* or public messes. The Spartans, doubtless, had original tendencies common to them with the other Dorians; but the constitution of Lycurgus impressed upon them their peculiar character, which separates them so strikingly from the rest of Greece. Whether the system of Spartan laws is to be attributed to Lycurgus, cannot now be determined. He lived in an age when writing was never employed for literary purposes, and consequently no account of him from a contemporary has come down to us. None of the details of his life can be proved to be historically true; and we are obliged to choose out of several accounts the one which appears the most probable.

§ 5. There are very great discrepancies respecting the date of Lycurgus; but all accounts agree in supposing him to have lived at a very remote period. His most probable date is B. C. 776, in which year he is said to have assisted Iphitus in restoring the Olympic games. He belonged to the royal family of Sparta. According to the common account, he was the son of Eunomus, one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta. His father was killed in the civil dissensions which afflicted Sparta at that time. His elder brother, Polydectes, succeeded to the crown, but died soon afterwards, leaving his queen with child. The am-

litious woman offered to destroy the child, if Lycurgus would share the throne with her. Lycurgus pretended to consent; but as soon as she had given birth to a son, he presented him in the market-place as the future king of Sparta; and, to testify to the people's joy, gave him the name of Charilaus. The young king's mother took revenge upon Lycurgus by accusing him of entertaining designs against his nephew's life. Hereupon he resolved to withdraw from his native country, and to visit foreign lands. He was absent many years, and is said to have employed his time in studying the institutions of other nations, and in conversing with their sages, in order to devise a system of laws and regulations which might deliver Sparta from the evils under which it had long been suffering. He first visited Crete and Ionia; and, not content with the Grecian world, passed from Ionia into Egypt; and according to some accounts is reported to have visited Iberia, Libya, and even India.

During his absence the young king had grown up, and assumed the reins of government; but the disorders of the state had meantime become worse than ever, and all parties longed for a termination of their present sufferings. Accordingly the return of Lycurgus was hailed with delight, and he found the people both ready and willing to submit to an entire change in their government and institutions. He now set himself to work to carry his long-projected reforms into effect; but before he commenced his arduous task, he consulted the Delphian oracle, from which he received strong assurances of divine support. Thus encouraged by the god, he suddenly presented himself in the market-place, surrounded by thirty of the most distinguished Spartans in arms. The king, Charilaus, was at first disposed to resist the revolution, but afterwards supported the schemes of his uncle. Lycurgus now issued a set of ordinances, called *Rhetrai*, by which he effected a total revolution in the political and military organization of the people, and in their social and domestic life. His reforms were not carried into effect without violent opposition, and in one of the tumults which they excited, his eye is said to have been struck out by a youth of the name of Alcander. But he finally triumphed over all obstacles, and succeeded in obtaining the submission of all classes in the community to his new constitution. His last act was to sacrifice himself for the welfare of his country. Having obtained from the people a solemn oath to make no alterations in his laws before his return, he quitted Sparta for ever. He set out on a journey to Delphi, where he obtained an oracle from the god, approving of all he had done, and promising everlasting prosperity to the Spartans as long as they preserved his laws. Whither he went afterwards, and how and where he died, nobody could tell. He vanished from earth like a god, leaving no traces behind him but his spirit: and his grateful countrymen honored him with a temple, and worshipped him with annual sacrifices down to the latest times.

§ 6. In order to understand the constitution of Lycurgus, it is necessary

to recollect the peculiar circumstances in which the Spartans were placed. They were a handful of men in possession of a country which they had conquered by the sword, and which they could only maintain by the same means. They probably did not exceed nine thousand men; and the great object of the legislator was to unite this small body together by the closest ties, and to train them in such habits of hardihood, bravery, and military subordination that they might maintain their ascendancy over their subjects. The means which he adopted to attain this object were exceedingly severe, but eminently successful. He subjected the Spartans to a discipline at once monastic and warlike, unparalleled either in ancient or in modern times. His system combined the ascetic rigors of a monastery with the stern discipline of a garrison. But before we proceed to relate the details of this extraordinary system, it will be necessary to give an account of the different classes of the population of the country, and also of the nature of the government.

§ 7. The population of Laconia was divided into the three classes of Spartans, Periceæ, and Helots.

The Spartans were the descendants of the leading Dorian conquerors. They formed the sovereign power of the state; and they alone were eligible to honors and public offices. They lived in Sparta itself, and were all subject to the discipline of Lycurgus. They were maintained from their estates in different parts of Laconia, which were cultivated for them by the Helots, who paid them a fixed amount of the produce. Originally all Spartans were on a footing of perfect equality. They were divided into three tribes,—the Hylleis, the Pamphylî, and the Dymænes,—which were not, however, peculiar to Sparta, but existed in all the Dorian states. They retained their full rights as citizens, and transmitted them to their children, on two conditions;—first, of submitting to the discipline of Lycurgus; and secondly, of paying a certain amount to the public mess, which was maintained solely by these contributions. In the course of time many Spartans forfeited their full citizenship from being unable to comply with the latter of these conditions, either through losing their lands or through the increase of children in the poorer families. Thus there arose a distinction among the Spartans themselves, unknown at an earlier period,—the reduced number of qualified citizens being called the Equals or Peers,* the disfranchised poor, the Inferiors.† The latter, however, did not become Periæci, but might recover their original rank if they again acquired the means of contributing their portion to the public mess.

§ 8. The *Periæci* ‡ were personally free, but politically subject to the

* Οἱ Ὀμοιοί.

† Οἱ Ὑπομεινόμενοι.

‡ The name *Περισταῖοι* signifies literally "dwellers around the city," and is used generally by the Greeks to signify the inhabitants in the country districts, who possessed inferior political privileges to the citizens who lived in the city.

Spartans. They possessed no share in the government, and were bound to obey the commands of the Spartan magistrates. They appear to have been partly the descendants of the old Achæan population of the country, and partly of Dorians who had not been admitted to the full privileges of the ruling class. They were distributed into a hundred townships, which were spread through the whole of Laconia. They fought in the Spartan armies as heavy-armed soldiers, and therefore must have been trained to some extent in the Spartan tactics; but they were certainly exempt from the peculiar discipline to which the ruling class was subject, and possessed more individual freedom of action. The larger proportion of the land of Laconia belonged to Spartan citizens, but the smaller was the property of the Pericæci. The whole of the commerce and manufactures of the country was in their exclusive possession, since no Spartan ever engaged in such occupations. They thus had means of acquiring wealth and importance, from which the Spartans themselves were excluded; and although they were probably treated by the Spartans with the same haughtiness which they usually displayed towards inferiors, their condition upon the whole does not appear as oppressive or degrading. They were regarded as members of the state, though not possessing the full citizenship, and were included along with the Spartans as Laconians or Lacedæmonians.

§ 9. The Helots were serfs bound to the soil, which they tilled for the benefit of the Spartan proprietors. Their condition was very different from that of the ordinary slaves in antiquity, and more similar to the villanage of the Middle Ages. They lived in the rural villages, as the Pericæci did in the towns, cultivating the lands and paying over the rent to their masters in Sparta, but enjoying their homes, wives, and families, apart from their master's personal superintendence. They appear to have been never sold, and they accompanied the Spartans to the field as light-armed troops. But while their condition was in these respects superior to that of the ordinary slaves in other parts of Greece, it was embittered by the fact that they were not strangers, like the latter, but were of the same race, and spoke the same language as their masters. Their name is variously explained, and we have different accounts of their origin; but there is no doubt that they were of pure Hellenic blood, and were probably the descendants of the old inhabitants, who had offered the most obstinate resistance to the Dorians, and had therefore been reduced to slavery.* In the earlier times they appear to have been treated with comparative mildness, but as their numbers increased they became objects of greater suspicion to their masters, and were subjected to the most wanton and op-

* The common account derives the name of Helots (Ἑλωτες) from the town of Helos (Ἥλος) in the South of Laconia, the inhabitants of which had rebelled and been reduced to slavery. Others connect their name with ἑλη, *marshes*, as if it signified *inhabitants of the lowlands*. Others, again, with more probability, explain Ἑλωτες as meaning *prisoners*, from the root of ἔλειν, *to take*.

pressive cruelty. They were compelled to wear a peculiar dress—a leather cap and a sheepskin—to distinguish them from the rest of the population; every means was adopted to remind them of their inferior and degraded condition; and it is said they were often forced to make themselves drunk, as a warning to the Spartan youth. Whatever truth there may be in these and similar tales, it is certain that the wanton and impolitic oppressions of the Spartans produced in the minds of the Helots a deep-seated and inveterate detestation of their masters. They were always ready to seize any opportunity of rising against their oppressors, and would gladly “have eaten the flesh of the Spartans raw.” Hence Sparta was always in apprehension of a revolt of the Helots, and had recourse to the most atrocious means for removing any who had excited their jealousy or their fears. Of this we have a memorable instance in the secret service, called *Cryptia*,* which authorized a select body of Spartan youths to range the country in all directions, armed with daggers, and secretly to assassinate such of the Helots as were considered formidable. Sometimes, however, the Helots, who had distinguished themselves by their bravery in war, received their freedom from the government; but in that case they formed a distinct body in the state, known at the time of the Peloponnesian war by the name of *Neodamōdes*.†

§ 10. The functions of the Spartan government were distributed among two kings, a senate of thirty members, a popular assembly, and an executive directory of five men called the Ephors. This political constitution is ascribed to Lycurgus; but there is good reason for believing that the Ephors were added at a later time; and there cannot be any doubt that the senate and the popular assembly were handed down to the Spartans from the Heroic Age, and merely received some modification and regulations from Lycurgus.

At the head of the state were the two hereditary kings. The existence of a pair of kings was peculiar to Sparta, and is said to have arisen from the accidental circumstance of Aristodēmus having left twin sons, Eurysthēnēs and Proclēs.‡ This division of the royal power naturally tended to weaken its influence, and to produce jealousies and dissensions between the two kings, who constantly endeavored to thwart each other. The royal power was on the decline during the whole historical period, and the authority of the kings was gradually usurped by the Ephors, who at length obtained the entire control of the government, and reduced the kings to a state of humiliation and dependence. Originally the Spartan kings were the real and not the nominal chiefs of the state, and exercised most of the functions of the monarchs of the Heroic Age. In later times the most

* *Kρυπτεία*, a secret commission, from *κρύπτω*, hide, conceal.

† *Neodamōdes*: that is, newly enfranchised.

‡ See above, p. 32.

important of the prerogatives which they were allowed to retain was the supreme command of the military force on foreign expeditions. But even in this privilege their authority was restricted at a later time by the presence of two out of the five Ephors. Although the political power of the kings was thus curtailed, they possessed many important privileges, and were always treated with the profoundest honor and respect. They were regarded by the people with a feeling of religious reverence, as the descendants of the mighty hero Hercules, and were thus supposed to connect the entire state with the gods. They were the high-priests of the nation, and every month offered sacrifices to Jove on behalf of the people. They possessed ample domains in various parts of Laconia, and received frequent presents on many public occasions. Their death was lamented as a public calamity, and their funeral was solemnized by the most striking obsequies.

The Senate, called *Gerúsia*,* or the *Council of Elders*, consisted of thirty members, among whom the two kings were included. They were not chosen under sixty years of age, and they held the office for life. They possessed considerable power, and were the only real check upon the authority of the Ephors. They discussed and prepared all measures which were to be brought before the popular assembly, and had some share in the general administration of the state. But the most important of their functions was, that they were judges in all criminal cases affecting the life of a Spartan citizen, without being bound by any written code.

The Popular Assembly was of little importance, and appears to have been usually summoned only as a matter of form, for the election of certain magistrates, for passing laws, and for determining upon peace and war. It would appear that open discussion was not allowed, and that the assembly rarely came to a division. Such a popular assembly as existed at Athens, in which all public measures were exposed to criticism and comment, would have been contrary to one of the first principles of the Spartan government in historical times, which was characterized by the extreme secrecy of all its proceedings.

The Ephors may be regarded as the representatives of the popular assembly. They were elected annually from the general body of Spartan citizens, and seem to have been originally appointed to protect the interests and liberties of the people against the encroachments of the kings and the senate. They correspond in many respects to the tribunes of the people at Rome. Their functions were at first limited and of small importance; but in the end the whole political power became centred in their hands. They were thus the real rulers of the state, and their orders were submissively obeyed by all classes in Sparta. Their authority was of a despotic nature, and they exercised it without responsibility. They had the entire management of the internal as well as of the foreign affairs of the state;

* Γερουσία.

they formed a court to decide upon causes of great importance; they dismissed at their pleasure subordinate magistrates, and imposed upon them fines and imprisonment; they even arrested the kings, and either fined them on their own authority, or brought them to trial before the senate.

It will be seen from the preceding account that the Spartan government was in reality a close oligarchy, in which the kings and the senate, as well as the people, were alike subject to the irresponsible authority of the five Ephors.

§ 11. The most important part of the legislation of Lycurgus did not relate to the political constitution of Sparta, but to the discipline and education of the citizens. It was these which gave Sparta her peculiar character, and distinguished her in so striking a manner from all the other states of Greece. In modern times it has been usually held that the state exists for the citizen, and that the great object of the state is to secure the citizen in the enjoyment of his life and his property. In Sparta, on the contrary, the citizen existed only for the state, and was bound to devote to its honor and glory, not only all his time, affections, and energies, but to sacrifice to its interests his property and his life. We have already seen that the position of the Spartans, surrounded by numerous enemies, whom they only held in subjection by the sword, compelled them to be a nation of soldiers. Lycurgus determined that they should be nothing else; and the great object of his whole system was to cultivate a martial spirit, and to give them a training which would make them invincible in battle. To accomplish this, the education of a Spartan was placed under the control of the state from his earliest boyhood, and he continued to be under public inspection to his old age.

Every child after birth was exhibited to public view, and if deemed deformed and weakly, and unfit for a future life of labor and fatigue, was exposed to perish on Mount Taygētus. At the age of seven he was taken from his mother's care, and handed over to the public classes. His training was under the special charge of an officer nominated by the state,* and was subject to the general superintendence of the elders. He was not only taught all the gymnastic games, which would give vigor and strength to his body, and all the exercises and movements required from the Lacedæmonian soldiers in the field, but he was also subjected to severe bodily discipline, and was compelled to submit to hardships and suffering without repining or complaint. One of the tests to which the fortitude of the Spartan youths was subjected was a cruel scourging at the altar of Artemis (Diana), until their blood gushed forth and covered the altar of the goddess. It was inflicted publicly, before the eyes of their parents and in the presence of the whole city; and many were known to have died under the

* Called *Pædonomus* (παιδονόμος).

lash without uttering a complaining murmur. No means were neglected to prepare them for the hardships and stratagems of war. They were obliged to wear the same garment winter and summer, and endure hunger and thirst, heat and cold. They were purposely allowed an insufficient quantity of food, but were permitted to make up the deficiency by hunting in the woods and mountains of Laconia. They were even encouraged to steal whatever they could; but if they were caught in the fact, they were severely punished for their want of dexterity. Plutarch tells us a story of a boy, who, having stolen a fox, and hid it under his garment, chose rather to let it tear out his very bowels than be detected in the theft.

The literary education of a Spartan youth was of a most restricted kind. He was taught to despise literature as unworthy of a warrior, while the study of eloquence and philosophy, which were cultivated at Athens with such extraordinary success, was regarded at Sparta with contempt. Long speeches were a Spartan's abhorrence, and he was trained to express himself with sententious brevity. He was not, however, an entire stranger to the humanizing influence of the Muses. He was taught to sing and play on the lyre; but the strains which he learnt were either martial songs or hymns to the gods. Hence the warlike poems of Homer were popular at Sparta from an early period, and are even said to have been introduced into Peloponnesus by Lycurgus himself. The poet Tyrtæus was for the same reason received with high honors by the Spartans, notwithstanding their aversion to strangers; while Archilochus was banished from the country because he had recorded in one of his poems his flight from the field of battle.

A Spartan was not considered to have reached the full age of manhood till he had completed his thirtieth year. He was then allowed to marry, to take part in the public assembly, and was eligible to the offices of the state. But he still continued under the public discipline, and was not permitted even to reside and take his meals with his wife. The greater part of his time was occupied in gymnastic and military exercises; he took his meals with his comrades at the public mess, and he slept at night in the public barracks. It was not till he had reached his sixtieth year that he was released from the public discipline and from military service.

The public mess — called *Syssitia* * — is said to have been instituted by Lycurgus to prevent all indulgence of the appetite. Public tables were provided, at which every male citizen was obliged to take his meals. Each table accommodated fifteen persons, who formed a separate mess, into which no new member was admitted, except by the unanimous consent of

* *Συσσιτία*, that is, *eating* or *messing together* or *in common*. The public mess was also called *Phiditia* (τὰ Φειδιτία), or frugal meals.

the whole company. Each sent monthly to the common stock a specified quantity of barley-meal, wine, cheese, and figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish. No distinction of any kind was allowed at these frugal meals. Meat was only eaten occasionally; and one of the principal dishes was black broth. Of what it consisted we do not know. The tyrant Dionysius found it very palatable; but, as the cook told him, the broth was nothing without the seasoning of fatigue and hunger.

§ 12. The Spartan women in their earlier years were subjected to a course of training almost as rigorous as that of the men. They were not viewed as a part of the family, but as a part of the state. Their great duty was to give Sparta a vigorous race of citizens, and not to discharge domestic and household duties. They were therefore trained in gymnastic exercises, and contended with each other in running, wrestling, and boxing. The youths were present at these exercises, and the maidens were allowed in like manner to witness those of the youths. The two sexes were thus brought into a close intercourse in a manner unknown to the rest of Greece; but it does not appear to have been followed by any injurious consequences, and the morals of the Spartan women were probably purer than those of any other females in Greece. At the age of twenty a Spartan woman usually married, and she was no longer subjected to the public discipline. Although she enjoyed little of her husband's society, she was treated by him with deep respect, and was allowed a greater degree of liberty than was tolerated in other Grecian states. Hence she took a lively interest in the welfare and glory of her native land, and was animated by an earnest and lofty spirit of patriotism. The Spartan mother had reason to be proud of herself and of her children. When a woman of another country said to Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, "The Spartan women alone rule the men," she replied, "The Spartan women alone bring forth men." Their husbands and their sons were fired by their sympathy to deeds of heroism, and were deterred from yielding to the foe by the certain reproaches and contempt which awaited them at their domestic hearths. "Return either with your shield, or upon it," was their exhortation to their sons, when going to battle; and after the fatal day of Leuctra, those mothers whose sons had fallen returned thanks to the gods; while those were the bitter sufferers whose sons had survived that disgraceful day. The triumphant resignation of a Spartan mother at the heroic death of her son, and her fierce wrath when he proved a recreant coward, are well expressed in two striking poems of the Greek Anthology:—

"Eight sons Demæneta at Sparta's call
Sent forth to fight; one tomb received them all.
No tear she shed but shouted, 'Victory!
Sparta, I bore them but to die for thee.'"

"A Spartan, his companion slain,
Alone from battle fled;

His mother, kindling with didaiah
 That she had borne him, struk him dead;
 For courage and not birth alone,
 In Sparta, testifies a son! " *

§ 13. One of the most celebrated measures ascribed to Lycurgus by later writers was his redivision of the land of the country. It is related that the disorders of the state arose mainly from the gross inequality of property: the greater part of the land was in the hands of a few rich men, whilst the majority of the people were left in hopeless misery. In order to remedy this fearful state of things, he resolved to make a new division of lands, that the citizens might all live together in perfect equality. Accordingly, he redistributed the territory belonging to Sparta into nine thousand equal lots, and the remainder of Laconia into thirty thousand equal lots, and assigned to each Spartan citizen one of the former of these lots, and to each Perioecus one of the latter.

It is, however, very questionable whether Lycurgus ever made any division of the landed property of Laconia. It is not mentioned by any of the earlier writers, and we find in historical times great inequality of property among the Spartans. It is suggested with great probability by Mr. Grote, that the idea of an equal division of landed property by Lycurgus seems to have arisen in the third century before the Christian era, when an attempt was made by Agis and Cleomenes, kings of Sparta, to rescue their country from the state of degradation into which it had sunk. From the time of the Persian war, the number of the Spartan citizens was constantly declining, and the property accumulating in a few hands. The number of citizens, reckoned by Herodotus at eight thousand, had dwindled down in the time of Aristotle to one thousand, and had been still further reduced in that of Agis to seven hundred; and in the reign of this king one hundred alone possessed nearly the whole of the landed property in the state, while the remainder were miserably poor. At the same time the old discipline had degenerated into a mere form; numbers of strangers had settled in the city; and Sparta had long lost her ancient influence over her neighbors. The humiliating condition of their country roused Agis and other ardent spirits to endeavor to restore Sparta to her former glories; and for this purpose they resolved to establish again the discipline of Lycurgus in its pristine vigor, and to make a fresh division of the landed property. Agis perished in his attempt to carry these reforms into effect; but a similar revolution was shortly afterwards accomplished by Cleomenes. It was in the state of public feeling which gave birth to the projects of Agis and Cleomenes, that the idea arose of an equal division of property having been one of the ancient institutions of their great lawgiver. The discipline and education of Lycurgus tended

* See *Anthologia Polyglotta*, edited by Dr. Wellesley, pp. 191, 202.

greatly to introduce equality among the rich and the poor in their habits and enjoyments; and hence we can easily understand how this equality suggested to a subsequent age an equality of property as likewise one of the institutions of Lycurgus.

§ 14. It has been already remarked, that the Spartans were not allowed to engage in any trade or manufactures; and that all occupations, pursued for the sake of gain, were left in the hands of the Periæci. We are told that Lycurgus therefore banished from Sparta all gold and silver money, and allowed nothing but bars of iron to pass in exchange for every commodity. It is, however, absurd to ascribe such a regulation to Lycurgus, since silver money was first coined in Greece by Pheidon of Argos in the succeeding generation, and gold money was first coined in Asia, and was very little known in Greece, even in the time of the Peloponnesian war. In this case, as in others, the usage of later times was converted into a primitive institution of the lawgiver. As the Spartans were not allowed to engage in commerce, and all luxury and display in dress, furniture, and food was forbidden, they had very little occasion for a circulating medium, and iron money was found sufficient for their few wants. But this prohibition of the precious metals only made the Spartans more anxious to obtain them; and even in the times of their greatest glory the Spartans were the most venal of the Greeks, and could rarely resist the temptation of a pecuniary bribe.

The Spartans were averse to all changes, both in their government and their customs. In order to preserve their national character and the primitive simplicity of their habits, Lycurgus is said to have forbidden all strangers to reside at Sparta without special permission. For the same reason the Spartans were not allowed to go abroad without leave of the magistrate.

Caution was also another characteristic of the Spartans. Hence we are told that they never pursued an enemy farther than was necessary to make themselves sure of the victory. They were also forbidden by Lycurgus to make frequent war upon the same foes, lest the latter should learn their peculiar tactics.

§ 15. The city of Sparta was never fortified, even in the days of her greatest power, and continued to consist of five distinct quarters, which were originally separate villages, and which were never united into one regular town. It is said that Lycurgus had commanded them not to surround their city with walls, but to trust for their defence to their own military prowess. Another and a better reason for the absence of walls is to be sought in the admirable site of the city, in the midst of a territory almost inaccessible to invaders. The northern and western frontiers of Laconia were protected by lofty ranges of mountains, through which there were only a few difficult passes; while the rocky nature of its eastern coast protected it from invasion by sea. Sparta was situated inland, in

the middle of the valley of the Eurotas; and all the principal passes of Laconia led to the city, which was thus placed in the best position for the defence of the country. There can be no doubt that one of the causes of the Spartan power is to be traced to the strength of its frontiers and to the site of Sparta itself.

§ 16. The legislation of Lycurgus was followed by important results. It made the Spartans a body of professional soldiers, well trained and well disciplined, at a time when military training and discipline were little known, and almost unpractised in the other states of Greece. The consequence was the rapid growth of the political power of Sparta, and the subjugation of the neighboring states. At the time of Lycurgus the Spartans held only a small portion of Laconia: they were merely a garrison in the heart of an enemy's country. Their first object was to make themselves masters of Laconia, in which they finally succeeded after a severe struggle. The military ardor and love of war which had been implanted in them by the institutions of Lycurgus continued to animate them after the subjugation of Laconia, and led them to seek new conquests. We have already seen that they offered a successful resistance to the formidable power of Pheidon of Argos. They now began to cast longing eyes upon the possessions of their Dorian brethren in Messenia, and to meditate the conquest of that fertile country.



Head of Lycurgus.



Early Greek Armor, from Vase-Paintings.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF SPARTA. — THE MESSENIAN, ARCADIAN, AND ARGIVE WARS.

§ 1. Authorities for the History of the Messenian War. § 2. The First Messenian War, B. C. 743-724. § 3. The Second Messenian War, B. C. 685-668. Aristomenes, the Messenian Hero, and Tyrtæus, the Spartan Hero, of this War. § 4. Wars between the Spartans and Arcadians. Conquest of the Southern Part of Arcadia by Sparta. War between Sparta and Tegea. § 5. Wars between the Spartans and Argives. Battle of the Three Hundred Champions to decide the Possession of Cynuria.

§ 1. THE early wars of Sparta were carried on against the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. They resulted in making Sparta the undisputed mistress of two thirds of Peloponnesus, and the most powerful of the Grecian states. Of these wars the two waged against Messenia were the most celebrated and the most important. They were both long protracted and obstinately contested. They both ended in the victory of Sparta, and in the subjugation of Messenia. These facts are beyond dispute, and are attested by the contemporary poet Tyrtæus. But of the details of these wars we have no trustworthy narrative. The account of them which is inserted in most histories of Greece is taken from Pausanias, a writer who lived in the second century of the Christian era. He derived his narrative of the first war from a prose writer of the name of Myron, who did not live earlier than the third century before the Christian era; and he took his account of the second from a poet called Rhianus, a native of Crete, who lived about B. C. 220. Both these writers were separated from the events which they narrated by a period of five

hundred years, and probably derived their materials from the stories current among the Messenians after their restoration to their native land by Epaminondas. Information of an historical character could not be expected from the work of Rhianus, which was an epic poem celebrating the exploits of the great hero Aristomenes. We must not, therefore, receive the common account of the Messenian wars as a real history; and we shall consequently give only a brief outline of the narrative of Pausanias. The dates of the two wars cannot be fixed with certainty. Pausanias makes the first last from B. C. 748 to 722, and the second from B. C. 685 to 668. Both of these dates are probably too early.

§ 2. The real cause of the first Messenian war was doubtless the lust of the Spartans for the fertile territories of their neighbors. But its origin is narrated in the following manner. On the heights of Mount Taygētus, which separated the two kingdoms, there was a temple of Artemis (Diana), common to the Spartans and Messenians. It was here that the Spartan king, Teleclus, was slain by the Messenians; but the two people gave a different version of the cause of his death. The Spartans asserted that Teleclus was murdered by the Messenians, while he was attempting to defend some Spartan virgins, whom he was conducting to the temple, from the insults of the Messenian youth. The Messenians, on the other hand, averred that Teleclus had dressed up young men as virgins with concealed daggers, and that Teleclus was slain in the affray which ensued upon the discovery of the plot. The war did not, however, immediately break out; and the direct cause of it was owing to a private quarrel. Polychares, a distinguished Messenian, who had gained the prize at the Olympic games, had been grossly injured by the Spartan Euæphnus, who had robbed him of his cattle and murdered his son. Being unable to obtain redress from the Spartan government, Polychares took the revenge into his own hands, and killed all the Lacedæmonians that came in his way. The Spartans demanded the surrender of Polychares, but the Messenians refused to give him up. Thereupon the Spartans determined upon war. They silently prepared their forces; and without any formal declaration of war, they crossed the frontier, surprised the fortress of Amphicæ, and put the inhabitants to the sword.

Thus commenced the first Messenian war. Euphaes, who was then king of Messenia, carried on the war with energy and vigor. For the first four years the Lacedæmonians made little progress; but in the fifth a great battle was fought, and although its result was indecisive, the Messenians did not venture to risk another engagement, and retired to the strongly fortified mountain of Ithômê. In their distress they sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and received the appalling answer, that the salvation of Messenia required the sacrifice of a virgin of the house of Æpytus * to the

* The royal family of Messenia was descended from Æpytus, who was a son of Cresphontes.

gods of the lower world. Aristodēmus offered his own daughter as the victim; but a young Messenian, who loved the maiden, attempted to save her life by declaring that she was about to become a mother. Her father, enraged at this assertion, killed his daughter with his own hand and opened her body to refute the calumny. Although the demands of the oracle had not been satisfied, since this was a murder and not a sacrifice, the Spartans were so disheartened by the news, that they abstained from attacking the Messenians for some years. In the thirteenth year of the war, the Spartan king, Theopompus, marched against Ithome, and a second great battle was fought, but the result was again indecisive. Euphaes fell in the action; and Aristodemus, who was chosen king in his place, prosecuted the war with vigor and ability. In the fifth year of his reign a third great battle was fought, in which the Corinthians fought on the side of the Spartans, and the Arcadians and Sicyonians on the side of the Messenians. This time the Messenians gained a decisive victory, and the Lacedæmonians were driven back into their own territory. They now sent to ask advice of the Delphian oracle, and were promised success upon using stratagem. They therefore had recourse to fraud; and at the same time various prodigies dismayed the bold spirit of Aristodemus. His daughter too appeared to him in a dream, showed to him her wounds, and summoned him away. Seeing that his country was doomed to destruction, Aristodemus slew himself on his daughter's tomb. Shortly afterwards, in the twentieth year of the war, the Messenians abandoned Ithome, which the Lacedæmonians razed to the ground, and the whole country became subject to Sparta. Many of the inhabitants fled into Arcadia, and the priestly families withdrew to Eleusia, in Attica. Those who remained in the country were treated with great severity. They were reduced to the condition of Helots, and were compelled to pay to their masters half of the produce of their lands. This is attested by the authority of Tyrtæus, who says, "Like asses worn down by heavy burdens, they were compelled to make over to their masters an entire half of the produce of their fields, and to come in the garb of woe to Sparta, themselves and their wives, as mourners at the decease of the kings and principal persons."

§ 3. For thirty-nine years the Messenians endured this degrading yoke. At the end of this time (B. C. 685) they took up arms against their oppressors, having found a leader in Aristomēnes, of Andania, sprung from the royal line of Æpytus. The exploits of this hero form the great subject of the second Messenian war. It would appear that most of the states in Peloponnesus took part in this struggle. The Argives, Arcadians, Sicyonians, and Pisatans were the principal allies of the Messenians; but the Corinthians sent assistance to Sparta. The first battle was fought before the arrival of the allies on either side; and though it was indecisive, the valor of Aristomenes struck fear into the hearts of the Spartans. To frighten the enemy still more, the hero crossed the frontier, entered Sparta

by night, and affixed a shield to the temple of Athena Chalciceus (Minerva of the Brazen House), with the inscription, "Dedicated by Aristomenes to the goddess from the Spartan spoils."

The Spartans in alarm sent to Delphia for advice. The god bade them apply to Athens for a leader. Fearing to disobey the oracle, but with the view of rendering no real assistance, the Athenians sent Tyrtæus of Aphidnæ, who is represented in the popular legend as a lame man and a schoolmaster. The Spartans received their new leader with due honor; and he was not long in justifying the credit of the oracle. His martial songs roused the fainting courage of the Spartans, and animated them to new efforts against the foe.* The Spartans showed their gratitude by making him a citizen of their state. So efficacious were his poems, that to them is mainly ascribed the final success of the Spartans. Hence he appears as the great hero of Sparta during the second Messenian war. Some of his celebrated songs have come down to us, and the following war-march is a specimen:—

"To the field, to the field, gallant Spartan band,
Worthy sons, like your sires, of our warlike land!
Let each arm be prepared for its part in the fight,
Fix the shield on the left, poise the spear with the right,
Let no care for your lives in your bosoms find place,
No such case knew the heroes of old Spartan race." †

Encouraged by the strains of Tyrtæus, the Spartans again marched against the Messenians. But they were not at first successful. A great battle was fought at the Boar's Grave in the plain of Stenyclærus, in which the allies of both sides were present. The Spartans were defeated with great loss; and the Messenian maidens of a later day used to sing how "Aristomenes pursued the flying Lacedæmonians down to the mid-plain of Stenyclærus, and up to the very summit of the mountain." In the third year of the war another great battle was fought, in which the Messenians suffered a signal defeat, in consequence of the treachery of Aristocrates, the king of the Arcadian Orchomenus. So great was the loss of the Messenians, that Aristomenes no longer ventured to meet the Spartans in the open field; he therefore resolved to follow the example of the Messenian leaders in the former war, and concentrate his strength in a fortified spot. For this purpose he chose the mountain fortress of Ira, and there he continued to prosecute the war for eleven years. The Spartans encamped at the foot of the mountain; but Aristomenes frequently sallied from his fortress, and ravaged the lands of Laconia with fire and sword. It is unnecessary to relate all the wonderful exploits of this hero in his various incursions. Thrice did he offer to Jove Ithomates the sacri-

* "Tyrtæusque mares animos in Martia bella
Versibus exacuit." — Hor. *Art. Poet.* 402.

† Mure's *History of Greek Literature*, Vol. III. p. 195.

face called Hecatomphonia, reserved for the warrior who had slain a hundred enemies with his own hand. Thrice he was taken prisoner; on two occasions he burst his bonds, but on the third he was carried to Sparta, and thrown with his fifty companions into a deep pit, called Ceadas. His comrades were all killed by the fall; but Aristomenes reached the bottom unhurt. He saw, however, no means of escape, and had resigned himself to death; but on the third day, perceiving a fox creeping among the bodies, he grasped its tail, and, following the animal as it struggled to escape, discovered an opening in the rock. Through the favor of the gods the hero thus escaped, and on the next day was again at Ira, to the surprise alike of friends and foes. But his single prowess was not sufficient to avert the ruin of his country; he had incurred, moreover, the anger of the Dioscuri or the Twin gods; and the favor of Heaven was therefore turned from him. One night the Spartans surprised Ira, while Aristomenes was disabled by a wound; but he collected the bravest of his followers, and forced his way through the enemy. He took refuge in Arcadia, where he was hospitably received; but the plan which he had formed for surprising Sparta was betrayed by Aristocrates, whom his countrymen stoned for his treachery.

Many of the exiled Messenians went to Rhegium, in Italy, under the sons of Aristomenes, but the hero himself finished his days in Rhodes. His memory long lived in the hearts of his countrymen; and later legends related, that in the fatal battle of Leuctra, which destroyed for ever the Lacedæmonian power, the hero was seen scattering destruction among the Spartan troops.

The second Messenian war was terminated by the complete subjugation of the Messenians, who again became the serfs of their conquerors (B. C. 668). In this condition they remained till the restoration of their independence by Epameinondas, in the year 369 B. C. During the whole of the intervening period the Messenians disappear from history. The country called Messenia in the map was in reality a portion of Laconia, which, after the second Messenian war, extended across the South of Peloponnesus from the eastern to the western sea.

§ 4. Of the history of the wars between the Spartans and Arcadians we have fewer details. The Spartans made various attempts to extend their dominion over Arcadia. Hence the Arcadians afforded assistance to the Messenians in their struggle against Sparta, and they evinced their sympathy for this gallant people by putting to death Aristocrates of Orchomenus, as has been already related. The conquest of Messenia was probably followed by the subjugation of the southern part of Arcadia. We know that the northern frontier of Laconia, consisting of the districts called Sciritis, Belemînâtis, Maleâtis, and Caryâtis, originally belonged to Arcadia, and was conquered by the Lacedæmonians at an early period.

The Lacedæmonians, however, did not meet with equal success in their

attempts against Tegea. This city was situated in the southeastern corner of Arcadia, on the very frontier of Laconia. It possessed a brave and warlike population, and defied the Spartan power for more than two centuries. As early as the reign of Charilaüs, the nephew of Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonians had invaded the territory of Tegea; but they were not only defeated with great loss, but this king was taken prisoner with all his men who had survived the battle. Long afterwards, in the reign of Leon and Agesicles (about B. C. 580), the Lacedæmonians again marched against Tegea, but were again defeated with great loss, and were compelled to work as slaves in the very chains which they had brought with them for the Tegeatans. For a whole generation their arms continued unsuccessful; but in the reign of Anaxandrides and Ariston, the successors of Leon and Agesicles (about B. C. 560), they were at length able to bring the long-protracted struggle to a close. In their distress, they had applied as usual to the Delphic oracle for advice, and had been promised success if they could obtain the bones of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon. The directions of the god enabled them to find the remains of the hero at Tegea: and by a skilful stratagem one of their citizens succeeded in carrying the holy relics to Sparta. The tide of the war now turned. The Tegeatans were constantly defeated, and were at length obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of Sparta. They were not, however, reduced to subjection, like the Messenians. They still continued masters of their own city and territory, and only became dependent allies of Sparta.

§ 5. The history of the early struggle between Argos and Sparta is quite unknown. We have already seen that the whole eastern coast of Peloponnesus had originally belonged to Argos, or the confederacy over which this city presided. The Lacedæmonians, however, succeeded not only in conquering all the eastern coast of Laconia, but also in annexing to their territory the district of Cynuria,* on their northern frontier, which had originally formed part of the dominions of Argos. It is uncertain at what time the Lacedæmonians obtained this important acquisition; but the attempt of the Argives to recover it in 547 B. C. led to one of the most celebrated combats in early Grecian history. It was agreed between the Lacedæmonians and Argives that the possession of the territory should be decided by a combat between three hundred chosen champions on either side. So fierce was the conflict, that only one Spartan and two Argives survived. The latter, supposing that all their opponents had been slain, hastened home with the news of victory; but Othryades, the Spartan warrior, remained on the field, and spoiled the dead bodies of the enemy. Both sides claimed the victory, whereupon a general battle ensued, in which the Argives were defeated. The brave Othryades slew himself on

* The plain called Thyreätis, from the town of Thyrea, was the most important part of Cynuria.

the field of battle, being ashamed to return to Sparta as the one survivor of her three hundred champions. This victory secured the Spartans in the possession of Cynuria, and effectually humbled the power of Argos.

Sparta was now by far the most powerful of the Grecian states. Her own territory, as we have already seen, included the whole southern portion of Peloponnesus; the Arcadians were her subject allies; and Argos had suffered too much from her recent defeat to offer any further resistance to her formidable neighbor. North of the Isthmus of Corinth there was no state whose power could compete with that of Sparta. Athens was still suffering from the civil dissensions which had led to the usurpation of Peisistratus, and no one could have anticipated at this time the rapid and extraordinary growth of this state, which rendered her before long the rival of Sparta.



Messene.



Leaden Sling-bullets and Arrow-heads, found at Athens, Marathon, and Leontini.

CHAPTER IX.

THE AGE OF THE DESPOTS.

§ 1. Abolition of Royalty throughout Greece, except in Sparta. § 2. Establishment of the Oligarchical Governments. § 3. Overthrow of the Oligarchies by the Despots. Character of the Despots, and Causes of their Fall. § 4. Contest between Oligarchy and Democracy on the Removal of the Despots. § 5. Despots of Sicyon. History of Cleisthenes. § 6. Despots of Corinth. History of Cypselus and Periander. § 7. Conflicts of the Oligarchical and Democratical Parties at Megara. Despotism of Theagenes. The Poet Theognis.

§ 1. SPARTA was the only state in Greece which continued to retain the kingly form of government during the brilliant period of Grecian history. In all other parts of Greece royalty had been abolished at an early age, and various forms of republican government established in its stead. In all of these, though differing widely from each other in many of their institutions, hatred of monarchy was a universal feeling. This change in the popular mind deserves our consideration. In the Heroic Age, as we have already seen, monarchy was the only form of government known. At the head of every state stood a king, who had derived his authority from the gods, and whose commands were reverently obeyed by his people. The only check upon his authority was the council of the chiefs, and even they rarely ventured to interfere with his rule. But soon after the commencement of the first Olympiad this reverential feeling towards the king disappears, and his authority and his functions are transferred to the council of chiefs.

This important revolution was owing mainly to the smallness of the Grecian states. It must be constantly remembered that each political community consisted only of the inhabitants of a single city. Among so small a body the king could not surround himself with any pomp or

mystery. He moved as a man among his fellow-men; his faults and his foibles became known to all; and as the Greek mind developed and enlarged itself, his subjects lost all belief in his divine right to their obedience. They had no extent of territory which rendered it advisable to maintain a king for the purpose of preserving their union; and consequently, when they lost respect for his person, and faith in his divine right, they abolished the dignity altogether. This change appears to have been accomplished without any sudden or violent revolutions. Sometimes, on the death of a king, his son was acknowledged as ruler for life, or for a certain number of years, with the title of *Archon*; * and sometimes the royal race was set aside altogether, and one of the nobles was elected to supply the place of the king, with the title of *Prytanis*, or President.† In all cases, however, the new magistrates became more or less responsible to the nobles; and in course of time they were elected for a brief period from the whole body of the nobles, and were accountable to the latter for the manner in which they discharged the duties of their office.

§ 2. The abolition of royalty was thus followed by an Oligarchy, or the government of the Few. This was the first form of republicanism in Greece. Democracy, or the government of the Many, was yet unknown; and the condition of the general mass of the freemen appears to have been unaffected by the revolution. But it paved the way to greater changes. It taught the Greeks the important principle that the political power was vested in the citizens of the state. It is true that these were at first only a small portion of the freemen; but their number might be enlarged; and the idea could not fail to occur, that the power which had been transferred from the One to the Few might be still further extended from the Few to the Many.

The nobles possessed the greater part of the land of the state, and were hence frequently distinguished by the name of *Geomori* or *Gamori*.‡ Their estates were cultivated by a rural and dependent population; whilst they themselves lived in the city, and appear to have formed an exclusive order, transmitting their privileges to their sons alone. But besides this governing body and their rustic dependents, there existed two other classes, consisting of small landed proprietors, who cultivated their fields with their own hands, and of artisans and traders residing in the town. These two classes were constantly increasing in numbers, wealth, and intelligence, and, consequently, began to demand a share in the government, from which they had hitherto been excluded. The ruling body meantime had remained stationary, or had even declined in numbers and in wealth; and they had excited, moreover, the discontent of the people by the arbitrary and oppressive manner in which they had exercised their authority. But it was not from the people that the oligarchies received their first and

* Ἄρχων.

† Πρίτασις.

‡ Γεωμόροι (Ionic), Γαμοροι (Doric), *land-owners*.

greatest blow. They were generally overthrown by the usurpers, to whom the Greeks gave the name of Tyrants.*

§ 3. The Greek word Tyrant does not correspond in meaning to the same word in the English language. It signifies simply an irresponsible ruler, and may therefore be more correctly rendered by the term Despot. The rise of the Despots seems to have taken place about the same time in a large number of the Greek cities. They begin to appear in the middle of the seventh century B. C.; and in the course of the next hundred and fifty years (from B. C. 650 to 500) there were few cities in the Grecian world which escaped this revolution in their government. The growing discontent of the general body of the people afforded facilities to an ambitious citizen to overthrow the existing oligarchy, and to make himself supreme ruler of the state. In most cases the despots belonged to the nobles, but they acquired their power in various ways. The most frequent manner in which they became masters of the state was by espousing the cause of the commonalty, and making use of the strength of the latter to put down the oligarchy by force. Sometimes, but more rarely, one of the nobles, who had been raised to the chief magistracy for a temporary period, availed himself of his position to retain his dignity permanently, in spite of his brother nobles. There was another class of irresponsible rulers to whom the name of *Ἀγμνῆτες*,† or Dictator, was given. The supreme power was voluntarily intrusted to him by the citizens, but only for a limited period, and in order to accomplish some important object, such as reconciling the various factions in the state.

The government of most of the despots was oppressive and cruel. In many states they were at first popular with the general body of the citizens, who had raised them to power and were glad to see the humiliation of their former masters. But discontent soon began to arise; the despot had recourse to violence to put down disaffection, and thus became an object of hatred to his fellow-citizens. In order to protect himself he called in the aid of foreign troops, and took up his residence in the acropolis, surrounded by his mercenaries. The most illustrious citizens were now exiled or put to death, and the government became in reality a tyranny in the modern sense of the word. Some of these despots erected magnificent public works, either to gratify their own love of splendor and display, or with the express view of impoverishing their subjects. Others were patrons of literature and art, and sought to gain popularity by inviting literary men to their court. But even those who exercised their sovereignty with moderation were never able to retain their popularity. The assumption of irresponsible power by one man had become abhorrent to the Greek mind. A person thus raising himself above the law was considered to have forfeited all title to the protection of the law. He was regarded as the greatest of criminals, and his assassination was viewed as a

* Τύραννοι.

† Αἰσχυμήτης.

righteous and holy act. Hence few despots grew old in their government; still fewer bequeathed their power to their sons; and very rarely did the dynasty continue as long as the third generation.

§ 4. Many of the despots in Greece were put down by the Lacedæmonians. The Spartan government, as we have already seen, was essentially an oligarchy; and the Spartans were always ready to lend their powerful aid to the support or the establishment of the government of the Few. Hence they took an active part in the overthrow of the despots, with the intention of establishing the ancient oligarchy in their place. But this rarely happened; and they thus became unintentional instruments in promoting the principles of the popular party. The rule of the despot had broken down the distinction between the nobles and the general body of freemen; and upon the removal of the despot it was found impossible in most cases to reinstate the former body of nobles in their ancient privileges. The latter, it is true, attempted to regain them, and were supported in their attempts by Sparta. Hence arose a new struggle. The first contest after the abolition of royalty was between oligarchy and the despot; the next, which now ensued, was between oligarchy and democracy.

The history of Athens will afford the most striking illustration of the different revolutions of which we have been speaking; but there are some examples in the other Greek states which must not be passed over entirely.

§ 5. The city of Sicyon, situated to the west of the Corinthian Isthmus, was governed by a race of despots for a longer period than any other Greek state. Their dynasty lasted for a hundred years, and is said to have been founded by Orthagoras, about B. C. 676. This revolution is worthy of notice, because Orthagoras did not belong to the oligarchy. The latter consisted of a portion of the Dorian conquerors; and Orthagoras, who belonged to the old inhabitants of the country, obtained the power by the overthrow of the Dorian oligarchy. He and his successors were doubtless supported by the old population, and this was one reason of the long continuance of their power. The last of the dynasty was Cleisthenes, who was celebrated for his wealth and magnificence, and who gained the victory in the chariot-race in the Pythian and Olympic games. He aided the Amphictyons in the sacred war against Cirrha (B. C. 595), and he was also engaged in hostilities with Argos. But the chief point in his history which claims our attention was his systematic endeavor to depress and dishonor the Dorian tribes. It has been already remarked,* that the Dorians in all their settlements were divided into the three tribes of Hylleis, Pamphylis, and Dymænes. These ancient and venerable names he changed into new ones, derived from the sow, the ass, and the pig,† while he declared the superiority of his own tribe by giving it the designation of

* Above, Chap. VII. § 7.

† *Hylæ* (*Yārai*), *Oneā* (*Oveārai*), *Chœreā* (*Xoipeārai*).

Archelai, or lords of the people. Cleisthenes appears to have continued despot till his death, which may be placed about B. C. 560. The dynasty perished with him. He left no son; but his daughter Agarista, whom so many suitors wooed, was married to the Athenian Megacles, of the great family of the Alcmaeonidæ, and became the mother of Cleisthenes, the founder of the Athenian democracy after the expulsion of the Peisistratidæ.

§ 6. The despots of Corinth were still more celebrated. Their dynasty lasted seventy-four years. It was founded by Cypselus, who overthrew the oligarchy called the Bacchiadæ in B. C. 655. His mother belonged to the Bacchiadæ; but as none of the race would marry her on account of her lameness, she espoused a man who did not belong to the ruling class. The Bacchiadæ, having learnt that an oracle had declared that the issue of this marriage would prove their ruin, endeavored to murder the child; but his mother preserved him in a chest, from which he derived his name.* When he had grown up to manhood he came forward as the champion of the people against the nobles, and with their aid expelled the Bacchiadæ, and established himself as despot. He held his power for thirty years (B. C. 655–625), and transmitted it on his death to his son Periander. His government is said to have been mild and popular.

The sway of Periander, on the other hand, is universally represented as oppressive and cruel. Many of the tales related of him may be regarded as the calumnies of his enemies; but there is good reason for believing that he ruled with a rod of iron. The way in which he treated the nobles is illustrated by a well-known tale, which has been transferred to the early history of Rome. Soon after his accession Periander is said to have sent to Thrasylus, despot of Miletus, to ask him for advice as to the best mode of maintaining his power. Without giving an answer in writing, Thrasylus led the messenger through a corn-field, cutting off, as he went, the tallest ears of corn. He then dismissed the messenger, telling him to inform his master how he had found him employed. The action was rightly interpreted by Periander, who proceeded to rid himself of the powerful nobles of the state. The anecdote, whether true or not, is an indication of the common opinion entertained of the government of Periander. We are further told that he protected his person by a body-guard of mercenaries, and kept all rebellion in check by his rigorous measures. It is admitted on all hands that he possessed great ability and military skill; and, however oppressive his government may have been to the citizens of Corinth, he raised the city to a state of great prosperity and power, and made it respected alike by friends and foes. Under his sway Corinth was the wealthiest and the most powerful of all the commercial communities of Greece; and at no other period in its history does it appear in so flourishing a condition. In his reign many important colonies were

* Cypselus from *cypselê* (κυψέλη), a chest.

founded by Corinth on the coast of Acarnania and the surrounding islands and coasts, and his sovereignty extended over Corcyra, Ambracia, Leucas, and Anactorium, all of which were independent states in the next generation. Corinth possessed harbors on either side of the Isthmus, and the customs and port-dues were so considerable, that Periander required no other source of revenue.

Periander was also a warm patron of literature and art. He welcomed the poet Arion and the philosopher Anacharsis to his court, and was numbered by some among the Seven Sages of Greece.

The private life of Periander was marked by great misfortunes, which embittered his latter days. He is said to have killed his wife Melissa in a fit of anger; whereupon his son Lycophron left Corinth and withdrew to Corcyra. The youth continued so incensed against his father that he refused to return to Corinth, when Periander in his old age begged him to come back and assume the government. Finding him inexorable, Periander, who was anxious to insure the continuance of his dynasty, then offered to go to Corcyra, if Lycophron would take his place at Corinth. To this his son assented; but the Corcyraeans, fearing the stern rule of the old man, put Lycophron to death.

Periander reigned forty years (B. C. 625–585). He was succeeded by a relative, Psammetichus, son of Gorgias, who only reigned between three and four years, and is said to have been put down by the Lacedæmonians.

§ 7. During the reign of Periander at Corinth, Theagenes made himself despot in the neighboring city of Megara, probably about B. C. 630. He overthrew the oligarchy by espousing the popular cause; but he did not maintain his power till his death, and was driven from the government about B. C. 600. A struggle now ensued between the oligarchy and the democracy, which was conducted with more than usual violence. The popular party obtained the upper hand, and abused their victory. The poor entered the houses of the rich, and forced them to provide costly banquets. They confiscated the property of the nobles, and drove most of them into exile. They not only cancelled their debts, but also forced the aristocratic creditors to refund all the interest which had been paid. But the expatriated nobles returned in arms and restored the oligarchy. They were, however, again expelled, and it was not till after long struggles and convulsions that an oligarchical government was permanently established at Megara.

These Megarian revolutions are interesting as a specimen of the struggles between the oligarchical and democratical parties, which seem to have taken place in many other Grecian states about the same time. Some account of them is given by the contemporary poet Theognis, who himself belonged to the oligarchical party at Megara. He was born and spent his life in the midst of these convulsions, and most of his poetry was composed at the time when the oligarchical party was oppressed and in exile.

In his poems the nobles are the *good*, and the commons the *bad*, terms which at that period were regularly used in this political signification, and not in their later ethical meaning.* We find in his poems some interesting descriptions of the social changes which the popular revolution had effected. It had rescued the country population from a condition of abject poverty and serfdom, and had given them a share in the government.

"Our commonwealth preserves its former fame:
Our common people are no more the same.
They that in skins and hides were rudely dressed,
Nor dreamt of law, nor sought to be redressed
By rules of right, but in the days of old
Lived on the land, like cattle in the fold,
Are now the *Brave* and *Good*; and we, the rest,
Are now the *Mean* and *Bad*,† though once the best."

An aristocracy of wealth had also begun to spring up in place of an aristocracy of birth, and intermarriages had taken place between the two parties in the state.

"But in the daily matches that we make
The price is everything; for money's sake
Men marry, — Women are in marriage given;
The *Bad* or *Coward*,‡ that in wealth has thriven,
May match his offspring with the proudest race:
Thus everything is mixed, noble and base."

Theognis lost his property in the revolution, and had been driven into exile; and the following lines show the ferocious spirit which sometimes animated the Greeks in their party struggles.

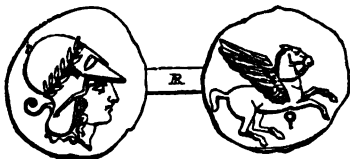
"Yet my full wish, to drink their very blood,
Some power divine, that watches for my good,
May yet accomplish. Soon may he fulfil
My righteous hope, — my just and hearty will." ‡

These Sicyonian, Corinthian, and Megarian despots were some of the most celebrated; and their history will serve as samples of what took place in most of the Grecian states in the seventh and sixth centuries before the Christian era.

* It should be recollected that the terms *οἱ ἀγαθοί*, *ἑσθλοί*, *βελτιστοί*, &c. are frequently used by the Greek writers to signify the nobles, and *οἱ κακοί*, *δειλοί*, &c. to signify the commons. The Latin writers employ in like manner *boni*, *optimates*, and *malī*.

† All these terms are used in their political signification.

‡ The preceding extracts from Theognis are taken from the translation of the poet published by Mr. Frere at Malta in 1842.



Coin of Corinth.



Croesus on the Funeral Pile. (See p. 95.)—From an Ancient Vase.

CHAPTER X.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE ATHENIANS DOWN TO THE USURPATION OF PEISISTRATUS.

§ 1. Early Division of Attica into Twelve Independent States, said to have been united by Theseus. § 2. Abolition of Royalty. Life Archons. Decennial Archons. Annual Archons. § 3. Twofold Division of the Athenians. (1.) Eupatridæ, Geomori, Demiurgi. (2.) Four Tribes: Geleontes, Hopletes, Ægicoreas, Argades. § 4. Division of the Four Tribes into Trittyes and Naucrariæ, and into Phratriæ and Genè or Gentes. § 5. The Government exclusively in the Hands of the Eupatridæ. The Nine Archons and their Functions. The Senate of Areopagus. § 6. The Legislation of Draco. § 7. The Conspiracy of Cylon. His Failure, and Massacre of his Partisans by Megacles, the Alcmaeonid. Expulsion of the Alcmaeonidæ. § 8. Visit of Epimenides to Athens. His Purification of the City. § 9. Life of Solon. § 10. State of Attica at the time of Solon's Legislation. § 11. Solon elected Archon, B. C. 594, with Legislative Powers. § 12. His Seisachtheia or Disburdening Ordinance. § 13. His Constitutional Changes. Division of the People into Four Classes, according to their Property. § 14. Institution of the Senate of Four Hundred. Enlargement of the Powers of the Areopagus. The Athenian Government continues an Oligarchy after the Time of Solon. § 15. The Special Laws of Solon. § 16. The Travels of Solon. § 17. Usurpation of Peisistratus. Return and Death of Solon.

§ 1. THE history of Athens before the age of Solon is almost a blank. Its legendary tales are few, its historical facts still fewer. Cecrops, the

first ruler of Attica,* is said to have divided the country into twelve districts, which are represented as independent communities, each governed by a separate king. They were afterwards united into a single state, having Athens as its capital and the seat of government. At what time this important union was effected cannot be determined. It took place at a period long antecedent to all historical records, and is ascribed to Theseus, as the national hero of the Athenian people.† The poets and orators of a later age loved to represent him as the parent of the Athenian democracy. It would be a loss of time to point out the folly and absurdity of such a notion. Theseus belongs to legend, and not to history; and in the age in which he is placed, a democratical form of government was a thing quite unknown.

§ 2. A few generations after Theseus, the Dorians are said to have invaded Attica. An oracle declared that they would be victorious if they spared the life of the Athenian king; whereupon Codrus, who then reigned at Athens, resolved to sacrifice himself for the welfare of his country. Accordingly he went into the invaders' camp in disguise, provoked a quarrel with one of the Dorian soldiers, and was killed by the latter. Upon learning the death of the Athenian king, the Dorians retired from Attica without striking a blow; and the Athenians, from respect to the memory of Codrus, abolished the title of king, and substituted for it that of Archon ‡ or Ruler. The office, however, was held for life, and was confined to the family of Codrus. His son, Medon, was the first archon, and he was followed in the dignity by eleven members of the family in succession. But soon after the accession of Alcmaeon, the thirteenth in descent from Medon, another change was introduced, and the duration of the archonship was limited to ten years (B. C. 752). The dignity was still confined to the descendants of Medon; but in the time of Hippomenes (B. C. 714) this restriction was removed, and the office was thrown open to all the nobles in the state. In B. C. 683, a still more important change took place. The archonship was now made annual, and its duties were distributed among nine persons, all of whom bore the title, although one was called *the* archon pre-eminently, and gave his name to the year. The last of the decennial archons was Eryxias; the first of the nine annual archons, Creon.

Such is the legendary account of the change of government at Athens, from royalty to an oligarchy. It appears to have taken place peaceably and gradually, as in most other Greek states. The whole political power was vested in the nobles; from them the nine annual archons were taken, and to them alone these magistrates were responsible. The people, or general body of freemen, had no share in the government.

§ 3. The Athenian nobles were called *Eupatridæ*. Their name is as-

* See p. 14.

† For details see p. 18.

‡ Ἀρχων.

cribed to Theseus, who is said to have divided the Athenian people into three classes, called *Eupatridæ*, *Geomorî* or husbandmen, and *Demiurgi** or artisans. The Eupatridæ were the sole depositaries of political and religious power. In addition to the election of the archons, they possessed the superintendence of all religious matters, and were the authorized expounders of all laws, sacred and profane. They corresponded to the Roman patricians; while the two other classes, who were their subjects, answered to the Roman plebeians.

There was another division of the Athenians still more ancient, and one which continued to a much later period. We have seen that the Dorians in most of their settlements were divided into three tribes. The Ionians, in like manner, were usually distributed into four tribes.† This division existed in Attica from the earliest times, and lasted in full vigor down to the great revolution of Cleisthenes (B. C. 509). The four Attic tribes had different appellations at various periods, but were finally distinguished by the names of *Geleontes* (or *Teleontes*), *Hoplêtes*, *Ægicôres*, and *Argædes*,‡ which they are said to have derived from the four sons of Ion. The etymology of these names would seem to suggest that the tribes were so called from the occupations of their members; the Geleontes (Teleontes) being *cultivators*, the Hopletes the *warrior-class*, the Ægicôres *goat-herds*, and the Argades *artisans*. Hence some modern writers have supposed that the Athenians were originally divided into castes, like the Egyptians and Indians. But the etymology of these names is not free from doubt and dispute; and even if they were borrowed from certain occupations, they might soon have lost their original meaning, and become mere titles without any significance.

§ 4. There were two divisions of the four Athenian tribes, one for political, and another for religious and social purposes.

For political purposes each tribe was divided into three Trittyes, and each Trittys into four Naucrariæ.§ There were thus twelve Trittyes and forty-eight Naucrariæ. These appear to have been local divisions of the whole Athenian people, and to have been made chiefly for financial and military objects. Each Naucrâry consisted of the Naucrâri, or householders,|| who had to furnish the amount of taxes and soldiers imposed upon the district to which they belonged.

The division of the tribes for political and social purposes is more frequently mentioned. Each tribe is said to have contained three Phratrîæ, each Phratry thirty Genê or Gentes, and each Genos or Gens thirty

* Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιουργοί.

† Φῶλον, pl. Φῶλα.

‡ Γελέοντες or Τελέοντες, Ὀπληγες, Αἰγικορεῖς, Ἀργαεῖς.

§ Τριττύς, Ναυκραρία.

|| Ναύκραρος seems to be connected with ναίω, *dwelt*, and is only another form for ναύκλαρος or ναύκληρος.

heads of families.* Accordingly there would have been twelve Phratræ, three hundred and sixty Gentes, and eighteen hundred heads of families. It is evident, however, that such symmetrical numbers could never have been preserved, even if they had ever been instituted; and while it is certain that the number of families must have increased in some gentes, and decreased in others, it may also be questioned whether the same number of gentes existed in each tribe. But whatever may be thought of the numbers, the phratræ and gentes were important elements in the religious and social life of the Athenians. The families composing a gens were united by certain religious rites and social obligations. They were accustomed to meet together at fixed periods to offer sacrifices to a hero, whom they regarded as the common ancestor of all the families of the gens. They had a common place of burial and common property; and in case of a member dying intestate, his property devolved upon his gens. They were bound to assist each other in difficulties. There was also a connection between the gentes of the same phratry, and between the phratræ of the same tribe, by means of certain religious rites; and at the head of each tribe there was a magistrate called the *Phylo-Basileus*,† or King of the Tribe, who offered sacrifices on behalf of the whole body.

§ 5. The real history of Athens begins with the institution of annual archons, in the year 683 B. C. This is the first date in Athenian history on which certain reliance can be placed. The duties of the government were distributed among the nine archons, in the following manner. The first, as has been already remarked, was called *The Archon* ‡ by way of pre-eminence, and sometimes the *Archon Eponymus*,§ because the year was distinguished by his name. He was the president of the body, and the representative of the dignity of the state. He was the protector of widows and orphans, and determined all disputes relating to the family. The second archon was called *The Basileus* or *The King*, because he represented the king in his capacity as high-priest of the nation.¶ All cases respecting religion and homicide were brought before him. The third archon bore the title of *The Polemarch*,¶ or Commander-in-chief, and was, down to the time of Cleisthenes, the commander of the troops. He had jurisdiction in all disputes between citizens and strangers. The remaining six had the common title of *Thesmothetæ*,** or Legislators. They

* Φρατρία, i. e. *brotherhood*: the word is etymologically connected with *frater* and *brother*. The word Γένος, or Gens, answers nearly in meaning to our *clan*. The members of a γένος were called γεννήται or ὁμογαλάκτες.

† Φυλοβασιλεύς.

‡ Ὁ Ἄρχων.

§ Ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος.

¶ Ὁ βασιλεύς. In the same manner the title of *Rex Sacrificulus* or *Rex Sacrorum* was retained at Rome after the abolition of royalty.

¶ Ὁ Πολέμαρχος.

** Θεσμόθεται. The word *θεσμοί* was the ancient term for *laws*, and was afterwards supplanted by *νόμοι*. The later expression for making laws is *θέσθαι νόμους*.

had the decision of all disputes which did not specially belong to the other three. Their duties seem to have been almost exclusively judicial; and for this reason they received their name, not that they made the laws, but because their particular sentences had the force of laws in the absence of a written code.

The Senate, or Council of Areopagus, was the only other political power in the state in these early times. It received its name from its place of meeting, which was a rocky eminence near the Acropolis, called the Hill of Ares (Mars' Hill).^{*} Its institution is ascribed by some writers to Solon; but it existed long before the time of that legislator, and may be regarded as the representative of the council of chiefs in the Heroic Ages. It was originally called simply The Senate or Council, and did not obtain the name of the senate of Areopagus till Solon instituted another senate, from which it was necessary to distinguish it. It was of course formed exclusively of Eupatrids, and all the archons became members of it at the expiration of their year of office.

§ 6. The government of the Eupatrids, like most of the early oligarchies, seems to have been oppressive. In the absence of written laws, the archons possessed an arbitrary power, of which they probably availed themselves to the benefit of their friends and their order, and to the injury of the general body of citizens. The consequence was great discontent, which at length became so serious, that Draco was appointed in 624 B. C. to draw up a written code of laws. He did not change the political constitution of Athens, and the most remarkable characteristic of his laws was their extreme severity. He affixed the penalty of death to all crimes alike; — to petty thefts, for instance, as well as to sacrilege and murder. Hence they were said to have been written not in ink, but in blood; and we are told that he justified this extreme harshness by saying, that small offences deserved death, and that he knew no severer punishment for great ones. This severity, however, must be attributed rather to the spirit of the times, than to any peculiar harshness in Draco himself; for he probably did little more than reduce to writing the ordinances which had previously regulated his brother Eupatrids in their decision of cases. His laws would of course appear excessively severe to a later age, long accustomed to a milder system of jurisprudence; but there is reason for believing that their severity has been somewhat exaggerated. In one instance, indeed, Draco softened the ancient rigor of the law. Before his time all homicides were tried by the senate of Areopagus, and, if found guilty, were condemned to suffer the full penalty of the law, — either death, or perpetual banishment with confiscation of property. The senate had no power to take account of any extenuating or justifying circumstances. Draco left to this ancient body the trial of all cases of wilful murder; but he appointed fifty-one new judges, called *Ephetæ*,[†] who were to

^{*} Ὁ Ἀρειος πάγος.

[†] Ἐφέται.

try all cases of homicide in which accident or any other justification could be pleaded. His regulations with respect to homicide continued in use after his other ordinances had been repealed by Solon.

§ 7. The legislation of Draco failed to calm the prevailing discontent. The people gained nothing by the written code, except a more perfect knowledge of its severity; and civil dissensions prevailed as extensively as before. The general dissatisfaction with the government was favorable to revolutionary projects; and accordingly, twelve years after Draco's legislation (B. C. 612), one of the nobles conceived the design of depriving his brother Eupatrids of their power, and making himself despot of Athens. This noble was Cylon, one of the most distinguished members of the order. He had gained a victory at the Olympic games, and had married the daughter of Theagenes, of Megara, who had made himself despot of his native city. Encouraged by the success of his father-in-law, and excited by his own celebrity and position in the state, he consulted the Delphic oracle on the subject, and was advised to seize the Acropolis at "the greatest festival of Zeus." Cylon naturally supposed that the god referred to the Olympic games, in which he had gained so much distinction, forgetting that the Diasia was the greatest festival of Zeus at Athens. Accordingly, during the celebration of the next Olympic games, he took possession of the Acropolis with a considerable force, composed partly of his own partisans, and partly of troops furnished by Theagenes. But he did not meet with any support from the great mass of the people, and he soon found himself closely blockaded by the forces which the government was able to summon to its assistance. Cylon and his brother made their escape: but the remainder of his associates, hard pressed by hunger, abandoned the defence of the walls, and took refuge at the altar of Athena (Minerva). Here they were found by the archon Megacles, one of the illustrious family of the Alcmaeonidæ; who, fearing lest their death should pollute the sanctuary of the goddess, promised that their lives should be spared on their quitting the place. But directly they had quitted the temple, the promise was broken, and they were put to death; and some who had taken refuge at the altar of the Eumenides, or the Furies, were murdered even at that sacred spot.

The conspiracy thus failed; but its suppression was attended with a long train of melancholy consequences. The whole family of the Alcmaeonidæ were believed to have become tainted by the daring act of sacrilege committed by Megacles; and the friends and partisans of the murdered conspirators were not slow in demanding vengeance upon the accursed race. Thus a new element of discord was introduced into the state. The power and influence of the Alcmaeonidæ enabled them long to resist the attempts of their opponents to bring them to a public trial; and it was not till many years after these events that Solon persuaded them to submit their case to the judgment of a special court composed of three hundred

Eupatridæ. By this court they were adjudged guilty of sacrilege, and were expelled from Attica; but their punishment was not considered to expiate their impiety, and we shall find in the later times of Athenian history that this powerful family was still considered an accursed race, which by the sacrilegious act of its ancestor brought upon their native land the anger of the gods. The expulsion of the Alcæonidæ appears to have taken place about the year 597 B. C.

§ 8. The banishment of the guilty race did not, however, deliver the Athenians from their religious fears. They imagined that their state had incurred the anger of the gods: and the pestilential disease with which they were visited was regarded as an unerring sign of divine wrath. Upon the advice of the Delphic oracle, they invited the celebrated Cretan prophet and sage, Epimenides, to visit Athens, and purify their city from pollution and sacrilege.

Epimenides was one of the most renowned prophets of the age. In his youth he was said to have been overtaken by a sleep, which lasted for fifty-seven years. During this miraculous trance he had been favored with frequent intercourse with the gods, and had learned the means of propitiating them and gaining their favor. This venerable seer was received with the greatest reverence at Athens. By performing certain sacrifices and expiatory rites, he succeeded in staying the plague, and in purifying the city from its guilt. The religious despondency of the Athenians now ceased, and the grateful people offered their benefactor a talent of gold; but he refused the money, and contented himself with a branch from the sacred olive-tree which grew on the Acropolis. The visit of Epimenides to Athens occurred about the year 596 B. C.

Epimenides had been assisted in his undertaking by the advice of Solon, who now enjoyed a distinguished reputation at Athens, and to whom his fellow-citizens looked up as the only person in the state who could deliver them from their political and social dissensions, and secure them from such misfortunes for the future.

§ 9. We have now come to an important period in Athenian and in Grecian history. The legislation of Solon laid the foundations of the greatness of Athens. Solon himself was one of the most remarkable men in the early history of Greece. He possessed a deep knowledge of human nature, and was animated in his public conduct by a lofty spirit of patriotism. It is, therefore, the more to be regretted that we are acquainted with only a few facts in his life. His birth may be placed about the year 638 B. C. He was the son of Execestides, who traced his descent from the heroic Codrus; and his mother was first-cousin to the mother of Peisistratus. His father possessed only a moderate fortune, which he had still further diminished by prodigality; and Solon in consequence was obliged to have recourse to trade. He visited many parts of Greece and Asia as a merchant, and formed acquaintance with

many of the most eminent men of his time. At an early age he distinguished himself by his poetical abilities ; and so widely did his reputation extend, that he was reckoned one of the Seven Sages.

The first occasion which induced Solon to take an active part in political affairs was the contest between Athens and Megara for the possession of Salamis. That island had revolted to Megara ; and the Athenians had so repeatedly failed in their attempts to recover it, that they forbade any citizen, under the penalty of death, to make any proposition for the renewal of the enterprise. Indignant at such pusillanimous conduct, Solon caused a report to be spread through the city that he was mad, and then in a state of frenzied excitement he rushed into the market-place, and recited to a crowd of bystanders a poem which he had previously composed on the loss of Salamis. He upbraided the Athenians with their disgrace, and called upon them to reconquer "the lovely island." "Rather," he exclaimed, "would I be a denizen of the most contemptible community in Greece than a citizen of Athens, to be pointed at as one of those Attic dastards who had so basely relinquished their right to Salamis." His stratagem was completely successful. His friends seconded his proposal : and the people unanimously rescinded the law, and resolved once more to try the fortune of war. Solon was appointed to the command of the expedition, in which he was accompanied by his young kinsman, Peisistratus. In a single campaign (about B. C. 600) Solon drove the Megarians out of the island ; but a tedious war ensued, and at last both parties agreed to refer the matter in dispute to the arbitration of Sparta. Solon pleaded the cause of his countrymen, and is said on this occasion to have forged the line in the *Iliad*,* which represents Aias (Ajax) ranging his ship with those of the Athenians. The Lacedæmonians decided in favor of the Athenians, in whose hands the island remained henceforward down to the latest times.

Soon after the conquest of Salamis, Solon's reputation was further increased by espousing the cause of the Delphian temple against Cirrha. He is said to have moved the decree of the Amphictyons, by which war was declared against the guilty city (B. C. 595).†

§ 10. The state of Attica at the time of Solon's legislation demands a more particular account than we have hitherto given. Its population was divided into three factions, who were now in a state of violent hostility against each other. These parties consisted of the *Pediæis*,‡ or wealthy Eupatrid inhabitants of the plains ; of the *Diacrii*,§ or poor inhabitants of the hilly districts in the north and east of Attica ; and of the *Parali*,|| or mercantile inhabitants of the coasts, who held an intermediate position between the other two.

* II. 558.

§ Διάκριοι.

† See p. 48.

|| Πάραλοι.

‡ Πεδιείς or Πεδιαῖοι.

The cause of the dissensions between these parties is not particularly mentioned; but the difficulties attending these disputes had become aggravated by the miserable condition of the poorer population of Attica. The latter were in a state of abject poverty. They had borrowed money from the wealthy at exorbitant rates of interest, upon the security of their property and their persons. If the principal and interest of the debt were not paid, the creditor had the power of seizing the person as well as the land of his debtor, and of using him as a slave. Many had thus been torn from their homes and sold to barbarian masters; while others were cultivating as slaves the lands of their wealthy creditors in Attica. The rapacity of the rich and the degradation of the poor are recorded by Solon in the existing fragments of his poetry; and matters had now come to such a crisis, that the existing laws could no longer be enforced, and the poor were ready to rise in open insurrection against the rich.

§ 11. In these alarming circumstances, the ruling oligarchy were obliged to have recourse to Solon. They were aware of the vigorous protest he had made against their injustice; but they trusted that his connection with their party would help them over their present difficulties; and they therefore chose him Archon in B. C. 594, investing him under that title with unlimited powers to effect any changes he might consider beneficial to the state. His appointment was hailed with satisfaction by the poor; and all parties were willing to accept his mediation and reforms.

Many of Solon's friends urged him to take advantage of his position and make himself despot of Athens. There is no doubt he would have succeeded if he had made the attempt, but he had the wisdom and the virtue to resist the temptation, telling his friends that "despotism might be a fine country, but there was no way out of it." Dismissing, therefore, all thoughts of personal aggrandizement, he devoted all his energies to the difficult task he had undertaken.

§ 12. He commenced his undertaking by relieving the poorer class of debtors from their existing distress. This he effected by a celebrated ordinance called *Seisachtheia*, or a shaking off of burdens.* This measure cancelled all contracts by which the land or person of a debtor had been given as security: it thus relieved the land from all encumbrances and claims, and set at liberty all persons who had been reduced to slavery on account of their debts. Solon also provided means of restoring to their homes those citizens who had been sold into foreign countries. He forbade for the future all loans in which the person of the debtor was pledged as security. This extensive measure entirely released the poorer classes from their difficulties, but it must have left many of their creditors unable to discharge their obligations. To give the latter some relief, he lowered

* *Σεισάχθεια*. Equivalent to a bankrupt law. — ED.

the standard of the coinage, so that the debtor saved rather more than a fourth in every payment.*

Some of his friends, having obtained a hint of his intention, borrowed large sums of money, with which they purchased estates; and Solon himself would have suffered in public estimation, if it had not been found that he was a loser by his own measure, having lent as much as five talents.

§ 13. The success attending these measures was so great, that Solon was now called upon by his fellow-citizens to draw up a new constitution and a new code of laws. As a preliminary step he repealed all the laws of Draco, except those relating to murder. He then proceeded to make a new classification of the citizens, according to the amount of their property, thus changing the government from an Oligarchy to a Timocracy.†

The title of the citizens to the honors and offices of the state was henceforward regulated by their wealth, and not by their birth. This was the distinguishing feature of Solon's constitution, and produced eventually most important consequences; though the change was probably not great at first, since there were then few wealthy persons in Attica, except the Eupatrids. Solon then distributed all the citizens into four classes, according to their property, which he caused to be assessed. The first class consisted of those whose annual income was equal to five hundred medimni of corn and upwards, and were called *Pentacosimedimni*.‡ The second class consisted of those whose incomes ranged between three hundred and five hundred medimni, and were called *Knights*,§ from their being able to furnish a war-horse. The third class consisted of those who received between two hundred and three hundred medimni, and were called *Zeugitæ*,|| from their being able to keep a yoke of oxen for the plough. The fourth class, called *Thetes*,¶ included all whose property fell short of two hundred medimni. The members of the first three classes had to pay an income-tax according to the amount of their property; but the fourth class were exempt from direct taxation altogether. The first class were alone eligible to the archonship and the higher offices of the state. The second and third classes filled inferior posts, and were liable to military service, the former as horsemen, and the latter as heavy-armed soldiers on foot. The fourth class were excluded from all public offices, and served in the army only as light-armed troops. Solon, however, ad-

* Solon is said to have made the mina contain one hundred drachmas instead of seventy-three; that is, seventy-three old drachmas contained the same quantity of silver as one hundred of the new standard.

† Τιμοκρατία, from τιμή, *assessment*, and κρατέω, *rule*. (A government of property. — Ed.)

‡ Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι. The medimnus contained nearly twelve imperial gallons, or one bushel and a half: it was reckoned equal to a drachma.

§ Ἰππῆς or Ἰππεῖς.

|| Ζεύγραι, from ζεύγος, a yoke of beasts.

¶ Θῆτες.

mitted them to a share in the political power by allowing them to vote in the public assembly,* where they must have constituted by far the largest number. He gave the assembly the right of electing the archons and the other officers of the state; and he also made the archons accountable to the assembly at the expiration of their year of office. Solon thus greatly enlarged the functions of the public assembly, which, under the government of the Eupatrids, probably possessed little more power than the agora, described in the poems of Homer.

§ 14. This extension of the duties of the public assembly led to the institution of a new body. Solon created the Senate, or Council of Four Hundred, with the special object of preparing all matters for the discussion of the public assembly, of presiding at its meetings, and of carrying its resolutions into effect. No subject could be introduced before the people, except by a previous resolution of the Senate.† The members of the Senate were elected by the public assembly, one hundred from each of the four ancient tribes, which were left untouched by Solon. They held their office for a year, and were accountable at its expiration to the public assembly for the manner in which they had discharged their duties.

Solon, however, did not deprive the ancient Senate of the Areopagus of any of its functions.‡ On the contrary, he enlarged its powers, and intrusted it with the general supervision of the institutions and laws of the state, and imposed upon it the duty of inspecting the lives and occupations of the citizens.

These are the only political institutions which can be safely ascribed to Solon. At a later period it became the fashion among the Athenians to regard Solon as the author of all their democratical institutions, just as some of the orators referred them even to Theseus. Thus the creation of jury-courts and of the periodical revision of the laws by the Nomothetæ belongs to a later age, although frequently attributed to Solon. This legislator only laid the foundation of the Athenian democracy, by giving the poorer classes a vote in the popular assembly, and by enlarging the power of the latter; but he left the government exclusively in the hands of the wealthy. For many years after his time, the government continued to be an oligarchy, but was exercised with more moderation and justice than formerly. The establishment of the Athenian democracy was the work of Cleisthenes, and not of Solon.

§ 15. The laws of Solon were inscribed on wooden rollers and triangular tablets,§ and were preserved first in the Acropolis, and afterwards in the Prytaneum or Town-hall. They were very numerous, and contained regulations on almost all subjects connected with the public and private

* Called *Heliaea* (Ἠλία) in the time of Solon, but subsequently *Ecclesia* (ἐκκλησία)

† Called *Probouleuma* (προβούλευμα.)

‡ See p. 87.

§ Called "Ἀξονες and Κύρβεις.

life of the citizens. But they do not seem to have been arranged in any systematic manner; and such small fragments have come down to us, that it is impossible to give any general view of them.

The most important of all these laws were those relating to debtor and creditor, of which we have already spoken. Several of Solon's enactments had for their object the encouragement of trade and manufactures. He invited foreigners to settle in Athens by the promise of protection and valuable privileges. The Council of the Areopagus was, as we have seen, intrusted by him with the duty of examining into every man's mode of life, and of punishing the idle and profligate. To discourage idleness, a son was not obliged to support his father in old age, if the latter had neglected to teach him some trade or occupation.

Solon punished theft by compelling the guilty party to restore double the value of the property stolen. He forbade speaking evil either of the dead or of the living. He either established or regulated the public dinners in the Prytaneum, of which the archons and a few others partook.

The rewards which he bestowed upon the victors in the Olympic and Isthmian games were very large for that age: to the former he gave five hundred drachmas, and to the latter one hundred.

One of the most singular of Solon's regulations was that which declared a man dishonored and disfranchised who, in a civil sedition, stood aloof and took part with neither side. The object of this celebrated law was to create a public spirit in the citizens, and a lively interest in the affairs of the state. The ancient governments, unlike those of modern times, could not summon to their assistance any regular police or military force; and unless individual citizens came forward in civil commotions, any ambitious man, supported by a powerful party, might easily make himself master of the state.

§ 16. Solon is said to have been aware that he had left many imperfections in his laws. He described them, not as the best laws which he could devise, but as the best which the Athenians could receive. He bound the government and people of Athens, by a solemn oath, to observe his institutions for at least ten years. But as soon as they came into operation he was constantly besieged by a number of applicants, who came to ask his advice respecting the meaning of his enactments, or to suggest improvements and alterations in them. Seeing that, if he remained in Athens, he should be obliged to introduce changes into his code, he resolved to leave his native city for the period of ten years, during which the Athenians were bound to maintain his laws inviolate. He first visited Egypt, and then proceeded to Cyprus, where he was received with great distinction by Philocyprus, king of the small town of *Æpia*. He persuaded this prince to remove his city from the old site, and found a new one on the plain, which Philocyprus called *Soli*, in honor of his illustrious visitor.

Solon is also related to have remained some time at Sardis, the capita

of Lydia. His interview with Crœsus, the Lydian king, is one of the most celebrated events in his life. The Lydian monarchy was then at the height of its prosperity and glory. Crœsus, after exhibiting to the Grecian sage all his treasures, asked him who was the happiest man he had ever known, nothing doubting of the reply. But Solon, without flattering his royal guest, named two obscure Greeks; and when the king expressed his surprise and mortification that his visitor took no account of his great glory and wealth, Solon replied, that he esteemed no man happy till he knew how he ended his life, since the highest prosperity was frequently followed by the darkest adversity. Crœsus at the time treated the admonition of the sage with contempt; but when the Lydian monarchy was afterwards overthrown by Cyrus, and Crœsus was condemned by his savage conqueror to be burnt to death, the warnings of the Greek philosopher came to his mind, and he called in a loud voice upon the name of Solon. Cyrus inquired the cause of this strange invocation, and, upon learning it, was struck with the vicissitudes of fortune, set the Lydian monarch free, and made him his confidential friend.

It is impossible not to regret that the stern laws of chronology compel us to reject this beautiful tale. Crœsus did not ascend the throne till B. C. 560, and Solon had returned to Athens before that date. The story has been evidently invented to convey an important moral lesson, and to draw a striking contrast between Grecian republican simplicity and Oriental splendor and pomp.

§ 17. During the absence of Solon, the old dissensions between the Plain, the Shore, and the Mountain had broken out afresh with more violence than ever. The first was headed by Lycurgus, the second by Megacles, the Alcmaeonid and the grandson of the archon who had suppressed the conspiracy of Cylon, and the third by Peisistratus, the cousin of Solon. Of these leaders, Peisistratus was the ablest and the most dangerous. He had gained renown in war; he possessed remarkable fluency of speech; and he had espoused the cause of the Mountain, which was the poorest of the three classes, in order to gain popularity with the great mass of the people. Of these advantages he resolved to avail himself in order to become master of Athens.

Solon returned to Athens about B. C. 562, when these dissensions were rapidly approaching a crisis. He soon detected the ambitious designs of his kinsman, and attempted to dissuade him from them. Finding his remonstrances fruitless, he next denounced his projects in verses addressed to the people. Few, however, gave any heed to his warnings; and Peisistratus, at length finding his schemes ripe for action, had recourse to a memorable stratagem to secure his object. One day he appeared in the market-place in a chariot, his mules and his own person bleeding with wounds inflicted with his own hands. These he exhibited to the people, telling them that he had been nearly murdered in consequence of defending

their rights. The popular indignation was excited; an assembly was forthwith called, and one of his friends proposed that a guard of fifty club-men should be granted him for his future security. It was in vain that Solon used all his authority to oppose so dangerous a request; his resistance was overborne, and the guard was voted.

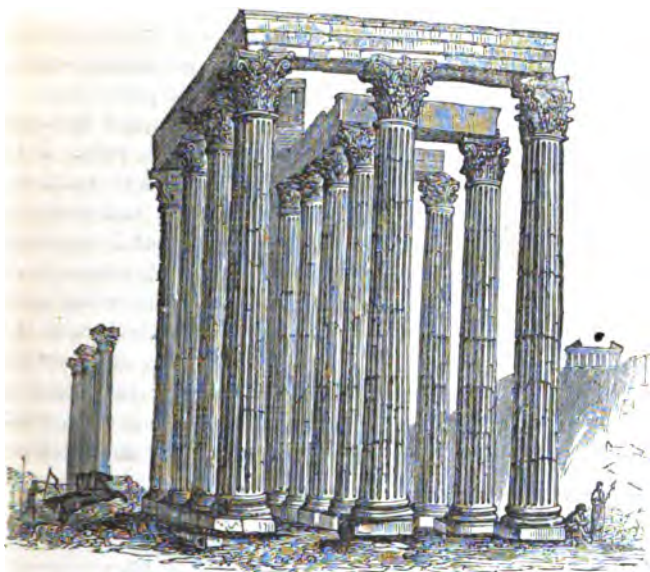
Peisistratus thus gained the first and most important step. He gradually increased the number of his guard, and soon found himself strong enough to throw off the mask and seize the Acropolis, B. C. 560. Megacles and the Alcmaeonidæ left the city. Solon alone had the courage to oppose the usurpation, and upbraided the people with their cowardice and their treachery. "You might," said he, "with ease have crushed the tyrant in the bud; but nothing now remains but to pluck him up by the roots." No one, however, responded to his appeal. He refused to fly; and when his friends asked him on what he relied for protection, "On my old age," was his reply. It is creditable to Peisistratus that he left his aged relative unmolested, and even asked his advice in the administration of the government.

Solon did not long survive the overthrow of the constitution. He died a year or two afterwards, at the advanced age of eighty. His ashes are said to have been scattered, by his own direction, round the island of Salamis, which he had won for the Athenian people.*

* The character of Solon is one of the most remarkable in history. Perhaps no individual has exercised a wider influence on human affairs. He laid the foundation of Athenian legislation, and through that of the Roman Law, which governs the administration of justice, down to the present day, throughout a great part of the civilized world. Besides being a legislator, he was a poet of no ordinary powers. In his youth he sung of Love and Wine; but the serious business which the distracted condition of his country laid upon him led him to employ the vehicle of poetic measures for moral and political ends. In his Salaminian Ode, of which only two or three lines are preserved, he was thought to have equalled Tyrtaeus. In the fragments of the other poems which have come down to us, the lines are nervous and pointed, and not without admirable poetical images. The following literal version of an elegiac fragment, from a poem seemingly written to warn the people against the arts of aspiring demagogues, may give the reader some idea of his manner of composition and style of thought.

Out of the clouds the snow-flakes are poured, and fury of hail-storm;
 After the lightning's flash, follows the thunderous bolt.
 Tossed by the winds is the sea, though now so calmly reposing,
 Hushed in a motionless rest, emblem of justice and peace.
 So is the State by its great men ruined, and under the tyrant
 Sinks the people unwise, yielding to slavery's thrall;
 Nor is it easy to humble the ruler too highly exalted,
 After the hour is passed: *now* is the time to foresee.

His morality was pure and lofty, and the expression of religious feeling, in his writings, is marked by humble submission to the divine will. The only fault to be found with him is, that, through his long life of fourscore, he remained unmarried. — ED.



Ruins of the Temple of the Olympian Zeus at Athens.*

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF ATHENS FROM THE USURPATION OF PEISISTRATUS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEMOCRACY BY CLEISTHENES.

1. Despotism of Peisistratus. His First Expulsion and Restoration. § 2. His Second Expulsion and Restoration. § 3. Government of Peisistratus after his Final Restoration to his Death, B. C. 527. § 4. Government of Hippias and Hipparchus. Conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, and Assassination of Hipparchus, B. C. 514. § 5. Sole Government of Hippias. His Expulsion by the Alcmaeonidæ and the Lacedæmonians, B. C. 510. § 6. Honors paid to Harmodius and Aristogeiton. § 7. Party Struggles at Athens between Cleisthenes and Isagoras. Establishment of the Athenian Democracy. § 8. Reforms of Cleisthenes. Institution of Ten new Tribes and of the Demeæ. § 9. Increase of the Number of the Senate to Five Hundred. § 10. Enlargement of the Functions and Authority of the Senate and the Ecclesia. § 11. Introduction of the Judicial Functions of the People. Institution of the Ten Strategi or Generals. § 12. Ostracism. § 13. First Attempt of the Lacedæmonians to overthrow the Athenian Democracy. Invasion of Attica by Cleomenes, followed by his Expulsion with that of Isagoras. § 14. Second Attempt of the Lacedæmonians to overthrow the Athenian Democracy. The Lacedæmonians, Thebans, and Chalcidians attack Attica. The Lacedæmonians deserted by their Allies, and compelled to retire. Victories of the Athenians over the Thebans and Chalcidians, followed by the Planting of Four Thousand Athenian Colonists on the Lands of the Chalcidians. § 15. Third Attempt of the Lacedæmonians to overthrow the

* One of the columns — that at the further extremity in this view — was blown down by a hurricane a few years ago. — ED.

Athenian Democracy, again frustrated by the Refusal of the Allies to take a Part in the Enterprise. § 16. Growth of Athenian Patriotism, a Consequence of the Reforms of Cleisthenes.

§ 1. PEISISTRATUS became despot of Athens, as already stated, in the year 560 B. C. He did not, however, retain his power long. The two leaders of the other factions, Megacles of the Shore, and Lycurgus of the Plain, now combined, and Peisistratus was driven into exile. But the two rivals afterwards quarrelled, and Megacles invited Peisistratus to return to Athens, offering him his daughter in marriage, and promising to assist him in regaining the sovereignty. These conditions being accepted, the following stratagem was devised for carrying the plan into effect. A tall stately woman, named Phya, was clothed in the armor and costume of Athena (Minerva), and placed in a chariot with Peisistratus at her side. In this guise the exiled despot approached the city, preceded by heralds, who announced that the goddess was bringing back Peisistratus to her own acropolis. The people believed the announcement, worshipped the woman as their tutelary goddess, and quietly submitted to the sway of their former ruler.

§ 2. Peisistratus married the daughter of Megacles according to the compact; but as he had already grown-up children by a former marriage, and did not choose to connect his blood with a family which was considered accursed on account of Cylon's sacrilege, he did not treat her as his wife. Incensed at this affront, Megacles again made common cause with Lycurgus, and Peisistratus was compelled a second time to quit Athens. He retired to Eretria in Eubœa, where he remained no fewer than ten years. He did not, however, spend his time in inactivity. He possessed considerable influence in various parts of Greece, and many cities furnished him with large sums of money. He was thus able to procure mercenaries from Argos; and Lygdamis, a powerful citizen of Naxos, came himself both with money and with troops. With these Peisistratus sailed from Eretria, and landed at Marathon. Here he was speedily joined by his friends and partisans, who flocked to his camp in large numbers. His antagonists allowed him to remain undisturbed at Marathon; and it was not till he began his march towards the city that they hastily collected their forces and went out to meet him. But their conduct was extremely negligent or corrupt; for Peisistratus fell suddenly upon their forces at noon, when the men were unprepared for battle, and put them to flight almost without resistance. Instead of following up his victory by slaughtering the fugitives, he proclaimed a general pardon on condition of their returning quietly to their homes. His orders were generally obeyed; and the leaders of the opposite factions, finding themselves abandoned by their partisans, quitted the country. In this manner Peisistratus became undisputed master of Athens for the third time.

§ 3. Peisistratus now adopted vigorous measures to secure his power

and render it permanent. He took into his pay a body of Thracian mercenaries, and seized as hostages the children of those citizens whom he suspected, placing them in Naxos under the care of Lygdamis. But as soon as he was firmly established in the government, his administration was marked by mildness and equity. An income-tax of five per cent. was all that he levied from the people. He maintained the institutions of Solon, taking care, however, that the highest offices should always be held by some members of his own family. He not only enforced strict obedience to the laws, but himself set the example of submitting to them. Being accused of murder, he disdained to take advantage of his authority, and went in person to plead his cause before the Areopagus, where his accuser did not venture to appear. He courted popularity by largesses to the citizens, and by throwing open his gardens to the poor. He adorned Athens with many public buildings, thus giving employment to the poorer citizens, and at the same time gratifying his own taste. He commenced on a stupendous scale a temple to the Olympian Zeus, which remained unfinished for centuries, and was at length completed by the Emperor Hadrian. He covered with a building the fountain Callirrhœ, which supplied the greater part of Athens with water, and conducted the water through nine pipes, whence the fountain was called Enneacrûnus.* Moreover, Peisistratus was a patron of literature, as well as of the arts. He is said to have been the first person in Greece who collected a library, which he threw open to the public; and to him posterity is indebted for the collection of the Homeric poems.† On the whole, it cannot be denied that he made a wise and noble use of his power; and it was for this reason that Julius Cæsar was called the Peisistratus of Rome.

§ 4. Peisistratus died at an advanced age in 527 B. C., thirty-three years after his first usurpation. He transmitted the sovereign power to his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, who conducted the government on the same principles as their father. Hipparchus inherited his father's literary tastes. He invited several distinguished poets, such as Anacreon and Simonides, to his court, and he set up along the highways statues of Hermes (Mercury), with moral sentences written upon them. Thucydides states that the sons of Peisistratus cultivated virtue and wisdom; the people appear to have been contented with their rule; and it was only an accidental circumstance which led to their overthrow and to a change in the government.

Their fall was occasioned by the memorable conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. These citizens belonged to an ancient family of Athens, and were attached to each other by the most intimate friendship. Harmodius having given offence to Hippias, the despot revenged himself by putting a public affront upon his sister. This indignity excited the resent-

* *Ἐννεάκρουνος*, from *ἐννέα*, nine, and *κρουνος*, a pipe.

† See p. 42.

ment of the two friends, and they now resolved to slay the despots, or perish in the attempt. They communicated the plot to a few associates, and determined to carry it into execution on the festival of the Great Panathenæa, when all the citizens were required to attend in arms, and to march in procession from the Cerameicus, a suburb of the city, to the temple of Athena (Minerva) on the Acropolis. When the appointed time arrived, the conspirators appeared like the rest of the citizens, but carrying concealed daggers besides. Harmodius and Aristogeiton had planned to kill Hippias first, as he was arranging the order of the procession in the Cerameicus; but upon approaching the spot where he was standing, they were thunderstruck at beholding one of the conspirators in close conversation with the despot. Believing that they were betrayed, and resolving before they died to wreak their vengeance upon Hipparchus, they rushed back into the city with their daggers hid in the myrtle-boughs which they were to have carried in the procession. They found him near the chapel called Leocorium, and killed him on the spot. Harmodius was immediately cut down by the guards. Aristogeiton escaped for the time, but was afterwards taken, and died under the tortures to which he was subjected in order to compel him to disclose his accomplices. The news of his brother's death reached Hippias before it became generally known. With extraordinary presence of mind, he called upon the citizens to drop their arms, and meet him in an adjoining ground. They obeyed without suspicion. He then apprehended those on whose persons daggers were discovered, and all besides whom he had any reason to suspect.

§ 5. Hipparchus was assassinated in B. C. 514, the fourteenth year after the death of Peisistratus. From this time the character of the government became entirely changed. His brother's murder converted Hippias into a cruel and suspicious tyrant. He put to death numbers of the citizens, and raised large sums of money by extraordinary taxes. Feeling himself unsafe at home, he began to look abroad for some place of retreat, in case he should be expelled from Athens. With this view, he gave his daughter in marriage to Æantides, son of Hippoclus, despot of Lampsacus, because the latter was in great favor with Darius, king of Persia.

Meantime the growing unpopularity of Hippias raised the hopes of the powerful family of the Alcæonidæ, who had lived in exile ever since the third and final restoration of Peisistratus to Athens. Believing the favorable moment to be come, they even ventured to invade Attica, and established themselves in a fortified town upon the frontier. They were, however, defeated by Hippias with loss, and compelled to quit the country. Unable to effect their restoration by force, they now had recourse to a manœuvre which proved successful.

The Alcæonidæ had taken the contract for rebuilding the temple at Delphi, which had been accidentally destroyed by fire many years previously. They not only executed the work in the best possible manner,

but even exceeded what had been required of them, employing Parian marble for the front of the temple, instead of the coarse stone specified in the contract. This liberality gained for them the favor of the Delphians; and Cleisthenes, the son of Megacles, who was now the head of the family, secured the oracle still further by pecuniary presents to the Pythia, or priestess. Henceforth, whenever the Spartans came to consult the oracle, the answer of the priestess was always the same, — "Athens must be liberated." This order was so often repeated, that the Spartans at last resolved to obey, although they had hitherto maintained a friendly connection with the family of Peisistratus. Their first attempt failed; the force which they sent into Attica was defeated by Hippias, and its leader slain. A second effort succeeded. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, defeated the Theban allies of Hippias; and the latter, unable to meet his enemies in the field, took refuge in the Acropolis. Here he might have maintained himself in safety, had not his children been made prisoners as they were secretly carried out of the country. To procure their restoration, he consented to quit Attica in the space of five days. He sailed to Asia, and took up his residence at Sigœum in the Troad, which his father had wrested from the Mytilenæans in war.

§ 6. Hippias was expelled in B. C. 510, four years after the assassination of Hipparchus. These four years had been a time of suffering and oppression for the Athenians, and had effaced from their minds all recollection of the former mild rule of Peisistratus and his sons. Hence the expulsion of the family was hailed with delight, and their names were handed down to posterity with execration and hatred. For the same reason the memory of Harmodius and Aristogeiton was cherished with the fondest reverence; and the Athenians of subsequent generations, overlooking the four years which elapsed from their death to the overthrow of the despotism, represented them as the liberators of their country and the first martyrs for its liberty. Their statues were erected in the market-place soon after the expulsion of Hippias; their descendants enjoyed immunity from all taxes and public burdens; and their deed of vengeance formed the favorite subject of drinking-songs. Of these the most famous and popular has come down to us, and may be thus translated: —

"I'll wreath my sword in myrtle-bough,
The sword that laid the tyrant low,
When patriots, burning to be free,
To Athens gave equality.

"Harmodius, hail! though reft of breath,
Thou ne'er shalt feel the stroke of death;
The heroes' happy isles shall be
The bright abode allotted thee.

"I'll wreath my sword in myrtle-bough,
The sword that laid Hipparchus low,
When at Athena's adverse fane
He knelt, and never rose again.

" While Freedom's name is understood,
 You shall delight the wise and good;
 You dared to set your country free,
 And gave her laws equality." *

§ 7. The Lacedæmonians quitted Athens soon after Hippias had sailed away, leaving the Athenians to settle their own affairs. The Solonian constitution, which had continued to exist nominally under the administration of the family of Peisistratus, was now revived in its full force and vigor. Cleisthenes, to whom Athens was mainly indebted for its liberation from the despotism, aspired to be the political leader of the state, but was opposed by Isægoras, who was supported by the great body of the nobles. By the Solonian constitution, the whole political power was vested in the hands of the latter; and Cleisthenes soon found that it was hopeless to contend against his rival under the existing order of things. For this reason he resolved to introduce an important change in the constitution, and to give to the people an equal share in the government. This is the account of Herodotus, who says that "he took the people into partnership, who had been before excluded from everything." It is probable, however, that these reforms were not suggested simply by a love of selfish aggrandizement; but that he had seen the necessity of placing the constitution on a more popular basis, and of giving a larger number of citizens a personal interest in the welfare and preservation of the state. However this may be, the reforms of Cleisthenes gave birth to the Athenian democracy, which can hardly be said to have existed before this time.

§ 8. The first and most important reform of Cleisthenes, and that on which all the rest depended, was a re-distribution of the whole population of Attica into ten new tribes. Up to this time the Athenian citizenship had been confined to the members of the four Ionic tribes, into which no one could gain admission except through means of the close corporations called *gene* and *phratræ*.† But there was a large body of residents in Attica who did not belong to these corporations, and who consequently had no share in the political franchise. Cleisthenes accordingly abolished these four tribes, and established ten new ones in their stead, in which he enrolled all the free inhabitants of Attica, including both resident aliens and even emancipated slaves. These ten tribes were purely local, and were divided into a certain number of cantons or townships, called *demes*.‡ At a later time we find one hundred and seventy-four of these *demes*; but it is not known whether this was the original number instituted by Cleisthenes.

There is one point connected with the arrangement of the *demes* which deserves mention, since it indicates singular foresight and sagacity on the part of Cleisthenes. The *demes* which he assigned to each tribe were never

* Wellesley's *Anthologia Polyglotta*, p. 445.

† See p. 85.

‡ δῆμοι.

all of them contiguous to each other, but were scattered over different parts of Attica. The object of this arrangement was evidently to prevent any tribe from acquiring a local interest independent of the entire community, and to remove the temptation of forming itself into a political faction from the proximity of its members to each other. This was the more necessary when we recollect that the parties of the Plain, the Shore, and the Mountain had all arisen from local feuds.

Every Athenian citizen was obliged to be enrolled in a deme, and in all public documents was designated by the name of the one to which he belonged. Each deme, like a parish in England, administered its own affairs. It had its public meetings, it levied taxes, and was under the superintendence of an officer called Demarchus.*

§ 9. The establishment of the ten new tribes led to a change in the number of the Senate. It had previously consisted of four hundred members, taken in equal proportions from each of the four old tribes. It was now enlarged to five hundred, fifty being selected from each of the ten new tribes. At the same time its duties and functions were greatly increased. By the constitution of Solon its principal business was to prepare matters for discussion in the Ecclesia; but Cleisthenes gave it a great share in the administration of the state. Its sittings became constant, and the year was divided into ten portions, called *Prytanys*,† corresponding to a similar division in the Senate. The fifty senators of each tribe took by turns the duty of presiding in the Senate and in the Ecclesia during one *Prytany*, and received during that time the title of *Prytaneis*.‡ The ordinary Attic year consisted of twelve lunar months, or three hundred and sixty-four days, so that six of the *Prytanys* lasted thirty-five days, and four of them thirty-six days. But for the more convenient despatch of business, every fifty members were divided into five bodies of ten each, who presided for seven days, and were hence called *Proëdri*.§ Moreover, out of these *proëdri* a chairman, called *Epistates*,|| was chosen by lot every day to preside both in the Senate and in the Ecclesia, when necessary, and to him were intrusted during his day of office the keys of the acropolis and the treasury, and the public seal.

§ 10. The Ecclesia, or formal assembly of the citizens, was accustomed at a later period to meet regularly four times in every *Prytany*. It is not stated that this number was fixed by Cleisthenes, and it is more probable that he did not institute such frequent meetings; but it cannot be doubted that it was a part of his system to summon the Ecclesia at certain fixed periods. By the constitution of Solon the government of the state seems to have been chiefly vested in the archons; and it was one of the principal reforms of Cleisthenes to transfer the political power from their hands to

* Δήμαρχος.

§ Πρόεδροι.

† Πρυτανείαι.

|| Ἐπιστάτης.

‡ Πρυτανεῖς.

the Senate and the Ecclesia. He accustomed the people to the discussion and management of their own affairs, and thus prepared them for the still more democratical reforms of Aristides and Pericles. At a later time we find that all citizens were eligible to the office of archon, and that these magistrates were chosen by lot, and not elected by the body of citizens. They were deprived, moreover, of most of their judicial duties by the extension of the powers of the popular courts of justice.

These reforms, however, were not introduced by Cleisthenes. He continued to exclude the fourth of those classes into which Solon had divided the citizens from the post of archon and from all other offices of state; he made no change in the manner of appointing the archons, and left them in the exercise of important judicial duties. Hence the constitution of Cleisthenes, notwithstanding the increase of power which it gave to the people, came to be regarded as aristocratical in the times of Pericles and Demosthenes.

§ 11. Of the other reforms of Cleisthenes we are imperfectly informed. He increased the judicial as well as the political power of the people. It is in fact doubtful whether Solon gave the people any judicial functions at all; and it was probably Cleisthenes who enacted that all public crimes should be tried by the whole body of citizens above thirty years of age, specially convoked and sworn for the purpose. The assembly thus convened was called *Heliaea*, and its members *Heliasts*.* With the increase of the judicial functions of the people, it became necessary to divide the *Heliaea* into ten distinct courts; and this change was probably introduced soon after the time of Cleisthenes.

The new constitution of the tribes introduced a change in the military arrangements of the state. The citizens, who were required to serve, were now marshalled according to tribes, each of which was subject to a *Strategus*,† or general of its own. These ten generals were elected annually by the whole body of citizens, and became at a later time the most important officers in the state, since they possessed the direction not only of naval and military affairs, but also of the relations of the city with foreign states. Down to the time of Cleisthenes, the command of the military force had been vested exclusively in the third archon, or Polemarch; and even after the institution of the Strategi by Cleisthenes, the Polemarch still continued to possess a joint right of command along with them, as will be seen when we come to relate the battle of Marathon.

§ 12. There was another remarkable institution expressly ascribed to Cleisthenes, — the *Ostracism*; the real object of which has been explained for the first time by Mr. Grote. By the Ostracism, a citizen was banished, without special accusation, trial, or defence, for ten years, which term was subsequently reduced to five: he was not deprived of his property; and

* 'Ἡλιαία, 'Ἡλιασταί.

† Στρατηγός.

at the end of his period of exile was allowed to return to Athens, and to resume all the political rights and privileges which he had previously enjoyed. It must be recollected that the force which a Greek government had at its disposal was very small; and that it was comparatively easy for an ambitious citizen, supported by a numerous body of partisans, to overthrow the constitution and make himself despot. The past history of the Athenians had shown the dangers to which they were exposed from this cause; and the Ostracism was the means devised by Cleisthenes for removing quietly from the state a powerful party leader before he could carry into execution any violent schemes for the subversion of the government. Every precaution was taken to guard this institution from abuse. The Senate and the Ecclesia had first to determine by a special vote whether the safety of the state required such a step to be taken. If they decided in the affirmative, a day was fixed for the voting, and each citizen wrote upon a tile or oyster-shell * the name of the person whom he wished to banish. The votes were then collected, and if it was found that six thousand had been recorded against any one person, he was obliged to withdraw from the city within ten days; if the number of votes did not amount to six thousand, nothing was done. The large number of votes required for the ostracism of a person (one fourth of the entire citizen population) was a sufficient guaranty that a very large proportion of the citizens considered him dangerous to the state. It is a proof of the utility of this institution, that from the time of its establishment no further attempt was made by any Athenian citizen to overthrow the democracy by force.†

§ 13. The reforms of Cleisthenes were received with such popular favor, and so greatly increased the influence of their author, that Isagoras saw no hope for him and his party except by calling in the interference of Cleomenes and the Lacedæmonians. This was readily promised, and heralds were sent from Sparta to Athens, demanding the expulsion of Cleisthenes and the rest of the Alcæonidæ, as the accursed family on whom rested the pollution of Cylon's murder. Cleisthenes, not daring to disobey the Lacedæmonian government, retired voluntarily; and thus Cleomenes, arriving at Athens shortly afterwards with a small force, found himself un-

* *Ostrakon* (ὄστρακον), whence the name of *Ostracism* (ὄστρακισμός).

† It is quite idle to attempt a defence of the practice of ostracism. It was manifestly and atrociously unjust, and was never put in force without great injury to the country; and though it is true in form that no single citizen attempted to overthrow the democracy after its establishment, yet parties, under the lead of individuals, made several attempts that were temporarily successful. Ostracism subjected the wisest and best of the Athenians to the whims and caprices of the mob, without remedy. Men were exiled for years, often for no better reason than that given by the rustic, too illiterate to inscribe the name of his victim upon the shell, that *he was tired of hearing Aristideus called the Just*. Such an institution never was, and in the nature of things never could be, useful. To call it so is illogical; since nothing can be useful which is unjust. — Ed.

disputed master of the city. He first expelled seven hundred families pointed out by Isagoras, and then attempted to dissolve the Senate of Five Hundred, and place the government in the hands of three hundred of his friends and partisans. This proceeding excited general indignation; the people rose in arms; and Cleomenes and Isagoras took refuge in the Acropolis. At the end of two days their provisions were exhausted, and they were obliged to capitulate. Cleomenes and the Lacedæmonian troops, as well as Isagoras, were allowed to retire in safety; but all their adherents who were captured with them were put to death by the Athenian people. Cleisthenes and the seven hundred exiled families were immediately recalled, and the new constitution was materially strengthened by the failure of this attempt to overthrow it.

§ 14. The Athenians had now openly broken with Sparta. Fearing the vengeance of this formidable state, Cleisthenes sent envoys to Artaphernes, the Persian satrap at Sardis, to solicit the Persian alliance, which was offered on condition of the Athenians' sending earth and water to the king of Persia as a token of their submission. The envoys promised compliance; but on their return to Athens, their countrymen repudiated their proceeding with indignation. Meantime, Cleomenes was preparing to take vengeance upon the Athenians, and to establish Isagoras as a despot over them. He summoned the Peloponnesian allies to the field, but without informing them of the object of the expedition; and at the same time he concerted measures with the Thebans and the Chalcidians of Eubœa for a simultaneous attack upon Attica. The Peloponnesian army, commanded by the two kings, Cleomenes and Demarātus, entered Attica, and advanced as far as Eleusis; but when the allies became aware of the object for which they had been summoned, they refused to march farther. The power of Athens was not yet sufficiently great to inspire jealousy among the other Greek states; and the Corinthians, who still smarted under the recollection of the sufferings inflicted upon them by their own despots, took the lead in denouncing the attempt of Cleomenes to crush the liberties of Athens. Their remonstrances were seconded by Demaratus, the other Spartan king; so that Cleomenes found it necessary to abandon the expedition and return home. The dissension of the two kings on this occasion is said to have led to the enactment of the law at Sparta, that both kings should never have the command of the army at the same time.

The unexpected retreat of the Peloponnesian army delivered the Athenians from their most formidable enemy, and they lost no time in turning their arms against their other foes. Marching into Bœotia, they defeated the Thebans, and then crossed over into Eubœa, where they gained a decisive victory over the Chalcidians. In order to secure their dominion in Eubœa, and at the same time to provide for their poorer citizens, the Athenians distributed the estates of the wealthy Chalcidian land-owners

among four thousand of their citizens, who settled in the country under the name of *Cleruchi*.*

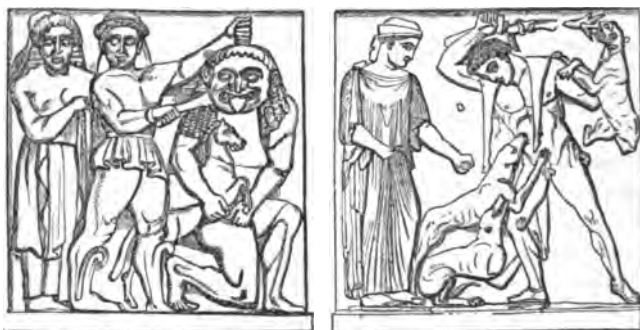
§ 15. The successes of Athens had excited the jealousy of the Spartans, and they now resolved to make a third attempt to overthrow the Athenian democracy. They had meantime discovered the deception which had been practised upon them by the Delphic oracle; and they invited Hippias to come from Sigeum to Sparta, in order to restore him to Athens. The experience of the last campaign had taught them that they could not calculate upon the coöperation of their allies without first obtaining their approval of the project; and they therefore summoned deputies from all their allies to meet at Sparta, in order to determine respecting the restoration of Hippias. The despot was present at the congress; and the Spartans urged the necessity of crushing the growing insolence of the Athenians by placing over them their former master. But their proposal was received with universal repugnance; and the Corinthians again expressed the general indignation at the design. "Surely heaven and earth are about to change places, when you Spartans propose to set up in the cities that wicked and bloody thing called a Despot. First try what it is for yourselves at Sparta, and then force it upon others. If you persist in a scheme so wicked, know that the Corinthians will not second you." These vehement remonstrances were received with such approbation by the other allies, that the Spartans found it necessary to abandon their project. Hippias returned to Sigeum, and afterwards proceeded to the court of Darius.

§ 16. Athens had now entered upon her glorious career. The institutions of Cleisthenes had given her citizens a personal interest in the welfare and the grandeur of their country. A spirit of the warmest patriotism rapidly sprang up among them; and the history of the Persian wars, which followed almost immediately, exhibits a striking proof of the heroic sacrifices which they were prepared to make for the liberty and independence of their state.

* *Κληροῦχοι*, that is, "lot-holders."



Coin of Athens.



Ancient Sculptures from Selinus.

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE GREEK COLONIES.

§ 1. Connection of the Subject with the General History of Greece. § 2. Origin of the Greek Colonies and their Relation to the Mother Country. § 3. Characteristics common to most of the Greek Colonies. § 4. The Æolic, Ionic, and Doric Colonies in Asia. Miletus the most important, and the Parent of numerous Colonies. Ephesus. Phocæa. § 5. Colonies in the South of Italy and Sicily. History of Cumæ. § 6. Colonies in Sicily. Syracuse and Agrigentum the most important. Phalaris, Despot of Agrigentum. § 7. Colonies in Magna Græcia (the South of Italy). Sybaris and Croton. War between these Cities, and the Destruction of Sybaris. § 8. Epizephyrian Locri: its Lawgiver, Zaleucus. Rhegium. § 9. Tarentum. Decline of the Cities in Magna Græcia. § 10. Colonies in Gaul and Spain. Massalia. § 11. Colonies in Africa. Cyrene. § 12. Colonies in Epeirus, Macedonia, and Thrace. § 13. Importance of a Knowledge of the History of the Greek Colonies.

§ 1. AN account of the Greek colonies forms an important part of the history of Greece. It has been already observed, that Hellas did not indicate a country marked by certain geographical limits, but included the whole body of Hellenes, in whatever part of the world they might be settled. Thus, the inhabitants of Trapezus on the farthest shores of the Black Sea, of Cyrene in Africa, and of Massalia in the South of Gaul, were as essentially members of Hellas as the citizens of Athens and Sparta. They all gloried in the name of Hellenes; they all boasted of their descent from their common ancestor, Hellen; and they all possessed and frequently exercised the right of contending in the Olympic games and the other national festivals of Greece.

The vast number of Greek colonies, their wide-spread diffusion over all parts of the Mediterranean, which thus became a kind of Grecian lake, their rapid growth in wealth, power, and intelligence, afford the most strik-

ing proofs of the greatness of this wonderful people. It would carry us too far to give an account of the origin of all these colonies, or to narrate their history at any length. We must content ourselves with briefly mentioning the more important of them, after stating the causes to which they owed their origin, the relation in which they stood to the mother country, and certain characteristics which were common to them all.

§ 2. Civil dissensions and a redundant population were the two chief causes of the origin of most of the Greek colonies.* They were usually undertaken with the approbation of the cities from which they issued, and under the management of leaders appointed by them. In most cases the Delphic oracle had previously given the divine sanction to the enterprise, which was also undertaken under the encouragement of the gods of the mother city. But a Greek colony was always considered politically independent of the latter, and emancipated from its control. The only connection between them was one of filial affection and of common religious ties. The colonists worshipped in their new settlement the deities whom they had been accustomed to honor in their native country; and the sacred fire, which was constantly kept burning on their public hearth, was taken by them from the Prytanæum of the city from which they sprung. They usually cherished a feeling of reverential respect for the mother city, which they displayed by sending deputations to the principal festivals of the latter, and also by bestowing places of honor and other marks of respect upon the ambassadors and other members of the mother city, when they visited the colony. In the same spirit, they paid divine worship to the founder of the colony after his death, as the representative of the mother city; and when the colony in its turn became a parent, it usually sought a leader from the state from which it had itself sprung. It was accordingly considered a violation of sacred ties for a mother country and a colony to make war upon one another. These bonds, however, were often insufficient to maintain a lasting union; and the memorable quarrel between Corinth and her colony of Coreyra will show how easily they might be severed by the ambition or the interest of either state.

§ 3. The Greek colonies, unlike most which have been founded in modern times, did not consist of a few straggling bands of adventurers, scattered over the country in which they settled, and only coalescing into a city at a later period. On the contrary, the Greek colonists formed from the beginning an organized political body. Their first care upon settling in their adopted country was to found a city, and to erect in it those public buildings which were essential to the religious and social life of a Greek. Hence it was quickly adorned with temples for the worship of the gods, with an agora or place of public meeting for the citizens, with a

* A colony was called ἀποικία; a colonist, ἀποικος; the mother city, μητρόπολις, and the leader of a colony οἰκιστής.

gymnasium for the exercise of the youth, and at a later time with a theatre for dramatic representations. Almost every colonial Greek city was built upon the sea-coast, and the site usually selected contained a hill sufficiently lofty to form an acropolis. The spot chosen for the purpose was for the most part seized by force from the original inhabitants of the country. The relation in which the colonists stood to the latter naturally varied in different localities. In some places they were reduced to slavery or expelled from the district; in others they became the subjects of the conquerors, or were admitted to a share of their political rights. In many cases intermarriages took place between the colonists and the native population, and thus a foreign element was introduced among them,—a circumstance which must not be lost sight of, especially in tracing the history of the Ionic colonies.

It has frequently been observed that colonies are favorable to the development of democracy. Ancient customs and usages cannot be preserved in a colony as at home. Men are of necessity placed on a greater equality, since they have to share the same hardships, to overcome the same difficulties, and to face the same dangers. Hence it is difficult for a single man or for a class to maintain peculiar privileges, or to exercise a permanent authority over the other colonists. Accordingly, we find that a democratical form of government was established in most of the Greek colonies at an earlier period than in the mother country, and that an aristocracy could rarely maintain its ground for any length of time. Owing to the freedom of their institutions, and to their favorable position for commercial enterprise, many of the Greek colonies became the most flourishing cities in the Hellenic world; and in the earlier period of Grecian history several of them, such as Miletus and Ephesus in Asia, Syracuse and Agrigentum in Sicily, and Croton and Sybaris in Italy, surpassed all the cities of the mother country in power, population, and wealth.

The Grecian colonies may be arranged in four groups: 1. Those founded in Asia Minor and the adjoining islands; 2. Those in the western parts of the Mediterranean, in Italy, Sicily, Gaul, and Spain; 3. Those in Africa; 4. Those in Epeirus, Macedonia, and Thrace.

§ 4. The earliest Greek colonies were those founded on the western shores of Asia Minor. They were divided into three great masses, each bearing the name of that section of the Greek race with which they claimed affinity. The *Æolic* cities covered the northern part of this coast; the *Ionians* occupied the centre, and the *Dorians* the southern portion. The origin of these colonies is lost in the mythical age; and the legends of the Greeks respecting them have been given in a previous part of the present work.* Their political history will claim our attention when we come to relate the rise and progress of the Persian empire; and their successful

* See pp. 83, 84.

cultivation of literature and the arts will form the chief subject of our next chapter. It is sufficient to state on the present occasion that the Ionic cities were early distinguished by a spirit of commercial enterprise, and soon rose superior in wealth and in power to their Æolian and Dorian neighbors. Among the Ionic cities themselves Miletus was the most flourishing, and during the eighth and seventh centuries before Christ was the first commercial city in Hellas. In search of gain its adventurous mariners penetrated to the farthest parts of the Mediterranean and its adjacent seas; and for the sake of protecting and enlarging its commerce, it planted numerous colonies, which are said to have been no fewer than eighty. Most of them were founded on the Propontis and the Euxine; and of these, Cyzicus on the former, and Sinope on the latter sea, became the most celebrated. Sinope was the emporium of the Milesian commerce in the Euxine, and became in its turn the parent of many prosperous colonies.

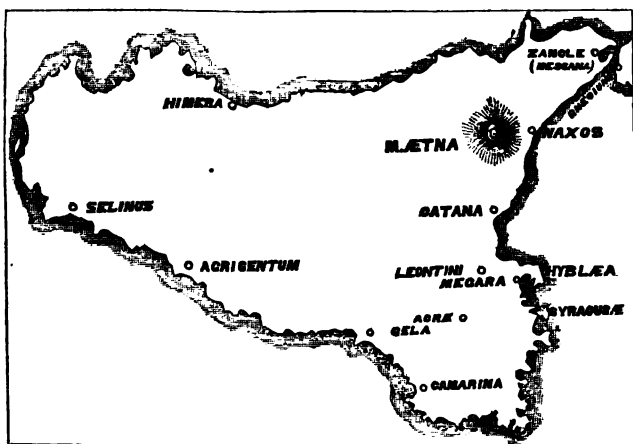
Ephesus, which became at a later time the first of the Ionic cities, was at this period inferior to Miletus in population and in wealth. It was never distinguished for its enterprise at sea, and it planted few maritime colonies; it owed its greatness to its trade with the interior, and to its large territory, which it gradually obtained at the expense of the Lydians. Other Ionic cities of less importance than Ephesus possessed a more powerful navy; and the adventurous voyages of the Phocæans deserve to be particularly mentioned, in which they not only visited the coasts of Gaul and Spain, but even planted in those countries several colonies, of which Massilia became the most prosperous and celebrated.

§ 5. The colonies of whose origin we have an historical account began to be founded soon after the first Olympiad. Those established in Sicily and the South of Italy claim our first attention, as well on account of their importance as of the priority of their foundation. Like the Asiatic colonies, they were of various origin; and the inhabitants of Chalcis in Eubœa, of Corinth, Megara, and Sparta, and the Achæans and Locrians, were all concerned in them.

One of the Grecian settlements in Italy lays claim to a much earlier date than any other in the country. This is the Campanian Cumæ, situated near Cape Misenum, on the Tyrrhenian Sea. It is said to have been a joint colony from the Æolic Cyme in Asia and from Chalcis in Eubœa, and to have been founded, according to common chronology, in B. C. 1050. This date is of course uncertain: but there is no doubt that it was the most ancient Grecian establishment in Italy, and that a long period elapsed before any other Greek colonists were bold enough to follow in the same track. Cumæ was for a long time the most flourishing city in Campania: and it was not till its decline in the fifth century before the Christian era that Capua rose into importance.

§ 6. The earliest Grecian settlement in Sicily was founded in B. C. 735. The greater part of Sicily was then inhabited by the rude tribes of Sicels

and Sicanians. The Carthaginian settlements mostly lay on the western side of the island; but the eastern and the southern coasts were occupied only by the Sicels and Sicanians, who were easily driven by the Greeks into the interior of the country. The extraordinary fertility of the land, united with the facility of its acquisition, soon attracted numerous colonists from various parts of Greece; and there arose on the coasts of Sicily a succession of flourishing cities, of which a list is given below.* Of these, Syracuse and Agrigentum, both Dorian colonies, became the most powerful. The former was founded by the Corinthians in B. C. 734, and at the time of its greatest prosperity contained a population of five hundred thousand souls, and was surrounded by walls twenty-two miles in circuit. Its greatness, however, belongs to a later period of Grecian history; and we know scarcely anything of its affairs till the usurpation of Gelon in B. C. 485. Agrigentum was of later origin, for it was not founded till B. C. 582, by the Dorians of Gela, which had itself been colonized by Rhodians and Cretans. But its growth was most rapid, and it soon rose to an extraordinary degree of prosperity and power. It was celebrated in the ancient world for the magnificence of its public buildings, and within a century after its foundation was called by Pindar "the fairest of mortal cities." Its early history only claims our attention on account of the despotism of



Map of the chief Greek Colonies in Sicily.

* 1. Naxos, the earliest, founded by the Chalcidians, B. C. 735. 2. Syracuse, founded by the Corinthians, B. C. 734. 3. Leontini and Catana, founded by Naxos in Sicily, B. C. 730. 4. Hyblæan Megara, founded by Megara, B. C. 728. 5. Gela, founded by the Lindians in Rhodes, and by the Cretans, B. C. 690. 6. Zancle, afterwards called Messana, founded by the Cumæans and Chalcidians: its date is uncertain. 7. Acrae, founded by Syracuse, B. C. 664. 8. Casmene, founded by Syracuse, B. C. 644. 9. Selinus, founded by Hyblæan Megara, B. C. 630. 10. Camarina, founded by Syracuse, B. C. 599. 11. Agragas, better known by the Roman name of Agrigentum, founded by Gela, B. C. 582. 12. Himera, founded by Zancle: its date uncertain.

Phalaris, who has obtained a proverbial celebrity as a cruel and inhuman tyrant. His exact date is uncertain; but he was a contemporary of Peisistratus and Croesus; and the commencement of his reign may perhaps be placed in B. C. 570. He is said to have burnt alive the victims of his cruelty in a brazen bull; and this celebrated instrument of torture is not only noticed by Pindar, but was in existence at Agrigentum in later times. He was engaged in frequent wars with his neighbors, and extended his power and dominion on all sides; but his cruelties rendered him so abhorred by the people, that they suddenly rose against him, and put him to death.*

The prosperity of the Greek cities in Sicily afterwards received a severe check from the hostilities of the Carthaginians; but for two centuries and a half after the first Greek settlement in the island they did not come into contact with the latter people, and were thus left at liberty to develop their resources without any opposition from a foreign power.

§. 7. The Grecian colonies in Italy began to be planted at nearly the same time as in Sicily. They eventually lined the whole southern coast, as far as Cumæ on the one sea, and Tarentum on the other. They even surpassed those in Sicily in number and importance; and so numerous and flourishing did they become, that the South of Italy received the name of *Magna Græcia*. Of these, two of the earliest and most prosperous were Sybaris and Croton, both situated upon the Gulf of Tarentum, and both of Achaean origin. Sybaris was planted in B. C. 720, and Croton in B. C. 710. For two centuries they seem to have lived in harmony, and we know scarcely anything of their history till their fatal contest in B. C. 510, which ended in the ruin of Sybaris. During the whole of this period they were two of the most flourishing cities in all Hellas. The walls of Sybaris embraced a circuit of six miles, and those of Croton were not less than twelve miles in circumference; but the former, though smaller, was the more powerful, since it possessed a larger extent of territory and a greater number of colonies, among which was the distant town of Posidonia (Pæstum), whose magnificent ruins still attest its former greatness. Several native tribes became the subjects of Sybaris and Croton, and their dominions extended across the Calabrian peninsula from sea to sea.

Sybaris in particular attained to an extraordinary degree of wealth; and its inhabitants were so notorious for their luxury, effeminacy, and debauchery, that their name has become proverbial for a voluptuary in ancient and modern times. Many of the anecdotes recorded of them bear on their face the exaggerations of a later age; but their great wealth is attested by

* There are extant certain Greek letters attributed to Phalaris, celebrated on account of the literary controversy to which they gave rise in modern times. Their genuineness was maintained by Boyle and the contemporary scholars of Oxford; but Bentley, in his masterly "Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris," in reply to Boyle, proved beyond question that they were the production of a sophist of a later age.

the fact, that five thousand horsemen, clothed in magnificent attire, formed a part of the procession in certain festivals of the city, whereas Athens in her best days could not number more than twelve hundred knights.

Croton was distinguished for the excellence of its physicians or surgeons, and for the numbers of its citizens who gained prizes at the Olympic games. Its government was an aristocracy, and was in the hands of a senate of one thousand persons. It was in this city that Pythagoras settled, and founded a fraternity, of which an account is given in the following chapter.

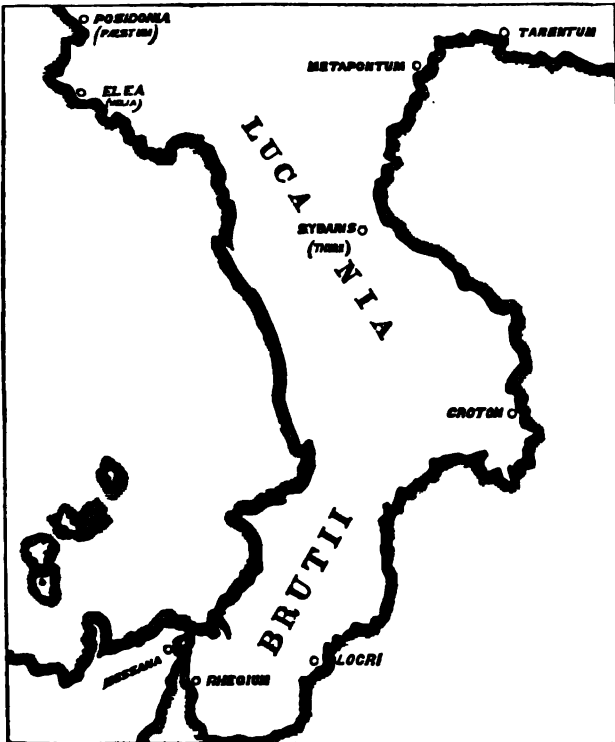
The war between these two powerful cities is the most important event recorded in the history of Magna Græcia. It arose from the civil dissensions of Sybaris. The oligarchical government was overthrown by a popular insurrection, headed by a citizen of the name of Telys, who succeeded in making himself despot of the city. The leading members of the oligarchical party, five hundred in number, were driven into exile; and when they took refuge at Croton, their surrender was demanded by Telys, and war threatened in case of refusal. This demand excited the greatest alarm at Croton, since the military strength of Sybaris was decidedly superior; and it was only owing to the urgent persuasions of Pythagoras that the Crotoniates resolved to brave the vengeance of their neighbors rather than incur the disgrace of betraying suppliants. In the war which followed, Sybaris is said to have taken the field with three hundred thousand men, and Croton with one hundred thousand, — numbers which seem to have been grossly exaggerated. The Crotoniates were commanded by Milo, a disciple of Pythagoras, and the most celebrated athlete of his time, and they were further reinforced by a body of Spartans under the command of Dorieus, younger brother of King Cleomenes, who was sailing along the Gulf of Tarentum, in order to found a settlement in Sicily. The two armies met on the banks of the river Træis or Trionto, and a bloody battle was fought, in which the Sybarites were defeated with prodigious slaughter. The Crotoniates followed up their victory by the capture of the city of Sybaris, which they razed to the ground; and in order to obliterate all traces of it, they turned the course of the river Crathis through its ruins (B. C. 510). The destruction of this wealthy and powerful city excited strong sympathy through the Hellenic world; and the Milesians, with whom the Sybarites had always maintained the most friendly connections, shaved their heads in token of mourning.*

§ 8. Of the numerous other Greek settlements in the South of Italy, those of Locri, Rhegium, and Tarentum were the most important.

Locri, called Epizephyrian, from the neighborhood of Cape Zephyrium, was founded by a body of Locrian freebooters from the mother country, in B. C. 683. Their early history is memorable on account of their being the first Hellenic people who possessed a body of written laws. They are said to have suffered so greatly from lawlessness and disorder, as to apply

* In B. C. 443 the Athenians founded Thurii, near the site of Sybaris.

to the Delphic oracle for advice, and were thus led to accept the ordinances of Zaleucus, who is represented to have been originally a shepherd. His laws were promulgated in B. C. 664, forty years earlier than those of Draco at Athens. They resembled the latter in the severity of their punishments; but they were observed for a long period by the Locrians, who were so averse to any change in them, that whoever proposed a new law had to appear in the public assembly with a rope round his neck, which was immediately tightened if he failed to convince his fellow-citizens of the necessity of his propositions. Two anecdotes are related of Zaleucus, which deserve mention, though their authenticity cannot be guaranteed. His son had been guilty of an offence, the penalty of which was the loss of both eyes: the father, in order to maintain the law, and yet save his son from total blindness, submitted to the loss of one of his own eyes. Another ordinance of Zaleucus forbade any citizen to enter the senate-house in arms under penalty of death. On a war suddenly breaking out, Zaleucus transgressed his own law; and when his attention was called to it by one present, he replied that he would vindicate the law, and straightway fell upon his sword.



Map of the chief Greek Colonies in Southern Italy.

Rhegium, situated on the Straits of Messina, opposite Sicily, was colonized by the Chalcidians, but received a large number of Messenians, who settled here at the close both of the first and second Messenian wars. Anaxilas, who made himself despot of the city about B. C. 500, was of Messenian descent; and it was he who changed the name of the Sicilian Zancle into Messana, when he seized the latter city in B. C. 494.

§ 9. Tarentum, situated at the head of the gulf which bears its name, was a colony from Sparta, and was founded about B. C. 708. During the long absence of the Spartans in the first Messenian war, an illegitimate race of citizens had been born, to whom the name of Partheniai (sons of maidens) was given. Being not only treated with contempt by the other Spartans, but excluded from the citizenship, they formed a conspiracy under Phalanthus, one of their number, against the government; and when their plot was detected, they were allowed to quit the country and plant a colony under his guidance. It was to these circumstances that Tarentum owed its origin. It was admirably situated for commerce, and was the only town in the gulf which possessed a perfectly safe harbor. After the destruction of Sybaris, it became the most powerful and flourishing city in Magna Græcia, and continued to enjoy great prosperity till its subjugation by the Romans. Although of Spartan origin, it did not maintain Spartan habits; and its citizens were noted at a later time for their love of luxury and pleasure.

The cities of Magna Græcia rapidly declined in power after the commencement of the fifth century before the Christian era. This was mainly owing to two causes. First, the destruction of Sybaris deprived the Greeks of one of their most powerful cities, and of a territory and an influence over the native population, to which no other Greek town could succeed; and, secondly, they were now for the first time brought into contact with the warlike Samnites and Lucanians, who began to spread from Middle Italy towards the south. Cumæ was taken by the Samnites, and Posidonia (Pæstum,) by the Lucanians; and the latter people in course of time deprived the Greek cities of the whole of their inland territory.

§ 10. The Grecian settlements in the distant countries of Gaul and Spain were not numerous. The most celebrated was Massalia, the modern Marseilles, founded by the Ionic Phocæans in B. C. 600. It planted five colonies along the eastern coast of Spain and was the chief Grecian city in the sea west of Italy. The commerce of the Massaliots was extensive, and their navy sufficiently powerful to repel the aggressions of Carthage. They possessed considerable influence over the Celtic tribes in their neighborhood, among whom they diffused the arts of civilized life, and a knowledge of the Greek alphabet and literature.

§ 11. The northern coast of Africa between the territories of Carthage and Egypt was also occupied by Greek colonists. About the year 650 B. C. the Greeks were for the first time allowed to settle in Egypt and to carry

on commerce with the country. This privilege they owed to Psammetichus, who had raised himself to the throne of Egypt by the aid of Ionian and Carian mercenaries. The Greek traders were not slow in availing themselves of the opening of this new and important market, and thus became acquainted with the neighboring coast of Africa. Here they founded the city of Cyrene about B. C. 630. It was a colony from the island of Thera in the Ægean, which was itself a colony from Sparta. The situation of Cyrene was well chosen. It stood on the edge of a range of hills, at the distance of ten miles from the Mediterranean, of which it commanded a fine view. These hills descended by a succession of terraces to the port of the town, called Apollonia. The climate was most salubrious, and the soil was distinguished by extraordinary fertility. With these advantages Cyrene rapidly grew in wealth and power; and its greatness is attested by the immense remains which still mark its desolate site. Unlike most Grecian colonies, Cyrene was governed by kings for eight generations. Battus, the founder of the colony, was the first king; and his successors bore alternately the names of Arcesilaüs and Battus. On the death of Arcesilaüs IV., which must have happened after B. C. 460, royalty was abolished and a democratical form of government established.

Cyrene planted several colonies in the adjoining district, of which Barca, founded about B. C. 560, was the most important.

§ 12. The Grecian settlements in Epeirus, Macedonia, and Thrace claim a few words.

There were several Grecian colonies situated on the eastern side of the Ionian Sea, in Epeirus and its immediate neighborhood. Of these the island of Corcyra, now called Corfu, was the most wealthy and powerful. It was founded by the Corinthians, about B. C. 700; and in consequence of its commercial activity it soon became a formidable rival to the mother city. Hence a war broke out between these two states at an early period; and the most ancient naval battle on record was the one fought between their fleets in B. C. 664. The dissensions between the mother city and her colony are frequently mentioned in Grecian history, and were one of the immediate causes of the Peloponnesian war. Notwithstanding their quarrels, they joined in planting four Grecian colonies upon the same line of coast. — Leucas, Anactorium, Apollonia, and Epidamnus: in the settlement of the two former the Corinthians were the principals, and in that of the two latter the Corcyreans took the leading part.

The colonies in Macedonia and Thrace were very numerous, and extended all along the coast of the Ægean, of the Hellespont, of the Propontis, and of the Euxine, from the borders of Thessaly to the mouth of the Danube. Of these we can only glance at the most important. The colonies on the coast of Macedonia were chiefly founded by Chalcis and Eretria in Eubœa; and the peninsula of Chalcidice, with its three projecting headlands, was covered with their settlements, and derived its name

from the former city. The Corinthians likewise planted a few colonies on this coast, of which Potidæa, on the narrow isthmus of Pallene, most deserves mention.

Of the colonies in Thrace, the most flourishing were Selymbria and Byzantium,* both founded by the Megarians, who appear as an enterprising maritime people at an early period. The farthest Grecian settlement on the western shores of the Euxine was the Milesian colony of Istria, near the southern mouth of the Danube.

§ 13. The preceding survey of the Grecian colonies shows the wide diffusion of the Hellenic race in the sixth century before the Christian era. Their history has come down to us in such a fragmentary and unconnected state, that it has been impossible to render it interesting to the reader; but it could not be passed over entirely, since some knowledge of the origin and progress of the more important of these cities is absolutely necessary, in order to understand aright many subsequent events in Grecian history.

* The foundation of Byzantium is placed in B. C. 657.



Coin of Cyrene, representing on the reverse the Silphium, which was the chief article in the export trade of the city.



Alceus and Sappho. From a Painting on a Vase.

CHAPTER XIII.

HISTORY OF LITERATURE.

§ 1. Perfection of the Greeks in Literature. § 2. Greek Epic Poetry divided into Two Classes, Homeric and Hesiodic. § 3. Poems of Hesiod. § 4. Origin of Greek Lyric Poetry. § 5. Archilochus. § 6. Simonides of Amorgos. § 7. Tyrtaeus and Alcman. § 8. Arion and Stesichorus. § 9. Alceus and Sappho. § 10. Anacreon. § 11. The Seven Sages of Greece. § 12. The Ionic School of Philosophy. Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes. § 13. The Eleatic School of Philosophy. Xenophanes. § 14. The Pythagorean School of Philosophy. Life of Pythagoras. Foundation and Suppression of his Society in the Cities of Magna Græcia.

§ 1. THE perfection which the Greeks attained in literature and art is one of the most striking features in the history of the people. Their intellectual activity and their keen appreciation of the beautiful constantly gave birth to new forms of creative genius. There was an uninterrupted progress in the development of the Grecian mind from the earliest dawn of the history of the people to the downfall of their political independence; and each succeeding age saw the production of some of those master works of genius which have been the models and the admiration of all subsequent time. It is one of the objects of the present work to trace the different phases of this intellectual growth. During the two centuries and a half comprised in this book, many species of composition, in which the Greeks afterwards became pre-eminent, were either unknown or little practised. The drama was still in its infancy, and prose-writing, as a branch of popular literature, was only beginning to be cultivated; but epic poetry had

reached its culminating point at the commencement of this epoch, and throughout the whole period the lyric muse shone with undiminished lustre. It is therefore to these two species of composition that our attention will be more particularly directed on the present occasion.

§ 2. There were in antiquity two large collections of epic poetry. The one comprised poems relating to the great events and enterprises of the Heroic Age, and characterized by a certain poetical unity; the other included works tamer in character and more desultory in their mode of treatment, containing the genealogies of men and gods, narratives of the exploits of separate heroes, and descriptions of the ordinary pursuits of life. The poems of the former class passed under the name of Homer; while those of the latter were in the same general way ascribed to Hesiod. The former were the productions of the Ionic and Æolic minstrels in Asia Minor, among whom Homer stood præ-eminent and eclipsed the brightness of the rest: the latter were the compositions of a school of bards in the neighborhood of Mount Helicon in Bœotia, among whom in like manner Hesiod enjoyed the greatest celebrity. The poems of both schools were composed in the hexameter metre and in a similar dialect; but they differed widely in almost every other feature. Of the Homeric poems, and of the celebrated controversy to which they have given rise in modern times, we have already spoken at length: * it therefore only remains to say a few words upon those ascribed to Hesiod.

§ 3. Three works have come down to us bearing the name of Hesiod,—the “Works and Days,” the “Theogony,” and a description of the “Shield of Hercules.” The first two were generally considered in antiquity as the genuine productions of Hesiod; but the “Shield of Hercules” and the other Hesiodic poems were admitted to be the compositions of other poets of his school. Many ancient critics, indeed, believed the “Works and Days” to be the only genuine work of Hesiod, and their opinion has been adopted by most modern scholars. Of Hesiod himself there are various legends related by later writers; but we learn from his own poem that he was a native of Ascra, a village at the foot of Mount Helicon, to which his father had migrated from the Æolian Cyme in Asia Minor. He further tells us, that he gained the prize at Chalcis in a poetical contest; and that he was robbed of a fair share of his heritage by the unrighteous decision of judges who had been bribed by his brother Perses. The latter became afterwards reduced in circumstances, and applied to his brother for relief; and it is to him that Hesiod addresses his didactic poem of the “Works and Days,” in which he lays down various moral and social maxims for the regulation of his conduct and his life. It contains an interesting representation of the feelings, habits, and superstitions of the rural population of Greece in the earlier ages, and hence enjoyed at all periods

* See Chap. V.

great popularity among this class. At Sparta, on the contrary, where war was deemed the only occupation worthy of a freeman, the poems of Hesiod were held in contempt. Cleomenes called him the bard of the Helots, in contrast with Homer, the delight of the warrior. Respecting the date of Hesiod nothing certain can be affirmed. Most ancient authorities make him a contemporary of Homer; but modern writers usually suppose him to have flourished two or three generations later than the poet of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

§ 4. The commencement of Greek lyric poetry as a cultivated species of composition dates from the middle of the seventh century before the Christian era. In the Ionic and Æolic colonies of Asia Minor, and in the Doric cities of Peloponnesus, an advancing civilization and an enlarged experience had called into existence new thoughts and feelings, and supplied new subjects for the Muse. At the same time epic poetry, after reaching its climax of excellence in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*, had fallen into the hands of inferior bards. The national genius, however, was still in all the bloom and vigor of its youth; and the decay of epic minstrelsy only stimulated it more vigorously to present in a new style of poetry the new circumstances and feelings of the age. The same desire of change, and of adapting the subjects of poetry to the altered condition of society, was of itself sufficient to induce poets to vary the metre; but the more immediate cause of this alteration was the improvement of the art of music by the Lesbian Terpander and others, in the beginning of the seventh century B. C. The lyric poems of the Greeks were composed, not for a solitary reader in his chamber, but to be sung on festive occasions, either public or private, with the accompaniment of a musical instrument. Hence there was a necessary connection between the arts of music and of poetry; and an improvement in the one led to a corresponding improvement in the other.

It would be impossible to pass under review the numerous varieties of Grecian lyric song, and to point out all the occasions which called into requisition the aid of the poet. It is sufficient to state, in general, that no important event either in the public or private life of a Greek could dispense with this accompaniment; and that the song was equally needed to solemnize the worship of the gods, to cheer the march to battle, or to enliven the festive board. The lyric poetry belonging to the brilliant period of Greek literature treated in this book has almost entirely perished, and all that we possess of it consists of a few songs and isolated fragments. Sufficient, however, remains, to enable us to form an opinion of its surpassing excellence, and to regret the more bitterly the irreparable loss we have sustained. It is only necessary in this work to call attention to the most distinguished masters of the lyric song, and to illustrate their genius by a few specimens of their remains.

§ 5. The great satirist Archilochus was one of the earliest and most

celebrated of all the lyric poets. He flourished about the year 700 B. C. His extraordinary poetical genius is attested by the unanimous voice of antiquity, which placed him on a level with Homer. He was the first Greek poet who composed iambic verses according to fixed rules; the invention of the elegy is ascribed to him as well as to Callinus; and he also struck out many other new paths in poetry. His fame, however, rests chiefly on his terrible satires, composed in the iambic metre,* in which he gave vent to the bitterness of a disappointed man. He was poor, the son of a slave mother, and therefore held in contempt in his native land. He had been a suitor to Neobule, one of the daughters of Lycambes, who first promised and afterwards refused to give his daughter to the poet. Enraged at this treatment he held up the family to public scorn, in an iambic poem, accusing Lycambes of perjury and his daughters of the most abandoned profligacy. His lampoons produced such an effect, that the daughters of Lycambes are said to have hanged themselves through shame. Discontented at home, the poet accompanied a colony to Thasos; but he was not more happy in his adopted country, which he frequently attacks in his satires. He passed a great part of his life in wandering in other countries, and at length fell in a battle between the Parians and Naxians. The following lines of Archilochus, addressed to his own soul, exhibit at the same time the higher attributes of his style, and his own morbid philosophy:—

“Soul, my soul, with helpless sorrows overladen and distraught,
Bear thee firmly, and to hostile hosts a manly breast oppose;
When the foeman's shafts fall thickest, motionless thy post maintain;
If victorious, yield thee not to open triumph overmuch,
Nor, if conquered, cast thee prostrate, nor at home thy lot bewail,
But in pleasures take thy pleasure and in evils bear thy pain
Not too much, but understand the rhythm that governs mortal men.”†

§ 6. Simonides of Amorgos, who must not be confounded with his more celebrated namesake of Ceos, was a contemporary of Archilochus, with whom he shares the honor of inventing the iambic metre. He was born in Samos, but led a colony to the neighboring island of Amorgos, where he spent the greater part of his life. He is the earliest of the gnomic poets, or moralists in verse. The most important of his extant works is a satirical poem “On Women,” in which he describes their various characters. In order to give a livelier image of the female character he derives their different qualities from the variety of their origin; the cunning woman being formed from the fox, the talkative woman from the dog, the uncleanly woman from the swine, and so on. The following is a specimen of the poem:—

“Next in the lot a gallant dame we see,
Sprung from a mare of noble pedigree.
No servile work her spirit proud can brook;
Her hands were never taught to bake or cook;

* “Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo.” — *HOR. Ars Poet.* 79.

† Translated literally and in the measure of the original by the Editor.

The vapor of the oven makes her ill;
 She scorns to empty slops or turn the mill.
 No household washings her fair skin deface,
 Her own ablutions are her chief solace.
 Three baths a day, with balms and perfumes rare,
 Refresh her tender limbs: her long rich hair
 Each time she combs, and decks with blooming flowers
 No spouse more fit than she the idle hours
 Of wealthy lords or kings to recreate,
 And grace the splendor of their courtly state.
 For men of humbler sort, no better guide,
 Heaven, in its wrath, to ruin can provide." *

§ 7. Tyrtaeus and Alcman were the two great lyric poets of Sparta, though neither of them was a native of Lacedæmon. The personal history of Tyrtaeus, and his warlike songs, which roused the fainting courage of the Spartans during the second Messenian war, have already occupied our attention.† Alcman was originally a Lydian slave in a Spartan family, and was emancipated by his master. He lived from about B. C. 670 to 611; and most of his poems were composed in the period which followed the conclusion of the second Messenian war. They partake of the character of this period, which was one of repose and enjoyment after the fatigues and perils of war. Many of his songs celebrate the pleasures of good eating and drinking; but the more important were intended to be sung by a chorus at the public festivals of Sparta. His description of Night is one of the most striking remains of his genius:—

"Now o'er the drowsy earth still Night prevails.
 Calm sleep the mountain-tops and shady vales,
 The rugged cliffs and hollow glens;
 The wild beasts slumber in their dens,
 The cattle on the hill. Deep in the sea
 The countless finny race and monster brood
 Tranquil repose. Even the busy bee
 Forgets her daily toil. The silent wood
 No more with noisy hum of insect rings;
 And all the feathered tribes, by gentle sleep subdued,
 Roost in the glade, and hang their drooping wings." *

§ 8. Although choral poetry was successfully cultivated by Alcman, it received its chief improvements from Arion and Stesichorus. Both of these poets composed for a trained body of men; while the poems of Alcman were sung by the popular chorus.

Arion was a native of Methymna in Lesbos, and spent a great part of his life at the court of Periander, tyrant of Corinth, who began to reign B. C. 625. Nothing is known of his life beyond the beautiful story of his escape from the sailors with whom he sailed from Sicily to Corinth. On one occasion, thus runs the story, Arion went to Sicily to take part in a musical contest. He won the prize, and, laden with presents, he embarked in a Corinthian ship to return to his friend Periander. The rude sailors

* Translated by Colonel Mure.

† See above, p. 72.

coveted his treasures, and meditated his murder. After imploring them in vain to spare his life, he obtained permission to play for the last time on his beloved lyre. In festal attire he placed himself on the prow of the vessel, invoked the gods in inspired strains, and then threw himself into the sea. But many song-loving dolphins had assembled round the vessel, and one of them now took the bard on its back, and carried him to Tænarum, from whence he returned to Corinth in safety, and related his adventure to Periander. Upon the arrival of the Corinthian vessel, Periander inquired of the sailors after Arion, who replied that he had remained behind at Tarentum; but when Arion, at the bidding of Periander, came forward, the sailors owned their guilt, and were punished according to their desert. In later times there existed at Tænarum a bronze monument representing Arion riding on a dolphin. The great improvement in lyric poetry ascribed to Arion is the invention of the Dithyramb. This was a choral song and dance in honor of the god Dionysus, and existed in a rude form even at an earlier time. Arion, however, converted it into an elaborate composition, sung and danced by a chorus of fifty persons specially trained for the purpose. Dithyramb is of great interest in the history of poetry, since it was the germ from which sprung at a later time the magnificent productions of the tragic Muse at Athens.

Stesichorus was a native of Himera in Sicily. He is said to have been born in B. C. 632, to have flourished about B. C. 608, and to have died in B. C. 560. He travelled in many parts of Greece, and was buried in Catana, where his grave was shown near a gate of the city in later times. He introduced such great improvements into the Greek chorus, that he is frequently described as the inventor of choral poetry. He was the first to break the monotony of the choral song, which had consisted previously of nothing more than one uniform stanza, by dividing it into the Strophe, the Antistrophe, and the Epodus, — the turn, the return, and the rest.

§ 9. Alcæus and Sappho were both natives of Mytilene, in the island of Lesbos, and flourished about B. C. 610–580. Their songs were composed for a single voice, and not for the chorus, and each of them was the inventor of a new metre, which bears the inventor's name, and is familiar to us in the well-known odes of Horace. Their poetry was the warm outpouring of the writers' inmost feelings, and presents the lyric poetry of the Æolians at its highest point.

Of the life of Alcæus we have several interesting particulars. He fought in the war between the Athenians and Mytilenæans for the possession of Sigeum (B. C. 606), and incurred the disgrace of leaving his arms behind him on the field of battle. He enjoyed, notwithstanding, the reputation of a brave and skilful warrior, and his house is described by himself as furnished with the weapons of war rather than with the instruments of his art. He took an active part in the civil dissensions of his native state, and warmly espoused the cause of the aristocratical party, to which he

belonged by birth. When the nobles were driven into exile, he endeavored to cheer their spirits by a number of most animated odes, full of invectives against the popular party and its leaders. In order to oppose the attempts of the exiled nobles, Pittacus was unanimously chosen by the people as *Æsymnêtes* or Dictator. He held his office for ten years (B. C. 589–579), and during that time he defeated all the efforts of the exiles, and established the constitution on a popular basis. When Alcæus perceived that all hope of restoration to his native country was gone, he travelled into Egypt and other lands. The fragments of his poems which remain, and the excellent imitations by Horace, enable us to understand something of their character. Those which have received the highest praise are his warlike odes,* of which we have a specimen in the following description of his palace halls:—

“ From floor to roof the spacious palace halls
 Glitter with war’s array;
 With burnished metal clad, the lofty walls
 Beam like the bright noonday.
 There white-plumed helmets hang from many a nail,
 Above in threatening row;
 Steel-garnished tunics, and broad coats of mail,
 Spread o’er the space below.
 Chalcidian blades enow, and belts, are here,
 Greaves and emblazoned shields;
 Well-tried protectors from the hostile spear
 On other battle-fields.
 With these good helps our work of war’s begun;
 With these our victory must be won.” †

In some of his poems Alcæus described the hardships of exile, and the perils he encountered in his wanderings by land and by sea; ‡ while in others he sang of the pleasures of love and of wine.

Sappho, the contemporary of Alcæus, whom he addresses as “the violet-haired, spotless, sweetly-smiling Sappho,” was the greatest of all the Greek poetesses. The ancient writers agree in expressing the most unbounded admiration for her poetry; Plato in an extant epigram calls her the tenth Muse; and it is related of Solon, that, on hearing for the first time the recital of one of her poems, he prayed that he might not see death until he had committed it to memory. Of the events of her life we have scarcely any information; and the common story that, being in love with Phaon and finding her love unrequited, she leaped down from the Leucadian rock, seems to have been an invention of later times. At Mytilene Sappho was the centre of a female literary society, the members of which were her pupils in poetry, fashion, and gallantry. Modern

* “Alcæi minaces Camenæ.” — HOR. *Carm.* iv. 9. 7.

† Translated by Colonel Mure.

‡ “Et te sonantem plenius aureo,

Alcæe, plectro dura navis,

Dura fugæ mala, dura belli.” — HOR. *Carm.* ii. 18, 26.

writers have indeed attempted to prove that the moral character of Sappho was free from all reproach, and that her tenderness was as pure as it was glowing; but it is impossible to read the extant fragments of her poetry without being forced to come to the conclusion, that a female who could write such verses could not be the pure and virtuous woman which her modern apologists pretend. Her poems were chiefly amatory,* and the most important of the fragments which have been preserved is a magnificent ode to the Goddess of Love. In several of Sappho's fragments we perceive the exquisite taste with which she employed images drawn from nature, of which we have an example in the beautiful line imitated by Byron,—

“O Hesperus! thou bringest all things.”†

§ 10. Anacreon is the last lyric poet of this period who claims our attention. He was a native of the Ionian city of Teos. He spent part of his life at Samos, under the patronage of Polycrates, in whose praise he wrote many songs. After the death of this despot (B. C. 522), he went to Athens, at the invitation of Hipparchus, who sent a galley of fifty oars to

* “Spirat adhuc amor
Vivuntque commissi calores
Æolias fidibus puellæ.” — *HOR. Carm. iv. 9, 10.*

† The charges brought against Sappho are unsustained by a particle of contemporary proof. The warm tone of a part of her poetry cannot fairly be used to impeach her personal character. The stories of her passion for Phaon, and of her having taken the leap from the Leucadian cliff, by way of a water-cure for disappointed love, are the inventions of a later age, and are not alluded to by any contemporary authority. The Roman poets, particularly Ovid, six hundred years after the death of Sappho, took up and exaggerated the scandals of the Attic comedians, with whom a burlesque Sappho was a stock character, about as much like the real person as the Socrates of the Clouds resembles the philosopher who died a martyr to Virtue.

There is a passage in Aristotle's (*Rhet. I. 9*) where he quotes some lines from a poem addressed by Alcæus to Sappho, and her reply.

“*Alcæus.* I fain would speak, but shame withholds my tongue.
“*Sappho.* If love of good or noble aims impelled thee,
Nor ill thy tongue were struggling to declare,
Shame would not, seated in thine eyes, have held thee,—
Thou wouldst have spoken out thy purpose fair.”

This is not the style in which a wanton would have been wooed, or would have answered a poet like Alcæus. Several other names are mentioned in disreputable connection with hers, by the ancient libellers. But Archilochus died before Sappho was born; Hipponax was born after Sappho died; Anacreon was two years old when Sappho was forty-eight;—and these are the only persons specified as having been her lovers. Mr. Mure, however, who examines the evidence with the metaphysical acuteness characteristic of his nation, decides the case against the accused. Professor Volger believes the story of her love affair with Phaon, and the Leucadian leap, though he admits she must have been at least forty years old. As to the improbability of her being so desperately enamored, at that sober and respectable age, with young Phaon, who seems to have been troubled with what old Mr. Weller calls “inadvertent captivation,” the learned Professor says, “We are not without examples of elderly ladies in love with young gentlemen, and young gentlemen not in love with elderly ladies.” — *Ed.*

fetch him. He remained at Athens till the assassination of Hipparchus (B. C. 514), when he is supposed to have returned to Teos. The universal tradition of antiquity represents Anacreon as a consummate voluptuary; and his poems prove the truth of the tradition. He sings of love and wine with hearty good-will, and we see in him the luxury of the Ionian inflamed by the fervor of the poet. His death was worthy of his life, if we may believe the account that he was choked by a grape-stone. Only a few genuine fragments of his poems have come down to us, for the odes ascribed to him are now universally admitted to be spurious.

§ 11. Down to the end of the seventh century before Christ literary celebrity in Greece was exclusively confined to the poets; but at the commencement of the following century there sprang up in different parts of Greece a number of men who, under the name of the Seven Sages, became distinguished for their practical sagacity and wise sayings or maxims. Their names are differently given in the various popular catalogues; but those most generally admitted to the honor are Solon, Thales, Pittacus, Periander, Cleobolus, Chilo, and Bias. Most of these personages were actively engaged in the affairs of public life, and exercised great influence upon their contemporaries. They were the authors of the celebrated mottoes inscribed in later days in the Delphian temple, — “Know thyself,” — “Nothing too much,” — “Know thy opportunity,” — “Suretyship is the precursor of ruin.”

Of Solon, the legislator of Athens, and of Periander, the despot of Corinth, we have already spoken at length; and Thales will presently claim our notice as the founder of Grecian philosophy.

Pittacus has been mentioned in connection with the life of Alcæus, as the wise and virtuous ruler of Mytilene, who resigned the sovereign power which his fellow-citizens had voluntarily conferred upon him, after establishing political order in the state. The maxims attributed to him illustrate the amiable features of his character. He pronounced “the greatest blessing which a man can enjoy to be the power of doing good”; that “the most sagacious man, was he who foresaw the approach of misfortune”; “the bravest man, he who knew how to bear it”; that “victory should never be stained by blood”; and that “pardon was often a more effectual check on crime than punishment.”

Cleobolus was despot of Lindus, in the island of Rhodes, and is only known by his pithy sayings. He taught that “a man should never leave his dwelling without considering well what he was about to do, or re-enter it without reflecting on what he had done”; and that “it was folly in a husband either to fondle or reprove his wife in company.”

Chilo, of Sparta, had filled the office of Ephor in his native city, and his daughter was married to the Spartan king, Demaratus. When asked what were the three most difficult things in a man's life, he replied: “To keep a secret, to forgive injuries, and to make a profitable use of leisure time.”

Bias, of Priene in Ionia, appears to have been the latest of the Seven Sages, since he was alive at the Persian conquest of the Ionian cities. The following are specimens of his maxims: he declared "the most unfortunate of all men to be the man who knows not how to bear misfortune"; that "a man should be slow in making up his mind, but swift in executing his decisions"; that "a man should temper his love for his friends by the reflection that they might some day become his enemies, and moderate his hatred of his enemies by the reflection that they might some day become his friends." When overtaken by a storm on a voyage with a dissolute crew, and hearing them offer up prayers for their safety, he advised them rather "to be silent, lest the gods should discover that they were at sea."

§ 12. The history of Greek philosophy begins with Thales of Miletus, who was born about B. C. 640, and died in 550, at the age of 90. He was the founder of the Ionic school of philosophy, and to him were traced the first beginnings of geometry and astronomy. The main doctrine of his philosophical system was, that water, or fluid substance, was the single original element from which everything came, and into which everything returned.

Anaximander, the successor of Thales in the Ionic school, lived from B. C. 610 to 547. He was distinguished for his knowledge of astronomy and geography, and is said to have been the first to introduce the use of the sun-dial into Greece. He was also one of the earliest Greek writers in prose, in which he composed a geographical treatise. He is further said to have constructed a chart or map to accompany this work; and to this account we may give the more credence, since in the century after his death, at the time of the Ionic revolt, the Ionian Aristagoras showed to the Spartan Cleomenes "a tablet of copper, upon which was inscribed every known part of the habitable world, the seas, and the rivers."

Anaximenes, the third in the series of the Ionian philosophers, lived a little later than Anaximander. He endeavored, like Thales, to derive the origin of all material things from a single element; and, according to his theory, air was the source of life. In like manner, Heracleitus of Ephesus, who flourished about B. C. 513, regarded fire or heat as the primary form of all matter; and theories of a similar nature were held by other philosophers of this school.

A new path was struck out by Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ, the most illustrious of the Ionic philosophers. Anaxagoras was born in B. C. 499, and consequently his life, strictly speaking, belongs to the next period of Grecian history; but we mention him here in order to complete our account of the Ionic school. He came to Athens in 480 B. C., being then only in his twentieth year. Though he inherited a considerable property from his father, he resigned it all to his relatives, in order to devote himself entirely to philosophy. He continued to teach at Athens for thirty years, and numbered among his hearers Pericles, Socrates, and Euripides. He abandoned the system of his predecessors, and, instead of regarding some

elementary form of matter as the origin of all things, he conceived a supreme mind or intelligence,* distinct from the visible world, to have imparted form and order to the chaos of nature. These innovations afforded the Athenians a pretext for indicting Anaxagoras of impiety, though it is probable that his connection with Pericles was the real cause of that proceeding. It was only through the influence and eloquence of Pericles that he was not put to death; but he was sentenced to pay a fine of five talents and quit Athens. The philosopher retired to Lampsacus, where he died at the age of seventy-two.

§ 13. The second school of Greek philosophy was the Eleatic, which derived its name from Elea or Velia, a Greek colony on the western coast of Southern Italy. It was founded by Xenophanes of Colophon, who fled to Elea on the conquest of his native land by the Persians. He conceived the whole of nature to be God, and did not hesitate to denounce as abominable the Homeric descriptions of the gods. His philosophical system was developed in the succeeding century by his successors, Parmenides and Zeno, who exercised great influence upon Greek speculation by the acuteness of their dialectics.

§ 14. The third school of philosophy was founded by Pythagoras. The history of this celebrated man has been obscured by the legends of later writers; but there are a few important facts respecting him which are sufficiently well ascertained. He was a native of Samos, and was born about B. C. 580. His father was an opulent merchant, and Pythagoras himself travelled extensively in the East. His travels were greatly magnified by the credulity of a later age, but there can be no reasonable doubt that he visited Egypt, and perhaps also Phœnicia and Babylon. He is said to have received instruction from Thales, Anaximander, and other of the early Greek philosophers. Of his own philosophical views our knowledge is very limited; since he left nothing behind him in writing, and the later doctrines of the Pythagoreans were naturally attributed to the founder of the school. It is certain, however, that he believed in the transmigration of souls; and his contemporary Xenophanes related that Pythagoras, seeing a dog beaten, interceded in its behalf, saying, "It is the soul of a friend of mine, whom I recognize by its voice." Later writers added that Pythagoras asserted that his own soul had formerly dwelt in the body of the Trojan Euphorbus, the son of Panthoüs, who was slain by Menelaüs, and that in proof of his assertion he took down, at first sight, the shield of Euphorbus from the temple of Hera (Juno) at Argos, where it had been dedicated by Menelaüs.† Pythagoras was distinguished by his knowledge

* *Noüs*.

† "habentque

Tartara Panthoiden, iterum Orco

Demissum, quamvis clipeo Trojana reflexo

Tempora testatus, nihil ultra

Nervos atque cutem morti concesserat atræ." — *HOR. CARM.* I. 25. 10.

of geometry and arithmetic; and it was probably from his teaching that the Pythagoreans were led to regard numbers in some mysterious manner as the basis and essence of all things. We shall, however, form an erroneous opinion of the character of Pythagoras, if we regard him simply as a philosopher, attaching to the word the same meaning which it bore among the Athenians of a later age. He was in fact more of the religious teacher than of the philosopher; and he looked upon himself as being destined by the gods to reveal to his disciples a new and purer mode of life. The religious element in his character made a profound impression upon his contemporaries, and they believed him to stand in a close connection with the gods.

Pythagoras is said to have returned to Samos about the age of forty, with a mind deeply impressed with his divine mission. Finding the condition of his native country, which was then under the despotism of Polycrates, unfavorable to the dissemination of his doctrines, he migrated to Croton in Italy. Here he met with the most wonderful success. His public exhortations induced numbers to enroll themselves as members of the new society which he sought to establish. This society was a kind of religious brotherhood, the members of which were bound together by peculiar rites and observances. There were various gradations among the members, and no candidates were admitted without passing through a period of probation, in which their intellectual faculties and general character were tested. Everything done and taught in the fraternity was kept a profound secret from all without its pale. It appears that the members had some private signs, like Freemasons, by which they could recognize each other, even if they had never met before. From the secrecy in which their proceedings were enveloped, we do not know the nature of their religious rites, nor the peculiar diet to which they are said to have been subjected. Some writers represent Pythagoras as forbidding all animal food; but all the members could not have been subjected to this prohibition, since we know that the celebrated athlete Milo was a Pythagorean, and it would not have been possible for him to have dispensed with animal food. But temperance was strictly enjoined; and their whole training tended to produce great self-possession and mastery over the passions. Most of the converts of Pythagoras belonged to the noble and wealthy classes. Three hundred of them, most attached to their teacher, formed the nucleus of the society, and were closely united to Pythagoras and each other by a sacred vow. His doctrines spread rapidly over Magna Græcia, and clubs of a similar character were established at Sybaris, Metapontum, Tarentum, and other cities.

It does not appear that Pythagoras had originally any political designs in the foundation of the brotherhood; but it was only natural that a club like that of the Three Hundred at Croton should speedily acquire great influence in the conduct of public affairs, which it uniformly exerted in

favor of the oligarchical party. Pythagoras himself also obtained great political power. He did not, it is true, hold any public office, either at Croton or elsewhere; but he was the general of a powerful and well-disciplined order, which appears to have paid implicit obedience to his commands, and which bore in many respects a striking resemblance to the one founded in modern times by Ignatius Loyola. The influence, however, exercised by the brotherhood upon public affairs proved its ruin. The support which it lent to the oligarchical party in the various cities, the secrecy of its proceedings, and the exclusiveness of its spirit, produced against the whole system a wide-spread feeling of hatred.

The conquest of Sybaris by Croton (B. C. 510), of which an account has been already given, seems to have elated the Pythagoreans beyond measure. The war had been undertaken through the advice of Pythagoras himself; and the forces of Croton had been commanded by Milo, a member of the brotherhood. Accordingly, on the termination of the war, the Pythagoreans opposed more actively than ever the attempts of the popular party to obtain a share in the government of Croton, and refused to divide among the people the territory of the conquered city. A revolution was the consequence. A democratical form of government was established at Croton; and the people now took revenge upon their powerful opponents. In an outbreak of popular fury an attack was made upon the house in which the leading Pythagoreans were assembled; the house was set on fire; and many of the members perished. Similar riots took place in the other cities of Magna Græcia, in which Pythagorean clubs had been formed; and civil dissensions ensued, which, after lasting many years, were at length pacified by the friendly mediation of the Achæans of the mother country. The Pythagorean order, as an active and organized brotherhood, was thus suppressed; but the Pythagoreans continued to exist as a philosophical sect, and after some interval were again admitted into the cities from which they had been expelled. There were different accounts of the fate of Pythagoras himself; but he is generally stated to have died at Metapontum, where his tomb was shown in the time of Cicero.



Temple at Ægina, restored.

CHAPTER XIV.

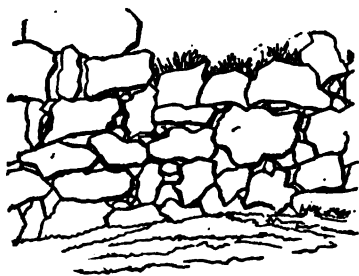
HISTORY OF ART.

§ 1. Perfection of Grecian Art. § 2. Origin of Architecture. § 3. Cyclopean Walls. Treasury of Atreus. § 4. Architecture of Temples. § 5. Three Orders of Architecture, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. § 6. Temples of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus, of Hera (Juno) at Samos, of Apollo at Delphi, and of Jove at Athens. Remains of Temples at Posidonia (Pæstum), Sellinus, and Ægina. § 7. Origin of Sculpture. Wooden Images of the Gods. Sculptured Figures on Architectural Monuments. Lions over the Gate at Mycenæ. § 8. Improvements in Sculpture in the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B. C. § 9. Extant Specimens of Grecian Sculpture. The Selinuntine, Æginetan, and Lycian Marbles. § 10. History of Painting.

§ 1. THE perfection of Greek art is still more wonderful than the perfection of Greek literature. In poetry, history, and oratory, other languages have produced works which may stand comparison with the masterpieces of Greek literature; but in architecture and sculpture the pre-eminence of the Hellenic race is acknowledged by the whole civilized world, and the most successful artist of modern times only hopes to approach, and dreams not of surpassing, the glorious creations of Grecian art. The art of a people is not only a most interesting branch of its antiquities, but also an important part of its history. It forms one of the most durable evidences of a nation's growth in civilization and social progress. The remains of the Parthenon alone would have borne the most unerring testimony to the intellectual and social greatness of Athens, if the history of Greece had been a blank, and the names of Pericles and Pheidias unknown.

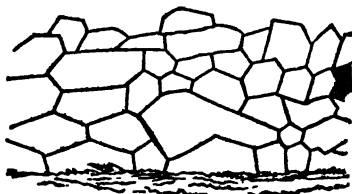
§ 2. Architecture first claims our attention in tracing the history of Grecian art, since it attained a high degree of excellence at a much earlier period than either sculpture or painting. Architecture has its origin in nature and in religion. The necessity of a habitation for man, and the attempt to erect habitations suitable for the gods, are the two causes from which the art derives its existence. In Greece, however, as in most other countries, architecture was chiefly indebted to religion for its development; and hence its history, as a fine art, is closely connected with that of the temple. But before speaking of the Grecian temples, it is necessary to say a few words respecting the earlier buildings of the Greeks.

§ 3. The oldest works erected by Grecian hands are those gigantic walls which are still found at Tiryns and Mycenæ, and other cities of Greece. They consist of enormous blocks of stone put together without cement of any kind, though they differ from one another in the mode of their construction. In the most ancient specimens, the stones are of irregular polygonal shapes, and no attempt is made to fit them into one another, the gaps being filled up with smaller stones: of this we have an example in the walls of the citadel of Tiryns.



Wall at Tiryns.

In other cases the stones, though they are still of irregular polygonal shapes, are skilfully hewn and fitted to one another, and their faces are cut so as to give the whole wall a smooth appearance. A specimen of this kind is seen in the walls of Larissa, the citadel of Argos. In the third species the stones are more or less regular, and are laid in horizontal courses. The walls of Mycenæ present one of the best examples of this struc-

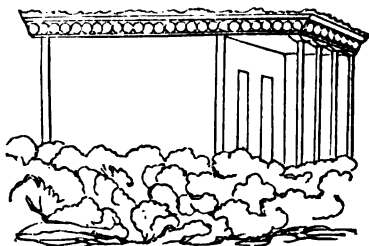


Wall of the Citadel of Argos.

ture. (See drawing on p. 24.) These gigantic walls are generally known by the name of Cyclopean, because posterity could not believe them to be the works of man. Modern writers assign them to the Pelasgians; but we know nothing of their origin, though we may safely believe them to belong to the earliest periods of Greek history. In the Homeric poems we find the cities of Greece surrounded with massive walls; and the poet speaks of the chief cities of the Argive kingdom as "the walled Tiryns," and "Mycenæ, the well-built city."

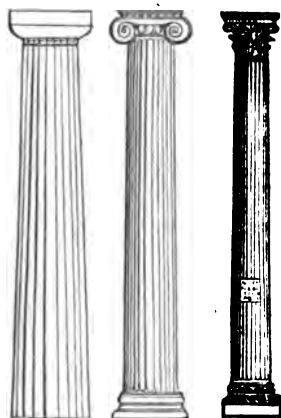
The only other remains which can be regarded as contemporary with these massive walls are those subterraneous, dome-shaped edifices usually supposed to have been the treasuries of the Heroic kings. This, however, seems doubtful, and many modern writers maintain them to have been the family vaults of the ancient heroes by whom they were erected. The best preserved monument of this kind is the one at Mycenæ, where we find so many remains of the earliest Grecian art. This building, generally called the Treasury of Atreus, is entirely under ground. It contains two chambers, the one upon entrance being a large vault about fifty feet in width and forty in height, giving access to a small chamber excavated in the solid rock. The building is constructed of horizontal courses of masonry, which gradually approach and unite in the top in a closing stone. Its principle is that of a wall resisting a superincumbent weight, and deriving strength and coherence from the weight itself, which is in reality the principle of the arch. The doorway of the monument was formerly adorned with pilasters and other ornaments in marble of different colors. It appears to have been lined in the interior with bronze plates, the holes for the nails of which are still visible in horizontal rows.

§ 4. The temples of the gods were originally small in size and mean in appearance. The most ancient were nothing but hollow trees, in which the images of the gods were placed, since the temple in early times was simply the habitation of the deity, and not a place for the worshippers. As the nation grew in knowledge and in civilization, the desire naturally arose of improving and embellishing the habitations of their deities. The tree was first exchanged for a wooden house. The form of the temple was undoubtedly borrowed from the common dwellings of men. Among the Greeks of Asia Minor, we still find an exact conformity of style and



Wooden Hut in Asia Minor

arrangement between the wooden huts now occupied by the peasantry and the splendid temples of antiquity. The wooden habitation of the god gave way in turn to a temple of stone. In the erection of these sacred edifices, architecture made great and rapid progress; and even as early as the sixth century there were many magnificent temples erected in various parts of Hellas. Most of the larger temples received their light from an opening in the centre of the building, and were for this reason called *hypæthral*,* or under the sky. They usually consisted of three parts: the *pronaos*,† or vestibule; the *naos*,‡ or *cella*, which contained the statue of the deity; and the *opisthodomos*,§ or back-building, in which the treasures of the temple were frequently kept. The form of the temples was very simple, being either oblong or round; and their grandeur was owing to the beautiful combination of columns which adorned the interior as well as the outside. These columns either surrounded the building entirely, or were arranged in porticos on one or more of its fronts; and according to their number and distribution temples have been classified both by ancient and modern writers on architecture. Columns were originally used simply to support the roof of the building; and, amidst all the elaborations of a later age, this object was always kept in view. Hence we find the column supporting a horizontal mass, technically called the entablature. Both the



Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian Columns.

column and the entablature are again divided into three distinct parts. The former consists of the base, the shaft, and the capital; the latter, of the architrave, the frieze, and the cornice. The architrave is the chief beam,|| resting on the summit of the row of columns; the frieze rises above the architrave, and is frequently adorned by figures in relief, whence its Greek

* ὑπαῖθρος.

† πρόναος.

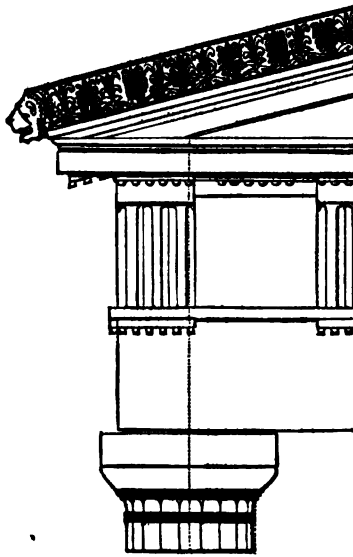
‡ ναός, also called σηκός.

§ ὀπισθόδομος.

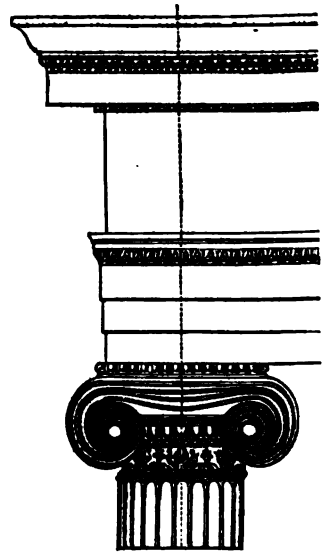
|| Called by the Greeks Ἐπιστύλιον, *epistylum*.

name; * and above the frieze projects the cornice,† forming a handsome finish to the entablature. According to certain differences in the proportions and embellishments of the columns and entablature, Grecian architecture was divided into three orders, called respectively the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian.

§ 5. The Doric order is the most ancient, and is marked by the characteristics of the people from whom it derives its name. It is simple, massive, and majestic. The column is characterized by the absence of a base, by the thickness and rapid diminution of the shaft, and by the simplicity and massiveness of the capital. In the entablature, the architrave is in one surface, and quite plain. The frieze is ornamented by triglyphs, so called from the three flat bands into which they are divided by the intervening channels; while the metopes, or the vacant spaces between the triglyphs, are also adorned with sculptures in high relief. The cornice projects far, and on its under side are cut several sets of drops, called mutules.



Doric Architecture.
From Temple at Phigalia.



Ionic Architecture.
From the Erechtheum.

The Ionic order is distinguished by simple gracefulness, and by a much richer style of ornament than the Doric. The shaft of the column is much more slender, and rests upon a base; while the capital is adorned by spiral volutes. The architrave is in three faces, the one slightly projecting beyond the other; there is a small cornice between the architrave

* Ζωφόρος, *sophorus*.

† Κορωνίς, *coronis*.

and the frieze, and all three members of the entablature are more or less ornamented with mouldings.

The Corinthian order is only a later form of the Ionic, and belongs to a period subsequent to the one treated in the present book. It is especially characterized by its beautiful capital, which is said to have been suggested to the mind of the celebrated sculptor Callimachus by the sight of a basket, covered by a tile, and overgrown by the leaves of an acanthus, on which it had accidentally been placed. The earliest known example of its use throughout a building is in the Choragic monument of Lysicrates, formerly called the Lantern of Demosthenes, which was built in B. C. 335.



Corinthian Architecture. From the Monument of Lysicrates.*

§ 6. Passing over the earlier Greek temples, we find at the beginning of the sixth century B. C. several magnificent buildings of this kind mentioned by the ancient writers. Of these two of the most celebrated were the temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus, and the temple of Hera (Juno) at Samos. The former was erected on a gigantic scale, and from its size and magnificence was regarded as one of the wonders of the world. I

* In the Street of Tripods (ὁδὸς Τριπόδων) at Athens. — ED.

was commenced about B. C. 600, under the superintendence of the architects Chersiphron and his son Metagenes, of Cnossos in Crete, but it occupied many years in building. The material employed was white marble, and the order of architecture adopted was the Ionic. Its length was four hundred and twenty-five feet, its breadth two hundred and twenty feet; the columns were sixty feet in height, and one hundred and twenty-seven in number; and the blocks of marble composing the architrave were thirty feet in length. This wonder of the world was burnt down by Herostratus, in order to immortalize himself, on the same night that Alexander the Great was born (B. C. 356); but it was afterwards rebuilt with still greater magnificence by the contributions of all the states of Asia Minor.

The temple of Hera (Juno) at Samos was begun about the same time as the one at Ephesus; but it appears to have been finished much earlier, since it was the largest temple with which Herodotus was acquainted. It was three hundred and forty-six feet in length, and one hundred and eighty-nine in breadth, and was originally built in the Doric style, but the existing remains belong to the Ionic order. The architects were Rhœcus and his son Theodorus, both natives of Samos.

In the latter half of the same century the temple of Delphi was rebuilt after its destruction by fire in B. C. 548. The sum required for the erection of this temple was three hundred talents, or about £75,000,* which had to be collected from the various cities in the Hellenic world. The contract for the building was taken by the Alcmaeonidæ, and the magnificent manner in which they executed the work has been already mentioned. It was in the Doric style, and the front was cased with Parian marble.

About the same time Peisistratus and his sons commenced the temple of the Olympian Zeus at Athens. It was a colossal fabric in the Corinthian style, three hundred and fifty-nine feet in length by one hundred and seventy-three in breadth, and was only completed by the Emperor Hadrian, six hundred and fifty years after its foundation.

The temples mentioned above have entirely disappeared, with the exception of a few columns; but others erected in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. have withstood more successfully the ravages of time. Of these the most perfect and the most striking are the two temples at Posidonia, or Pæstum, the colony of Sybaris in Southern Italy, the remains of which still fill the beholder with admiration and astonishment. The larger of the two, which is the more ancient, is characterized by the massive simplicity of the ancient Doric style. It is one hundred and ninety-five feet long by seventy-five feet wide. There are likewise considerable remains of three ancient temples at Selinus in Sicily, built in the Doric style. The

* Equal to about \$350,000, in round numbers. — Ed.

temple of Zeus Panhellenius, in the island of Ægina, of which many columns are still standing, was probably erected in the sixth century B. C., and not after the Persian wars, as is stated by many modern writers. It stands in a sequestered and lonely spot in the northeast corner of the island, overlooking the sea and commanding a view of the opposite coast of Attica. It is in the Doric style; and the front elevation, as restored, is exhibited in the engraving at the head of this chapter.

§ 7. Sculpture, or, to use a more correct expression, Statuary, owed its origin, like architecture, to religion. The only statues in Greece were for a long time those of the gods; and it was not till about B. C. 550 that statues began to be erected in honor of men. The most ancient representations of the gods did not even pretend to be images, but were only symbolical signs of their presence, and were often nothing more than unhewn blocks of stone or simple pieces of wood. Sometimes there was a real statue of the god, carved in wood, of which material the most ancient statues were exclusively made.* The art of carving in wood was confined to certain families, and was handed down from father to son. Such families are represented in Attica by the mythical name of Dædalus, and in Ægina by the equally mythical name of Smilis, from both of whom many artists of a later age traced their descent. The hereditary cultivation of the art tended to repress its improvement and development; and the carvers long continued to copy from generation to generation the exact type of each particular god. These wooden figures were frequently painted and clothed, and were decorated with diadems, ear-rings, and necklaces, and in course of time were partly covered with gold or ivory. Statues in marble or metal did not begin to be made till the sixth century B. C.

Though statuary proper, or the construction of a round figure standing by itself, continued in a rude state for a long time in Greece, yet sculptured figures on architectural monuments were executed at an early period in a superior style of art. One of the earliest specimens of sculpture still extant is the work in relief above the ancient gate at Mycenæ, representing two lions standing on their hind legs, with a kind of pillar between them. They are figured on p. 24.

§ 8. About the beginning of the sixth century B. C. a fresh impulse was given to statuary, as well as to the other arts, by the discovery of certain mechanical processes in the use and application of the metals. Glaucus of Chios is mentioned as the inventor of the art of soldering metal; † and Rhæcus and Theodorus of Samos, who have been already spoken of as architects, invented the art of casting figures of bronze in a mould. The magnificent temples, which began to be built about the same period, called

* A wooden statue was called *ξύανον*, from *ξύω*, "polish" or "carve."

† *σιδήρου καλλησις*, Herod. I. 25.

into exercise the art of the sculptor, since the friezes and pediments were usually adorned with figures in relief. Dipœnus and Scyllis of Crete, who practised their art at Sicyon about B. C. 580, were the first sculptors who obtained renown for their statues in marble. They founded a school of art in Sicyon, which long enjoyed great celebrity. The other most distinguished schools of art were at Samos, Chios, Ægina, and Argos. The practice of erecting statues of the victors in the great public games, which commenced about B. C. 550, was likewise of great service in the development of the art. In forming these statues the sculptor was not tied down by a fixed type, as in the case of the images of the gods, and consequently gave greater play to his inventive powers. The improvement thus produced in the statues of men was gradually extended to the images of the gods; and the artist was emboldened to depart from the ancient models, and to represent the gods under new forms of beauty and grandeur. Nevertheless, even the sculptures which belong to the close of the present period still bear traces of the religious restraints of an earlier age, and form a transition from the hardness and stiffness of the archaic style to that ideal beauty which was shortly afterwards developed in the sublime works of Phœdidas.

§ 9. Among the remains of the sculpture of this period still extant, those most worthy of notice are the reliefs in the metopes of the temple of Selinus, the statues on the pediments of the temple of Ægina, and the reliefs on the great monument recently discovered at Xanthus in Lycia. The two reliefs given on p. 108 are taken from the metopes of two temples at Selinus. The first, belonging to the more ancient of the temples, which was probably built about B. C. 600, represents Perseus cutting off the head of Medusa, with the assistance of Pallas. The work is very rude and very inferior, both in style and execution, to the lions over the gate at Mycenæ. The second, belonging to the more recent of the temples, probably erected in the latter half of the fifth century, exhibits a marked improvement. It represents Actæon metamorphosed into a stag by Artemis (Diana), and torn to pieces by his own dogs.

Two of the statues on one of the pediments of the temple at Ægina are represented on pp. 15, 16. These statues were discovered in 1812, and are at present in the collection at Munich. They have been restored by Thorwaldsen. The subject is Athena (Minerva), leading the Æacids or Æginetan heroes in the war against the Trojans. There are traces of color on the clothes, arms, eyeballs, and lips, but not the flesh; and it appears, from the many small holes found in the marble, that bronze armor was fixed to the statues by means of nails. There is great animation in the figures, but their gestures are too violent and abrupt; and one may still perceive evident traces of the archaic style. The close imitation of nature is very striking.

The reliefs on the monument at Xanthus in Lycia were evidently exe-

cut by Greek artists, and probably about the same time as the Æginetan statues. The monument consists of a quadrangular tower of limestone on a base, and was surrounded on four sides by marble friezes at the height of twenty feet from the ground. On these friezes, which are now in the British Museum, there are sculptures representing various mythological subjects; and from the ends of the narrower sides containing four beautiful Harpies carrying off maidens, the building is frequently called the Harpy Monument. The general character of these sculptures is an antique simplicity of style, united with grace and elegance of execution.

§ 10. Painting is not mentioned as an imitative art in the earliest records of Grecian literature. Homer does not speak of any kind of painting, although he frequently describes garments inwoven with figures. The fine arts in all countries appear to have been indebted to religion for their development; and since painting was not connected in early times with the worship of the gods, it long remained behind the sister arts of architecture and sculpture. For a considerable period all painting consisted in coloring statues and architectural monuments, of which we find traces in the ruins of the temples already described. The first improvements in painting were made in the schools of Corinth and Sicyon; and the most ancient specimens of the art which have come down to us are found on the oldest Corinthian vases, which may be assigned to the beginning of the sixth century B. C. About the same time painting began to be cultivated in Asia Minor, along with architecture and sculpture. The paintings of the town of Phocæa are mentioned on the capture of that city by Harpagus in B. C. 544; and a few years afterwards (B. C. 508) Mandrocles, who constructed for Darius the bridge of boats across the Bosphorus, had a picture painted representing the passage of the army and the king himself seated on the throne reviewing the troops as they passed. The only great painter, however, of this period, whose name has been preserved, is Cimon of Cleonæ, whose date is uncertain, but who probably must not be placed later than the time of Peisistratus and his sons (B. C. 560–510). He introduced great improvements into the art, and thus prepared the way for the perfection in which it appears at the beginning of the following period. His works probably held the same place in the history of painting which the Æginetan marbles occupy in the history of sculpture, forming a transition from the archaic stiffness of the old school to the ideal beauty of the paintings of Polygnotus of Thasos.



Cyrus, from a bas-relief at Pasargadæ.

BOOK III.

THE PERSIAN WARS.

B. C. 500 – 478.

CHAPTER XV.

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

§ 1. Introduction. § 2. The Assyrian Empire. § 3. The Median Empire. § 4. The Baby-
lonian Empire. § 5. The Lydian Monarchy, and its Influence upon the Asiatic Greeks.
§ 6. Conquest of the Asiatic Greeks by Cræsus, King of Lydia. § 7. Foundation of the
Persian Empire by Cyrus, and Overthrow of the Median Empire by the latter. § 8. Con-
quest of the Lydian Monarchy by Cyrus. § 9. Conquest of the Asiatic Greeks by
Harpagus, the General of Cyrus. Death of Cyrus. § 10. Reigns of Cambyses and of
the false Smerdis. § 11. History of Polycrates, Despot of Samos. § 12. Accession of
Darius, Son of Hystaspes. His Organization of the Persian Empire. § 13. Invasion of
Scythia by Darius. § 14. Subjection of Thrace and Macedonia to the Persian Empire.

§ 1. THE period upon which we are now entering is the most brilliant
in the history of Greece. The subject has hitherto been confined to the
history of separate and isolated cities, which were but little affected by

each other's prosperity or adversity. But the Persian invasion produced an important change in the relations of the Greek cities. A common danger drew them closer together and compelled them to act in concert. Thus Grecian history obtains a degree of unity, and consequently of interest. The rise and progress of the Persian empire, which produced such important results upon the Grecian states, therefore claim our attention; but in order to understand the subject aright, it is necessary to go a little further back, and to glance at the history of those monarchies which were overthrown by the Persians.

§ 2. From the first dawn of history to the present day, the East has been the seat of vast and mighty empires. Of these the earliest and the most extensive was founded by the Assyrian kings, who resided at the city of Nineveh on the Tigris. At the time of its greatest prosperity this empire appears to have extended over the South of Asia, from the Indus on the east to the Mediterranean Sea on the west. Of its history we have hardly any particulars; but its greatness is attested by the unanimous voice of sacred and profane writers; and the wonderful discoveries which have been made within the last few years in the earthen mounds which entomb the ancient Nineveh afford unerring testimony of the progress which the Assyrians had made in architecture, sculpture, and the arts of civilized life. At the beginning of the eighth century before the Christian era, the power of this vast empire was broken by the revolt of the Medes and Babylonians, who had hitherto been its subjects. The city of Nineveh still continued to exist as the seat of an independent kingdom, but the greater part of its dominions was divided between the Medes and Babylonians.

§ 3. The Medes belonged to that branch of the Indo-Germanic family inhabiting the vast space of country known by the general name of Iran or Aria, which extends south of the Caspian and the Oxus, from the Indus on the east to Mount Zagros on the west, — a range of mountains running parallel to the Tigris and eastward of that river. The northwestern part of this country was occupied by the Medes, and their capital, Ecbatana, was situated in a mountainous and healthy district, which was celebrated for the freshness and coolness of its climate in the summer heats. Their language was a dialect of the Zend; and their religion was the one which had been founded by Zoroaster. They worshipped fire as the symbol of the Deity, and their priests were the Magi, who formed a distinct class or caste, possessing great influence and power in the state. The people were brave and warlike, and under their successive monarchs they gradually extended their dominion from the Indus on the east to the river Halys in the centre of Asia Minor on the west. Their most celebrated conquest was the capture of Nineveh, which they razed to the ground in B. C. 606.*

* According to Herodotus, there were four Median kings: — 1. Deioeces, the founder or

§ 4. The Babylonians were a Semitic people. Their territory comprised the fertile district between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and their capital, Babylon, situated on the latter river, was one of the greatest cities in the ancient world. Herodotus, who visited it in its decline, describes its size and grandeur in terms which would exceed belief, if the truthfulness of the historian was not above all suspicion. It was built in the form of a square, of which each side was fifteen miles in length, and it was surrounded by walls of prodigious size, three hundred feet high and seventy-five feet thick. Under Nebuchadnezzar the Babylonian empire reached its height. This monarch extended his dominions as far as the confines of Egypt. He took Jerusalem, and carried away its inhabitants into captivity, and he annexed to his dominions both Judæa and Phœnicia. On his death, in B. C. 562, he bequeathed to his son Labynetus (the Belshazzar of Scripture) a kingdom which extended from the Tigris to the frontiers of Egypt and the South of Phœnicia.

§ 5. The Median and Babylonian empires did not include any countries inhabited by the Greeks, and exercised only a remote influence upon Grecian civilization. There was, however, a third power, which rose upon the ruins of the Assyrian empire, with which the Greeks were brought into immediate contact. This was the Lydian monarchy, whose territory was originally confined to the fertile district eastward of Ionia, watered by the Cayster and the Hermus. The capital of the monarchy was Sardis, which was situated on a precipitous rock belonging to the ridge of Mount Tmolus. Here three dynasties of Lydian kings are said to have reigned. Of the first two we have no account, and it is probable that, down to the commencement of the third of these dynasties, Lydia formed a province of the Assyrian empire. However this may be, the history of Lydia begins only with the accession of Gyges, the founder of the third dynasty; and it cannot be a mere accident that the beginning of his reign is nearly coincident with the decline of the Assyrian empire and the foundation of the independent monarchies of the Babylonians and Medes.*

Under Gyges and his successors Sardis became the centre of a powerful and civilized monarchy; and the existence of such a state in close proximity to the Greek cities in Ionia exercised an important influence upon the latter. The Lydians were a wealthy and industrious people, carrying on an extensive commerce, practising manufactures and acquainted with various arts. The Lydians are said to have been the first people to coin money of gold and silver; and of the former metal they

the empire, who reigned B. C. 710 - 657; 2. Phraortes, B. C. 657 - 635; 3. Cyaxares, B. C. 635 - 595; 4. Astyages, B. C. 595 - 559.

* According to Herodotus, there were five Lydian kings:—1. Gyges, who reigned B. C. 716 - 678; 2. Ardys, B. C. 678 - 629; 3. Sadyattes, B. C. 629 - 617; 4. Alyattes, B. C. 617 - 560; 5. Croesus, B. C. 560 - 546.

obtained large quantities in the sands of the river Pactolus, which flowed down from Mount Tmolus towards the Hermus. From them the Ionic Greeks derived various improvements in the useful and the ornamental arts, especially in the weaving and the dyeing of fine fabrics, in the processes of metallurgy, and in the style of their music. The growth of the Lydian monarchy in wealth and civilization was attended with another advantage to the Grecian cities on the coast. As the territory of the Lydians did not originally extend to the sea, the whole of their commerce with the Mediterranean passed through the Grecian cities, and was carried on in Grecian ships. This contributed greatly to the prosperity and wealth of Miletus, Phocæa, and the other Ionian cities.

§ 6. But while the Asiatic Greeks were indebted for so much of their grandeur and opulence to the Lydian monarchy, the increasing power of the latter eventually deprived them of their political independence. Even Gyges had endeavored to reduce them to subjection, and the attempt was renewed at various times by his successors; but it was not until the reign of Cræsus, the last king of Lydia, who succeeded to the throne in B. C. 560, that the Asiatic Greeks became the subjects of a barbarian power. This monarch succeeded in the enterprise in which his predecessors had failed. He began by attacking Ephesus, and reduced in succession all the other Grecian cities on the coast. His rule, however, was not oppressive; he appears to have been content with the payment of a moderate tribute, and to have permitted the cities to regulate their own affairs. He next turned his arms towards the east, and subdued all the nations in Asia Minor west of the river Halys, with the exception of the Lycians and Cilicians. The fame of Cræsus and of his countless treasures now resounded through Greece. He spoke the Greek language, welcomed Greek guests, and revered the Greek oracles, which he enriched with the most munificent offerings. The wise men of Greece were attracted to Sardis by the fame of his power and of his wealth. Among his other visitors he is said to have entertained Solon; but the celebrated story of the interview between the Athenian sage and the Lydian monarch, which the stern laws of chronology compel us to reject, has already been narrated in a previous part of this work.*

Cræsus deemed himself secure from the reach of calamities, and his kingdom appeared to be placed upon a firm and lasting foundation. His own subjects were submissive and obedient; and he was closely connected with the powerful monarchs of Media, Babylon, and Egypt. Astyages, the king of Media, whose territories adjoined his own, was his brother-in-law; and he had formed an alliance and friendship with Labynetus, king of Babylon, and Amasis, king of Egypt. The four kings seemed to have nothing to fear, either from internal commotions or external foes. Yet

* Page 95.

within the space of a few years their dynasties were overthrown, and their territories absorbed in a vast empire, founded by an adventurer till then unknown by name.

§ 7. The rise and fall of the great Asiatic monarchies have been characterized by the same features in ancient and modern times. A brave and hardy race, led by its native chief, issues either from the mountains or from the steppes of Asia, overruns the more fertile and cultivated parts of the continent, conquers the effeminate subjects of the existing monarchies, and places its leader upon the throne of Asia. But the descendants of the new monarch and of the conquering race give way to sensuality and sloth, and fall victims in their turn to the same bravery in another people, which had given the sovereignty to their ancestors. The history of Cyrus, the great founder of the Persian empire, is an illustration of these remarks. It is true that the earlier portion of his life is buried under a heap of fables, and that it is impossible to determine whether he was the grandson of the Median king, Astyages, as is commonly stated; but it does not admit of doubt, that he led the warlike Persians from their mountainous homes to a series of conquests, which secured him an empire extending from the Ægean to the Indus, and from the Caspian and the Oxus to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

The Persians were of the same race as the Medes, spoke a dialect of the same language, and were adherents of the same religion. They inhabited the mountainous region south of Media, which abounds in several well-watered valleys, and slopes gradually down to the low grounds on the coast of the Persian Gulf. While the Medes became enervated by the corrupting influences to which they were exposed, the Persians preserved in their native mountains their simple and warlike habits. They were divided into several tribes, partly agricultural and partly nomadic; but they were all brave, rude, and hardy, clothed in skins, drinking only water, and ignorant of the commonest luxuries of life. Cyrus led these fierce warriors from their mountain fastnesses, defeated the Medes in battle, took Astyages prisoner, and deprived him of the throne. The other nations included in the Median empire submitted to the conqueror; and the sovereignty of Upper Asia thus passed from the Medes to the Persians. The accession of Cyrus to the empire is placed in B. C. 559.

§ 8. This important revolution excited alike the anger, the fears, and the hopes of Croesus. Anxious to avenge his brother-in-law, to arrest the alarming growth of the Persian power, and to enlarge his own dominions, he resolved to attack the new monarch. But before embarking upon so perilous an enterprise he consulted the oracles of Amphiaraus, and of Apollo at Delphi, in whose veracity he placed the most unbounded confidence. The reply of both oracles was, that, "if he should make war upon the Persians, he would destroy a mighty monarchy," and they both advised him to make allies of the most powerful among the Greeks. Un-

derstanding the response to refer to the Persian empire, and not, as the priests explained it after the event, to his own, he had no longer any hesitation in commencing the war. In obedience to the oracles he first sent to the Spartans to solicit their alliance, which was readily granted, but no troops were sent to his immediate assistance. He then crossed the Halys at the head of a large army, laid waste the country of the Syrians of Cappadocia, and took several of their towns. Cyrus lost no time in coming to the help of his distant subjects. The two armies met near the Pterian plain in Cappadocia, where a bloody, but indecisive battle was fought. As the forces of Crœsus were inferior in number to those of the Persian king, he thought it more prudent to return to Sardis, and collect a large army for the next campaign. Accordingly he despatched envoys to Labyrinthus, Amasis, and the Lacedæmonians, requesting them to send auxiliaries to Sardis in the course of the next five months; and meantime he disbanded the mercenary troops who had followed him into Cappadocia.

Cyrus anticipated his enemy's plan; he waited till the Lydian king had re-entered his capital and dismissed his troops; and he then marched upon Sardis with such celerity, that he appeared under the walls of the city before any one could give notice of his approach. Crœsus was thus compelled to fight without his allies; but he did not despair of success; for the Lydian cavalry was distinguished for its efficiency, and the open plain before Sardis was favorable for its evolutions. To render this force useless, Cyrus placed in front of his line the baggage camels, which the Lydian horses could not endure either to see or to smell. The Lydians, however, did not on this account decline the contest; they dismounted from their horses, and fought bravely on foot; and it was not until after a fierce combat that they were obliged to take refuge within the city. Here they considered themselves secure till their allies should come to their aid; for the fortifications of Sardis were deemed impregnable to assault. There was, however, one side of the city which had been left unfortified, because it stood upon a rock so lofty and precipitous, as to appear quite inaccessible. But on the fourteenth day of the siege a Persian soldier, having seen one of the garrison descend this rock to pick up his helmet which had rolled down, climbed up the same way, followed by several of his comrades. Sardis was thus taken, and Crœsus with all his treasures fell into the hands of Cyrus (B. C. 546). The Lydian king was condemned to be burnt alive; but his life was afterwards spared by the conqueror; and he became the confidential adviser both of Cyrus and his son Cambyses. —

§ 9. The fall of Crœsus was followed by the subjection of the Greek cities in Asia to the Persian yoke. As soon as Sardis had been taken, the Ionians and Æolians sent envoys to Cyrus, offering to submit to him on the same terms as they had obtained from Crœsus. But the Persian conqueror, who had in vain attempted to induce them to revolt from the

Lydian king at the commencement of the war, sternly refused their request, except in the case of Miletus. The other Greeks now began to prepare for defence, and sent deputies to Sparta to solicit assistance. This was refused by the Spartans; but they despatched some of their citizens to Ionia to investigate the state of affairs. One of their number, exceeding the bounds of their commission, repaired to Cyrus at Sardis, and warned him "not to injure any city in Hellas, for the Lacedæmonians would not permit it." Astonished at such a message from a people of whom he had never heard, the conqueror inquired of the Greeks who stood near him, "Who are these Lacedæmonians, and how many are they in number that they venture to send me such a notice?" Having received an answer to his question, he said to the Spartan, "I was never yet afraid of men who have a place set apart in the middle of their city where they meet to cheat one another and forswear themselves. If I live, they shall have troubles of their own to talk about apart from the Ionians." This taunt of Cyrus was levelled at Grecian habits generally; for to the rude barbarian, buying and selling seemed contemptible and disgraceful.

Cyrus soon afterwards quitted Sardis to prosecute his conquests in the East, and left the reduction of the Greek cities, and of the other districts in Asia Minor, to his lieutenants. The Greek cities offered a brave, but ineffectual resistance, and were taken one after the other by Harpagus, the Persian general. The inhabitants of Phocæa and Teos preferred expatriation to slavery; they abandoned their homes to the conqueror, and sailed away in search of new settlements. The Phocæans, after experiencing many vicissitudes of fortune, at length settled in the South of Italy, where they founded Elea. The Teians took refuge on the coast of Thrace, where they built the city of Abdëra. All the other Asiatic Greeks on the mainland were enrolled among the vassals of Cyrus; and even the inhabitants of the islands of Lesbos and Chios sent in their submission to Harpagus, although the Persians then possessed no fleet to force them to obedience. Samos, on the other hand, maintained its independence, and appears soon afterwards as one of the most powerful of the Grecian states. After the reduction of the Asiatic Greeks, Harpagus marched against the other districts of Asia Minor, which still refused to own the authority of Cyrus. They were all conquered without any serious resistance, with the exception of the Lycians, who, finding it impossible to maintain their freedom, set fire to their chief town Xanthus; and while the women and children perished in the flames, the men sallied forth against the enemy and died sword in hand.

While Harpagus was thus employed, Cyrus was making still more extensive conquests in Upper Asia and Assyria. The most important of these was the capture of the wealthy and populous city of Babylon, which he took by diverting the course of the Euphrates, and then marching into

the city by the bed of the river (B. C. 538). Subsequently he marched against the nomad tribes in Central Asia, but was slain in battle while fighting against the Massagetæ, a people dwelling beyond the Araxes. He perished in B. C. 529, after a reign of thirty years, leaving his vast empire to his son Cambyses.

§ 10. The love of conquest and of aggrandizement, which had been fed by the repeated victories of Cyrus, still fired the Persians. Of the four great monarchies which Cyrus had found in all their glory when he descended with his shepherds from the Persian mountains, there yet remained one which had not been destroyed by his arms. Amasis continued to occupy the throne of Egypt in peace and prosperity, while the monarchs of Media, Lydia, and Babylon had either lost their lives, or become the vassals of the Persian king. Accordingly, Cambyses resolved to lead his victorious Persians to the conquest of Egypt. While making his preparations for the invasion, Amasis died, after a long reign, and was succeeded by his son, Psammenitus, who inherited neither the abilities nor the good fortune of his father. The defeat of the Egyptians in a single battle, followed by the capture of Memphis with the person of Psammenitus, decided the fate of the country. Cambyses resided some time in Egypt, which he ruled with a rod of iron. His temper was naturally violent and capricious; and the possession of unlimited power had created in him a state of mind bordering upon frenzy. The idolatry of the Egyptians and their adoration of animals excited the indignation of the worshipper of fire; and he gave vent to his passions by wanton and sacrilegious acts against the most cherished objects and rites of the national religion. Even the Persians experienced the effects of his madness; and his brother Smerdis was put to death by his orders. This act was followed by important consequences. Among the few persons privy to the murder was a Magian, who had a brother bearing the same name as the deceased prince, and strongly resembling him in person. Taking advantage of these circumstances, and of the alarm excited among the leading Persians by the frantic tyranny of Cambyses, he proclaimed his brother as king, representing him as the younger son of Cyrus. Cambyses heard of the revolt whilst in Syria; but as he was mounting his horse to march against the usurper, an accidental wound from his sword put an end to his life, B. C. 522.

As the younger son of Cyrus was generally believed to be alive, the false Smerdis was acknowledged as king by the Persians, and reigned without opposition for seven months. But the leading Persian nobles had never been quite free from suspicion, and they at length discovered the imposition which had been practised upon them. Seven of them now formed a conspiracy to get rid of the usurper. They succeeded in forcing their way into the palace, and in slaying the Magian and his brother in the eighth month of their reign. One of their number, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, ascended the vacant throne, B. C. 521.

§ 11. During the reign of Cambyses, the Greek cities of Asia remained obedient to their Persian governors. The subjection of the other cities had increased the power and influence of Samos, which, as we have already seen, had maintained its independence, when the neighboring islands of Lesbos and Chios had submitted to the lieutenant of Cyrus. At the beginning of the reign of Cambyses, Samos had reached, under its despot, Polycrates, an extraordinary degree of prosperity, and had become the most important naval power in the world. The ambition and good fortune of this enterprising despot were alike remarkable. He possessed a hundred ships of war, with which he conquered several of the islands, and even some places on the mainland; and he aspired to nothing less than the dominion of Ionia, as well as of the islands in the *Ægean*. The Lacedæmonians, who had invaded the island at the invitation of the Samian exiles for the purpose of overthrowing his government, were obliged to retire after besieging his city in vain for forty days. Everything which he undertook seemed to prosper; but his uninterrupted good fortune at length excited the alarm of his ally, Amasis. According to the tale related by Herodotus, the Egyptian king, convinced that such amazing good fortune would sooner or later incur the envy of the gods, wrote to Polycrates, advising him to throw away one of his most valuable possessions, and thus inflict some injury upon himself. Thinking the advice to be good, Polycrates threw into the sea a favorite ring of matchless price and beauty; but, unfortunately, it was found a few days afterwards in the belly of a fine fish, which a fisherman had sent him as a present. Amasis now foresaw that the ruin of Polycrates was inevitable, and sent a herald to Samos to renounce his alliance. The gloomy anticipations of the Egyptian monarch proved well founded. In the midst of all his prosperity, Polycrates fell by a most ignominious fate. Oroetes, the satrap of Sardis, had for some unknown cause conceived a deadly hatred against the Samian despot. By a cunning stratagem, the satrap allured him to the mainland, where he was immediately arrested and hanged upon a cross (B. C. 522). Like many other Grecian despots, Polycrates had been a patron of literature and the arts, and the poets Ibycus and Anacreon found a welcome at his court. Many of the great works of Samos — the vast temple of Hera (Juno), the mole to protect the harbor, and the aqueduct for supplying the city with water, carried through a mountain seven furlongs long — were probably executed by him.

§ 12. The long reign of Darius forms an important epoch in the Persian annals. After putting down the revolts of the Lydian satrap, Oroetes, of the Medes, and of the Babylonians, he set himself to work to organize the vast mass of countries which had been conquered by Cyrus and Cambyses. The difference of his reign from those of his two predecessors was described by the Persians, in calling Cyrus the father, and Cambyses the master, and Darius the retail-trader, — an epithet implying that he was

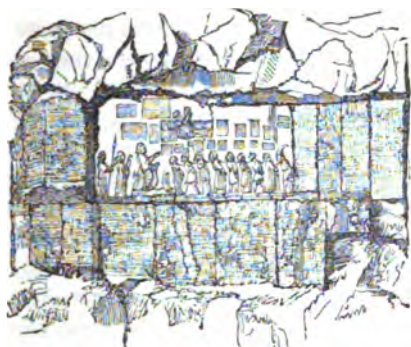
the first to introduce some order into the administration and finances of the empire. He divided his vast dominions into twenty provinces, and appointed the tribute which each was to pay to the royal treasury. These provinces were called satrapies, from the satrap or governor, to whom the administration of each was intrusted. Darius was also the first Persian king who coined money; and the principal gold and silver coin of the Persian mint was called after him the Daric. He also connected Susa and Ecbatana with the most distant parts of the empire by a series of high-roads, along which were placed, at suitable intervals, buildings for the accommodation of all who travelled in the king's name, and relays of couriers to convey royal messages.

§ 13. Although Darius devoted his chief attention to the consolidation and organization of his empire, he was impelled by his own ambition, or by the aggressive spirit of the Persians, to seek to enlarge still further his vast dominions. For that purpose he resolved to attack Scythia, or the great plain between the Danube and the Don, which was then inhabited by numerous nomad and savage tribes. His army was collected from all parts of the empire; his fleet of six hundred ships was furnished exclusively by the Asiatic Greeks. To the latter he gave orders to sail up the Danube, and throw a bridge of boats across the river, near the point where the channel begins to divide. With his land forces the king himself marched through Thrace, crossed the Danube by the bridge, which he found finished, and then ordered the Greeks to break it down and follow him into Scythia. His plan seems to have been to march back into Asia round the northern shore of the Black Sea, and across the Caucasus. But being reminded by one of the Grecian generals that he was embarking upon a perilous enterprise, and might possibly be compelled to retreat, he thought it more prudent to leave the bridge standing under the care of the Greeks who had constructed it, but told them that, if he did not return within sixty days, they might break down the bridge, and sail home. The king then left them, and penetrated into the Scythian territory. The sixty days had already passed away, and there was yet no sign of the Persian army. But shortly afterwards the Ionians, who still continued to guard the bridge, were astonished by the appearance of a body of Scythians, who informed them that Darius was in full retreat, pursued by the whole Scythian nation, and that his only hope of safety depended upon that bridge. They urged the Greeks to seize this opportunity of destroying the whole Persian army, and recovering their own liberty by breaking down the bridge. Their exhortations were warmly seconded by the Athenian Miltiades, the despot of the Thracian Chersonesus, and the future conqueror of Marathon. The other rulers of the Ionian cities were at first disposed to follow his suggestion; but as soon as Histæus of Miletus reminded them that their sovereignty depended upon the support of the Persian king, and that his ruin would involve their own, they changed

their minds and resolved to preserve the bridge. After enduring great privations and sufferings, Darius and his army at length reached the Danube, and crossed the bridge in safety. Thus the selfishness of these Grecian despots threw away the most favorable opportunity that ever presented itself of delivering their native cities from the Persian yoke.

§ 14. Notwithstanding the failure of his expedition against the Scythians, Darius did not abandon his plans of conquest. Returning himself to Sardis, he left Megabazus with an army of eighty thousand men to complete the subjugation of Thrace, and of the Greek cities upon the Hellespont. He gave to Histiaëus the town of Myrcinus, near the Strymon, which the Ionian prince had asked as a reward for his important service in the Scythian campaign. Megabazus experienced little difficulty in executing the orders of his master. He not only subdued the Thracian tribes, but crossed the Strymon, conquered the Pæonians, and penetrated as far as the frontiers of Macedonia. He then sent heralds into the latter country to demand earth and water, as the customary symbols of submission. These were immediately granted by Amyntas, the reigning monarch, B. C. 510; and thus the Persian dominions were extended to the borders of Thessaly.

While Megabazus was engaged in the conquest of the Pæonians, he had noticed that Histiaëus was collecting the elements of a power, which might hereafter prove formidable to the Persian sovereignty. Myrcinus commanded the navigation of the Strymon, and consequently the commerce with the interior of Thrace; and the importance of this site is shown by the rapid growth of the town of Amphipolis, which the Athenians founded at a later time in the same locality. On his return to Sardis, Megabazus communicated his suspicions to Darius. The Persian king, perceiving that the apprehensions of his general were not without foundation, summoned Histiaëus to his presence, and, under the pretext that he could not bear to be deprived of the company of his friend, proposed that he should accompany him to Susa. Histiaëus had no alternative but compliance, and with unwilling steps followed the monarch to his capital. This apparently trivial circumstance was attended with important consequences, as we shall presently see, to the Persian empire and to the whole Hellenic race.



Behistun Rock, on which are inscribed the exploits of Darius.*

CHAPTER XVI.

THE IONIC REVOLT.

§ 1. Introduction. § 2. Naxian Exiles apply for Aid to Aristagoras. § 3. Expedition of Aristagoras and the Persians against Naxos. Its Failure. § 4. Revolt of Miletus and the other Greek Cities of Asia. § 5. Aristagoras solicits Assistance from Sparta and Athens, which is granted by the latter. § 6. Burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians. § 7. Death of Aristagoras and Histieus. § 8. Defeat of the Ionian Fleet at Ladé. § 9. Capture of Miletus and Termination of the Revolt.

§ 1. BEFORE setting out for Susa, Darius had appointed his brother Artaphernes satrap of the western provinces of Asia Minor, of which Sardis continued to be the capital, as in the time, of the Lydian monarchy. The Grecian cities on the coast were nominally allowed to manage their own affairs; but they were governed for the most part by despots, who were in reality the instruments of the Persian satrap, and were maintained in their power by his authority. Miletus, which was now the most

* The above most remarkable document is carved on the side of a rocky mountain, perpendicularly smoothed for the purpose. The mountain was known to the ancient Greeks as the Bagistan (*τὸ Βαγίστανον ὄρος*), — a name formed from an old Persian word signifying Sacred to the Bagas, or gods. The sculptures consist of twelve figures in relief, below a single figure in the air, representing the Zend and Persian deity, Aurumazda or Ormazd. The figures are the king, with two attendants, and nine captive rebels brought into his presence, with their hands tied behind them, and cords about their necks. Below the figures, and at the sides, are large panels on the smooth surface of the rock, filled with arrow-head inscriptions; the whole occupying a space of 150 feet in length, and 100 in breadth, at the height of 800 feet from the base of the mountain. This mountainous document has been copied by Colonel Rawlinson, an English gentleman formerly residing at Bagdad in an official capacity. He has explained or interpreted the Persian part of these inscriptions (they are written in three languages), and they prove to be a very interesting and important record of the early part of the reign of King Darius. — ED.

flourishing city of Ionia, was ruled by Aristagoras, the son-in-law of Histiaëus, since Darius had allowed the latter to intrust the sovereignty to his son-in-law during his absence. For a few years after the return of the king to Upper Asia, the Persian empire enjoyed the profound calm which often precedes a storm. It was the civil dissensions of one of the islands of the Ægean which first disturbed this universal repose, and lighted up a conflagration which soon enveloped both Greece and Asia.

§ 2. About the year B. C. 502, the oligarchical party in Naxos, one of the largest and most flourishing of the Cyclades, were driven out of the island by a rising of the people. The exiles applied for aid to Aristagoras, who lent a ready ear to their request; knowing that, if they were restored by his means, he should become master of the island. But his own forces were not equal to the conquest of the Naxians, since they possessed a large navy, and could bring eight thousand heavy-armed infantry into the field. Accordingly, he went to Sardis to secure the co-operation of Artaphernes, holding out to the satrap the prospect of annexing not only Naxos and the rest of the Cyclades, but even the large and valuable island of Eubœa, to the dominions of the Great King. He represented the enterprise as one certain of success, if a hundred ships were granted to him, and offered at the same time to defray the expense of the armament. Artaphernes gave his cordial approval to the scheme; and as soon as the king's consent was obtained, a fleet of two hundred ships was equipped and placed at the disposal of Aristagoras. The forces were under the command of Megabates, a Persian noble of high rank.

§ 3. Taking the Naxian exiles on board, Aristagoras sailed from Miletus towards the Hellespont (B. C. 501). To divert the suspicions of the Naxians, a report was spread that the armament was destined for a different quarter; but upon reaching Chios, Megabates cast anchor off the western coast, waiting for a fair wind to carry them straight across to Naxos. Being anxious that the ships should be in readiness to depart as soon as the order was given, Megabates made a personal inspection of the fleet, and discovered one of the vessels left without a single man on board. Incensed at this neglect, he summoned the captain of the ship, and ordered him to be put in chains with his head projecting through one of the port-holes of his own vessel. It happened that this man was a friend and guest of Aristagoras, who not only set the authority of Megabates at defiance by releasing the prisoner, but insisted that the Persian admiral held a subordinate command to himself. The pride of Megabates could not brook such an insult. As soon as it was night, he sent a message to the Naxians to warn them of their danger. Hitherto the Naxians had had no suspicion of the object of the expedition; but they lost no time in carrying their property into the city, and making every preparation to sustain a long siege. Accordingly, when the Persian fleet reached Naxos they experienced a vigorous resistance; and at the end of four

months they had made such little way in the reduction of the city, that they were compelled to abandon the enterprise and return to Miletus.

§ 4. Aristagoras was now threatened with utter ruin. Having deceived Artaphernes, and incurred the enmity of Megabates, he could expect no favor from the Persian government, and might be called upon at any moment to defray the expenses of the armament. In these difficulties he began to think of exciting a revolt of his countrymen; and while revolving the project, he received a message from his father-in-law, Histæus, urging him to this very step. Afraid of trusting any one with so dangerous a message, Histæus had shaved the head of a trusty slave, branded upon it the necessary words, and, as soon as the hair had grown again, sent him off to Miletus. His only motive for urging the Ionians to revolt was his desire of escaping from captivity at Susa, thinking that Darius would set him at liberty in order to put down an insurrection of his countrymen. The message of Histæus fixed the wavering resolution of Aristagoras. He forthwith called together the leading citizens of Miletus, laid before them the project of revolt, and asked them for advice. They all approved of the scheme, with the exception of Hecateus, who deserves to be mentioned on account of his celebrity as one of the earliest Greek historians. Having determined upon revolt, the next step was to induce the other Greek cities in Asia to join them in their perilous enterprise. As the most effectual means to this end, it was resolved to seize the persons of the Grecian despots, many of whom had not yet quitted the fleet which had recently returned to Naxos. Aristagoras laid down the supreme power in Miletus, and nominally resigned to the people the management of their own affairs. The despots were seized, and a democratic form of government established throughout the Greek cities in Asia and in the neighboring islands. This was followed by an open declaration of revolt from Persia (B. C. 500).

§ 5. The insurrection had now assumed a formidable aspect; and before the Persians could collect sufficient forces to cope with the revolters, Aristagoras resolved to cross over to Greece, in order to solicit assistance from the more powerful states in the mother country. He first went to Sparta, which was now admitted to be the most powerful city in Greece. In an interview with Cleomenes, king of Sparta, he brought forth a brazen tablet, on which were engraven the countries, rivers, and seas of the world. After dwelling upon the wealth and fertility of Asia, he traced on the map the route from Ephesus to Susa, and described the ease with which the Spartans might march into the very heart of the Persian empire, and obtain possession of the vast treasures of the Persian capital. Cleomenes demanded three days to consider this proposal; and when Aristagoras returned on the third day, he put to him the simple question, how far it was from the sea to Susa. Aristagoras, without considering the drift of the question, answered that it was a journey of three months.

"Milesian stranger," exclaimed Cleomenes, "quit Sparta before sunset: you are no friend to the Spartans, if you want them to undertake a three months' journey from the sea." Still, however, Aristagoras did not despair, but went as a suppliant to the king's house, to see if he could accomplish by money what he had failed to do by eloquence. He first offered Cleomenes ten talents, and then gradually raised the bribe to fifty; and perhaps the king, with the usual cupidity of a Spartan, might have yielded, had not his daughter Gorgo, a child of eight years old, who happened to be present, cried out, "Fly, father, or this stranger will corrupt you." Cleomenes accepted the omen, and broke up the interview. Aristagoras quitted Sparta forthwith.

Disappointed at Sparta, Aristagoras repaired to Athens, then the second city in Greece. Here he met with a very different reception. Athens was the mother city of the Ionic states; and the Athenians were disposed to sympathize with the Ionians as their kinsmen and colonists. They were moreover incensed against Artaphernes, who had recently commanded them to recall Hippias, unless they wished to provoke the hostility of Persia. Accordingly, they lent a ready ear to the tempting promises of Aristagoras, and voted to send a squadron of twenty ships to the assistance of the Ionians. "These ships," says Herodotus, "were the beginning of mischiefs between the Greeks and barbarians."

§ 6. In the following year (B. C. 500) the Athenian fleet crossed the *Ægean*. They were joined by five ships from Eretria in Eubœa, which the Eretrians had sent to discharge a debt of gratitude for assistance which they had received from the Milesians in their war with Chalcis. Upon reaching the coast of Asia, Aristagoras planned an expedition into the interior. Disembarking at Ephesus, and being reinforced by a strong body of Ionians, he marched upon Sardis. Artaphernes was taken unprepared; and not having sufficient troops to man the walls, he retired into the citadel, leaving the town a prey to the invaders. Accordingly, they entered it unopposed; and, while engaged in pillage, one of the soldiers set fire to a house. As most of the houses were built of wickerwork and thatched with straw, the flames rapidly spread, and in a short time the whole city was in flames. The inhabitants, driven out of their houses by this accident, assembled in the large market-place in the city; and perceiving their numbers to be superior to those of the enemy, they resolved to attack them. Meantime reinforcements came pouring in from all quarters; and the Ionians and Athenians, seeing that their position was becoming more dangerous every hour, abandoned the city and began to retrace their steps. But before they could reach the walls of Ephesus, they were overtaken by the Persian forces and defeated with great slaughter. The Ionians dispersed to their several cities; and the Athenians hastened on board their ships and sailed home.

The burning of the capital of the ancient monarchy of Lydia was

attended with important consequences. When Darius heard of it, he burst into a paroxysm of rage. It was against the obscure strangers who had dared to invade his dominions and burn one of his capitals, that his wrath was chiefly directed. "The Athenians," he exclaimed, "who are they?" Upon being informed, he took his bow, shot an arrow high into the air, saying, "Grant me, Jove, to take vengeance upon the Athenians": and he charged one of his attendants to remind him thrice every day at dinner, "Sire, remember the Athenians." His first care, however, was to put down the revolt, which had now assumed a more formidable aspect than ever. The insurrection spread to the Greek cities in Cyprus, as well as to those on the Hellespont and the Propontis; and the Carians warmly espoused the cause of the Ionians.

§ 7. A few months after the burning of Sardis the revolt had reached its height, and seemed to promise permanent independence to the Asiatic Greeks. But they were no match for the whole power of the Persian empire, which was soon brought against them. A Phœnician fleet conveyed a large Persian force to Cyprus, which was soon obliged to submit to its former masters; and the generals of Darius carried on operations with vigor against the Carians, and the Greek cities in Asia. Aristagoras now began to despair, and basely deserted his countrymen, whom he had led into peril. Collecting a large body of Milesians, he set sail for the Thracian coast, where he was slain under the walls of a town to which he had laid siege.

Soon after his departure, his father-in-law, Histæus, came down to Ionia. Darius had at first been inclined to suppose that Histæus had secretly instigated the Ionians to revolt; but the artful Greek not only succeeded in removing suspicion from himself, but persuaded Darius to send him into Ionia, in order to assist the Persian generals in suppressing the rebellion. But Artaphernes was not so easily deceived as his master, and plainly accused Histæus of treachery when the latter arrived at Sardis. "I will tell you how the facts stand," said Artaphernes to Histæus; "it was you who made this shoe, and Aristagoras has put it on." Finding himself unsafe at Sardis, he escaped to the island of Chios; but he was regarded with suspicion by all parties. The Milesians refused to admit their former despot into their town; and the Ionians in general would not receive him as their leader. At length he obtained eight galleys from Lesbos, with which he sailed towards Byzantium, and carried on piracies as well against the Grecian as the barbarian vessels. This unprincipled adventurer met with a traitor's death. Having landed on the coast of Mysia to reap the standing corn round Atarneus, he was surprised by a Persian force and made prisoner. Being carried to Sardis, Artaphernes at once caused him to be crucified, and sent his head to Darius, who ordered it to be honorably buried, condemning the ignominious execution of the man who had once saved the life of the Great King.

§ 8. The death of Histæus happened after the subjection of the Ionians; and their fall now claims our attention. In the sixth year of the revolt (B. C. 495), when several Grecian cities had already been taken by the Persians, Artaphernes resolved to besiege Miletus by sea and by land, since the capture of this city was sure to be followed by the submission of all the others. For this purpose he concentrated near Miletus all his land forces, and ordered the Phœnician fleet to sail towards the city. While he was making these preparations, the Pan-Ionic council assembled to deliberate upon the best means of meeting the threatening danger. As they had not sufficient strength to meet the Persian army in the field, it was resolved to leave Miletus to its own defences on the land side, and to embark all their forces on board their ships. The fleet was ordered to assemble at Ladé, then a small island near Miletus, but now joined to the coast by the alluvial deposits of the Mæander. It consisted of three hundred and fifty-three ships, while the Phœnician fleet numbered six hundred sail. But notwithstanding their numerical superiority, the Persian generals were afraid to risk an engagement with the combined fleet of the Ionians, whose nautical skill was well known to them. They therefore ordered the despots, who had been driven out of the Grecian cities at the commencement of the revolt, and were now serving in the Persian fleet, to endeavor to persuade their countrymen to desert the common cause. Each of them accordingly made secret overtures to his fellow-citizens, promising them pardon if they submitted, and threatening them with the severest punishment in case of refusal. But these proposals were all unanimously rejected.

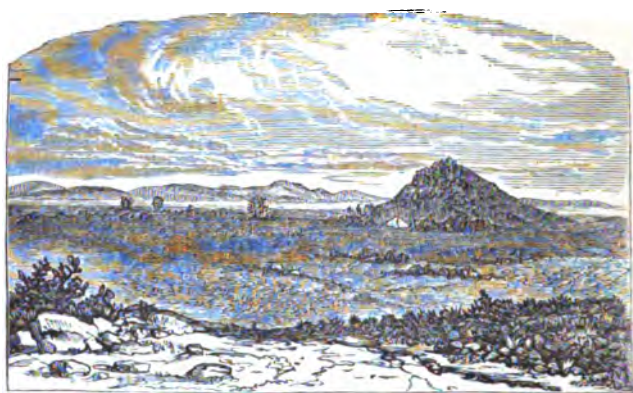
Meantime great want of discipline prevailed in the Ionian fleet. There was no general commander of the whole armament; the men, though eager for liberty, were impatient of restraint, and spent the greater part of the day in unprofitable talk under the tents they had erected on the shore. In a council of the commanders, Dionysius of Phocæa, a man of energy and ability, pointed out the perils which they ran, and promised them certain victory if they would place themselves under his guidance. Being intrusted with the supreme command, Dionysius ordered the men on board the ships, and kept them constantly engaged in practising all kinds of nautical manœuvres. For seven days in succession they endured this unwonted work beneath the burning heat of a summer's sun; but on the eighth they broke out into open mutiny, and asked, why they should any longer obey a Phocæan braggart, who had brought only three ships to the common cause. Leaving their ships, they again dispersed over the island and sought the shade of their pleasant tents. There was now less order and discipline than before. The Samian leaders became alarmed at the prospect before them; and, repenting that they had rejected the proposals made to them by their exiled despot, they reopened communications with him, and agreed to desert during the battle.

The Persian commanders, confident of victory, no longer hesitated to attack the Ionian fleet. The Greeks, not suspecting treachery, drew up their ships in order of battle; but just as the two fleets were ready to engage, the Samian ships sailed away. Their example was followed by the Lesbians, and, as the panic spread, by the greater part of the fleet. There was, however, one brilliant exception. The hundred ships of the Chians, though left almost alone, refused to fly, and fought with distinguished bravery against the enemy, till they were overpowered by superior numbers.

§ 9. The defeat of the Ionian fleet at Ladé decided the fate of the war. The city of Miletus was soon afterwards taken by storm, and was treated with signal severity. Most of the males were slain; and the few who escaped the sword were carried with the women and children into captivity, and were finally settled at Ampé, a town near the mouth of the Tigris. The fall of this great Ionic city excited the liveliest sympathy at Athens. In the following year the poet Phrynichus, who had made the capture of Miletus the subject of a tragedy, and brought it upon the stage, was sentenced by the Athenians to pay a fine of a thousand drachmæ "for having recalled to them their own misfortunes."

The other Greek cities in Asia and the neighboring islands, which had not yet fallen into the hands of the Persians, were treated with equal severity. The islands of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos were swept of their inhabitants; and the Persian fleet sailed up the Hellespont and Propontis, carrying with it fire and sword. The inhabitants of Byzantium and Chalcedon did not await its arrival, but sailed away to Mesembria; and the Athenian Miltiades only escaped falling into the power of the Persians by a rapid flight to Athens.

The subjugation of Ionia was now complete. This was the third time that the Asiatic Greeks had been conquered by a foreign power; first, by the Lydian Cræsus; secondly, by the generals of Cyrus; and lastly, by those of Darius. It was from the last that they suffered most; and they never fully recovered their former prosperity. As soon as the Persians had satiated their vengeance, Artaphernes introduced various regulations for the government of their country. Thus, he caused a new survey of the country to be made, and fixed the amount of tribute which each district was to pay to the Persian government; and his other measures were calculated to heal the wounds which had lately been inflicted with such barbarity upon the Greeks.



The Plain and Tumulus of Marathon.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.

§ 1. Expedition of Mardonius into Greece. § 2. Preparations of Darius for a second invasion of Greece. Heralds sent to the leading Grecian States to demand Earth and Water. § 3. Invasion of Greece by the Persians under Datis and Artaphernes. Conquest of the Cyclades and Eretria. § 4. Preparations at Athens to resist the Persians. History of Miltiades. § 5. Debate among the Ten Athenian Generals. Resolution to give Battle to the Persians. § 6. Battle of Marathon. § 7. Movements of the Persians after the Battle. § 8. Effect of the Battle of Marathon upon the Athenians. § 9. Glory of Miltiades. § 10. His unsuccessful Expedition to Paros. § 11. His Trial, Condemnation, and Death. § 12. History of Ægina. § 13. War between Athens and Ægina. § 14. Athens becomes a Maritime Power. § 15. Rivalry of Themistocles and Aristides. Ostracism of the latter.

§ 1. DARIUS had not forgotten his vow to take vengeance upon Athens. Shortly after the suppression of the Ionic revolt, he appointed Mardonius to succeed Artaphernes in the government of the Persian provinces bordering upon the Ægean. Mardonius was a Persian noble of high rank, who had lately married the king's daughter, and was distinguished by a love of glory. Darius placed at his command a large armament, with injunctions to bring to Susa those Athenians and Eretrians who had insulted the authority of the Great King. Mardonius lost no time in crossing the Hellespont, and commenced his march through Thrace and Macedonia, subduing, as he went along, the tribes which had not yet submitted to the Persian power. Meanwhile he ordered the fleet to double the promontory of Mount Athos, and join the land forces at the head of the Gulf of Therma. But one of the hurricanes, which frequently blow

off this dangerous coast, overtook the Persian fleet, destroyed three hundred vessels, and drowned or dashed upon the rocks twenty thousand men. Mardonius himself was not much more fortunate. In his passage through Macedonia, he was attacked at night by the Brygians, an independent Thracian tribe, who slaughtered a great portion of his army. He remained in the country long enough to reduce this people to submission; but his forces were so weakened, that he could not proceed farther. He led his army back across the Hellespont, and returned to the Persian court, covered with shame and grief. Thus ended the first expedition of the Persians against the Grecian states in Europe (B. C. 492).

§ 2. The failure of this expedition did not shake the resolution of Darius. On the contrary, it only made him the more anxious for the conquest of Greece; and Hippias was constantly near him to keep alive his resentment against Athens. He began to make preparations for another attempt on a still larger scale, and meantime sent heralds to most of the Grecian states to demand from each earth and water as the symbol of submission. This he probably did in order to ascertain the amount of resistance he was likely to experience. Such terror had the Persians inspired by their recent conquest of Ionia, that a large number of the Grecian cities at once complied with the demand. But at Athens and at Sparta the heralds met with a very different reception. So indignant were the citizens of these states at the insolent demand, that the Athenians cast the herald into a deep pit, and the Spartans threw him into a well, bidding him take earth and water from thence.

§ 3. Meanwhile Darius had completed his preparations for the invasion of Greece. In the spring of B. C. 490, a vast army was assembled in Cilicia, and a fleet of six hundred galleys, together with many transports for horses, was ready to receive them on board. The command was given to Datis, a Median, and Artaphernes, son of the satrap of Sardis of that name, and a nephew of Darius. Their instructions were generally to reduce to subjection all the Greek cities which had not already given earth and water; but more particularly to burn to the ground the cities of Athens and Eretria, and to carry away the inhabitants as slaves. They were furnished with fetters for binding the Grecian prisoners; and before the end of the year Darius fully expected to see at his feet the men who had dared to burn the city of Sardis. The possibility of failure probably never occurred either to the king himself, or to any of the soldiers engaged in the expedition.

Having taken their men on board, Datis and Artaphernes first sailed to Samos; and, warned by the recent disaster of Mardonius in doubling the promontory of Mount Athos, they resolved to sail straight across the Egean to Eubœa, subduing on their way the Cyclades. They first resolved to attack Naxos, which ten years before had gallantly repelled a large Persian force commanded by Megabates and Aristagoras of Miletus.

But the Naxians did not now even venture to wait the arrival of the Persians, but fled to the mountains, abandoning their town to the invaders, who burnt it to the ground. The other islands of the Cyclades yielded a ready submission; and it was not till Datis reached Eubœa that he encountered any resistance. Eretria defended itself gallantly for six days, and repulsed the Persians with loss; but on the seventh the gates were opened to the besiegers by the treachery of two of its leading citizens. The city was razed to the ground, and the inhabitants were put in chains, according to the command of the Persian monarch.

Datis had thus easily accomplished one of the two great objects for which he had been sent into Greece. He now proceeded to execute his second order. After remaining a few days at Eretria, he crossed over to Attica, and landed on the ever memorable plain of Marathon, a spot which had been pointed out to him by the despot Hippias, who accompanied the Persian army.

§ 4. It is now time to turn to Athens, and see what preparations had there been made to meet the threatening danger. While the Persian army was on its passage across the Ægean, ten generals had been elected for the year, according to the regular custom, one for each tribe. Among these generals were three men whose names have acquired immortal fame,—Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides. Of the two latter we shall have occasion to speak more fully presently; but Miltiades claims our immediate attention. Miltiades had been the despot of the Chersonesus, whither he had been sent from Athens by Hippias about the year 516 B. C., to take possession of the inheritance of his uncle, who bore the same name. As ruler of the Chersonesus, he had distinguished himself by his bravery and decision of character. We have already seen that he accompanied Darius in his invasion of Scythia, and recommended the Ionian despots to break down the bridge of boats across the Danube and leave Darius to his fate. While the Persian generals were engaged in suppressing the Ionic revolt, he took possession of Lemnos and Imbros, expelled the Persian garrisons and Pelasgian inhabitants, and handed over these islands to the Athenians. He had thus committed two great offences against the Persian monarch; and accordingly, when the Phœnician fleet appeared in the Hellespont after the extinction of the Ionic revolt, he sought safety in flight, and hastily sailed away to Athens with a small squadron of five ships. He was hotly pursued by the Phœnicians, who were most eager to secure his person as an acceptable offering to Darius. They succeeded in taking one of his ships, commanded by his son Metiochus, but Miltiades himself reached Athens in safety. Soon after his arrival, he was brought to trial on account of his despotism in the Chersonesus. Not only was he honorably acquitted at the time, probably on account of the recent service he had rendered to Athens by the conquest of Lemnos and Imbros, but such confidence did his abilities inspire, that

he was elected one of the ten generals of the republic on the approach of the Persian fleet.

§ 5. As soon as the news of the fall of Eretria reached Athens, the courier Pheidippides was sent to Sparta to solicit assistance. Such was his extraordinary speed of foot, that he performed this journey of one hundred and fifty miles in forty-eight hours. The Spartans promised their aid; but their superstition rendered their promise ineffectual, since it wanted a few days to the full moon, and it was contrary to their religious customs to commence a march during this interval. The reason given by the Spartans for their delay does not appear to have been a pretext; and this instance is only one among many of that blind attachment to ancient forms which characterize this people throughout the whole period of their history.

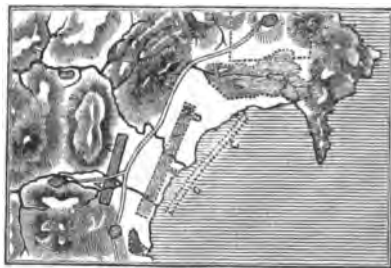
Meantime, the Athenians had marched to Marathon, and were encamped upon the mountains which surrounded the plain. Upon learning the answer which Pheidippides brought from Sparta, the ten generals were divided in opinion as to the best course to be pursued. Five of them were opposed to an immediate engagement with the overwhelming number of Persians, and urged the importance of waiting for the arrival of the Lacedæmonian succors. Miltiades and the remaining four contended, on the other hand, that not a moment should be lost in fighting the Persians, not only in order to avail themselves of the present enthusiasm of the people, but still more to prevent treachery from spreading among their ranks, and paralyzing all united effort. The momentous decision, upon which the destinies of Athens, and indeed of all Greece hung, depended upon the casting vote of Callimachus, the Polemarch; for down to this time the third Archon was a colleague of the ten generals.* To him Miltiades now addressed himself with the utmost earnestness, pointing out the danger of delay, and that only a speedy and decisive victory could save them from the treacherous attempts of the friends of Hippias within the city. The arguments of Miltiades were warmly seconded by Themistocles and Aristides. Callimachus felt their force, and gave his vote for the battle. The ten generals commanded their army in rotation, each for one day; but they now agreed to surrender to Miltiades their days of command, in order to invest the whole power in a single person.

§ 6. While the Athenians were preparing for battle, they received unexpected assistance from the little town of Plataea, in Bœotia. Grateful to the Athenians for the assistance which they had rendered them against the Thebans, the whole force of Plataea, amounting to one thousand heavily-armed men, marched to the assistance of their allies, and joined them at Marathon. Their arrival at this crisis of the fortunes of Athens made a deep and abiding impression upon the Athenian people, and was recol-

* See above, p. 86.

lected with grateful feelings down to the latest times. The Athenian army numbered only 10,000 hoplites, or heavy-armed soldiers; there were no archers or cavalry, and only some slaves as light-armed attendants. Of the number of the Persian army we have no trustworthy account, but the lowest estimate makes it consist of 110,000 men.

The plain of Marathon lies on the eastern coast of Attica, at the distance of twenty-two miles from Athens by the shortest road. It is in the form of a crescent, the horns of which consist of two promontories running into the sea, and forming a semicircular bay. This plain is about six miles in length, and in its widest or central part about two in breadth. Near each of the horns at the northern and southern extremities of the plain are two marshes. The uninterrupted flatness of the plain is hardly relieved by a single tree; and on every side towards the land there rises an amphitheatre of rugged limestone mountains, separating it from the rest of Attica.*



Battle of Marathon.

A A Athenian Army. B B Persian Army. C C Persian Fleet.

On the day of battle the Persian army was drawn up along the plain about a mile from the sea, and their fleet was ranged behind them on the beach. The native Persians and Sacians, the best troops in the army,

* The position of the armies in this celebrated battle is nowhere exactly stated by the ancients. Mr. Finlay the historian is of opinion that the Athenians posted themselves in the narrow pass at the southern end of the plain of Marathon. It is obvious that this route would be the one taken by the Persians for a march upon Athens; since the other two—that by Vrana, and that by the village of Marathonæ, would be too difficult, on account of the rough and precipitous paths over the mountains, to be practicable for a large military force. But if the Athenians had taken up their position near Vrana, according to the general supposition and the representation in the above plan, they would have left the easy pass into the Mesogæa (still called by the ancient name) undefended, for the sake of defending the pass by Vrana, already sufficiently protected by nature. Herodotus says the Persians pursued the broken centre of the Greek army into the Mesogæa, or Midland; and this could only have been done by following the southern pass. An inspection of the ground—Herodotus in hand—satisfied me that Mr. Finlay's view of the arrangements of this battle is the most probable, and the most in harmony with the account of the historian who wrote nearest to the time of the event. Indeed, Mr. Finlay's long residence in Greece, and his accurate knowledge of Greek topography, render any opinion of his on subjects of this kind one of the highest existing authorities.—Ed.

were stationed in the centre, which was considered the post of honor. The Athenians occupied the rising ground above the plain, and extended from one side of the plain to the other. This arrangement was necessary in order to protect their flanks by the mountains on each side, and to prevent the cavalry from passing round to attack them in the rear. But so large a breadth of ground could not be occupied with so small a number of men, without weakening some portion of the line. Miltiades, therefore, drew up the troops in the centre in shallow files, and resolved to rely for success upon the stronger and deeper masses of his wings. The right wing, which was the post of honor in a Grecian army, was commanded by the Polemarch Callimachus; the hoplites were arranged in the order of their tribes, so that the members of the same tribes fought by each other's side; and at the extreme left stood the Plateans.

Before the hostile armies join in conflict, let us try to realize to our minds the feelings of the Athenian warriors on this eventful day. The superiority of the Greeks to the Persians in the field of battle has become so familiar to our minds by the glorious victories of the former, that it requires some effort of the imagination to appreciate in its full extent the heroism of the Athenians at Marathon. The Medes and Persians had hitherto pursued an almost uninterrupted career of conquest. They had rolled over country after country, each successive wave engulfing some ancient dynasty, some powerful monarchy. The Median, Lydian, Babylonian, and Egyptian empires had all fallen before them; and latterly the Asiatic Greeks, many of whose cities were as populous and powerful as Athens itself, had been taught by a bitter lesson the folly of resistance to these invincible foes. Never yet had the Medes and Persians met the Greeks in the field and been defeated. "For hitherto," says Herodotus, "the very name of Medes had struck terror into the hearts of the Greeks; and the Athenians were the first to endure the sight of their armor, and to look them in the face on the field of battle."

It must, therefore, have been with some trepidation that the Athenians nerved themselves for the conflict. Miltiades, anxious to come to close quarters as speedily as possible, ordered his soldiers to advance at a running step over the mile of ground which separated them from the foe. Raising the war-cry, they rushed down upon the Persians, who awaited them with astonishment and scorn, thinking them to be little short of madmen thus to hurry to certain destruction. They were quickly undeceived; and the battle soon raged fiercely along the whole line. Both the Athenians' wings were successful, and drove the enemy before them towards the shore and the marshes. But the Athenian centre was broken by the Persians and Sacians, and compelled to take to flight. Miltiades thereupon recalled his wings from pursuit, and, rallying his centre, charged the Persians and Sacians. The latter could not withstand this combined attack. The battle had already lasted some hours, and the rays of the setting sun streamed full in the faces of the enemy. The rout now became

general along the whole Persian line; and they fled to their ships, pursued by the Athenians.

“ The flying Mede, his shaftless broken bow;
The fiery Greek, his red pursuing spear;
Mountains above, Earth's, Ocean's plain below,
Death in the front, destruction in the rear!
Such was the scene.”

The Athenians tried to set fire to the Persian vessels on the coast, but they succeeded in destroying only seven of them, for the enemy here fought with the courage of despair. Thus ended the battle of Marathon.

The Persians lost 6,400 men in this memorable engagement: of the Athenians only 192 fell. The aged despot Hippias is said to have perished in the battle, and the brave Callimachus was also one of the slain. Among the Athenian combatants were the poet *Æschylus* and his brother *Cynægeirus*; the latter of whom, while seizing one of the vessels, had his hand cut off by an axe, and died of the wound.

§ 7. The Persians had no sooner embarked than they sailed towards Cape Sunium. At the same time a bright shield was seen raised aloft upon one of the mountains of Attica. This was a signal given by some of the partisans of Hippias to invite the Persians to surprise Athens, while the army was still absent at Marathon. Miltiades, seeing the direction taken by the Persian fleet, suspected the meaning of the signal, and lost no time in marching back to Athens. He arrived at the harbor of Phalerum only just in time. The Persian fleet was already in sight; a few hours more would have made the victory of Marathon of no avail. But when the Persians reached the coast, and beheld before them the very soldiers from whom they had so recently fled, they did not attempt to land, but sailed away to Asia, carrying with them their Eretrian prisoners.

§ 8. The departure of the Persians was hailed at Athens with one unanimous burst of heart-felt joy. Whatever traitors there may have been in the city, they did not dare to express their feelings amidst the general exultation of the citizens. Marathon became a magic word at Athens. The Athenian people in succeeding ages always looked back upon this day as the most glorious in their annals, and never tired of hearing its praises sounded by their orators and poets. And they had reason to be proud of it. It was the first time that the Greeks had ever defeated the Persians in the field. It was the exploit of the Athenians alone. It had saved not only Athens, but all Greece. If the Persians had conquered at Marathon, Greece must, in all likelihood, have become a Persian province; the destinies of the world would have been changed; and Oriental despotism might still have brooded over the fairest countries of Europe.

Such a glorious victory had not been gained, so thought the Athenians, without the special interposition of the gods. The national heroes of

Attica were believed to have fought on the side of the Athenians ; and even in the time of Pausanias, six hundred years afterwards, the plain of Marathon was believed to be haunted by spectral warriors, and every night there might be heard the shouts of combatants and the neighing of horses.

The one hundred and ninety-two Athenians who had perished in the battle were buried on the field, and over their remains a tumulus or mound was erected, which may still be seen, about half a mile from the sea. Their names were inscribed on ten pillars, one for each tribe, also erected on the spot ; and the poet Simonides described them as the champions of the common independence of Greece : —

“ At Marathon for Greece the Athenians fought ;
And low the Medians' gilded power they brought.” *

§ 9. Miltiades, the hero of Marathon, was received at Athens with expressions of the warmest admiration and gratitude. His trophies are said to have robbed Themistocles of his sleep ; and the eminent services which he had rendered to his country were also acknowledged in subsequent generations. A separate monument was erected to him on the field of Marathon ; his figure occupied one of the prominent places in the picture of the battle of Marathon which adorned the walls of the *Pœcilé*, or Painted Porch, of Athens ; and the poet gave expression to the general feeling in the lines : —

“ Miltiades, thy victories
Must every Persian own ;
And hallowed by thy prowess lies
The field of Marathon.” †

It would have been fortunate for his glory if he had died on the field of Marathon. The remainder of his history is a rapid and melancholy descent from the pinnacle of glory to an ignominious death.

§ 10. Shortly after the battle, Miltiades requested of the Athenians a fleet of seventy ships, without telling them the object of his expedition, but only promising to enrich the state. Such unbounded confidence did the Athenians repose in the hero of Marathon, that they at once complied with his demand. This confidence Miltiades abused. In order to gratify a private animosity against one of the leading citizens of Paros, he sailed to this island, and laid siege to the town. Paros was one of the most flourishing of the Cyclades, and the town was strongly fortified. The citizens repelled all his attacks ; and he had begun to despair of taking the place, when he received a message from a Parian woman, a priestess of the temple of Demeter (Ceres), promising that she would put Paros in his power, if he would visit by night a temple from which all male persons were excluded. Catching at this last hope, he repaired to the appointed place. He leaped over the outer fence, and had nearly reached the sanctuary, when he was seized with a panic terror, and ran away ;

* Translated by Sterling.

† Wellesley's *Anthologia*, p. 263.

but in getting back over the fence he received a dangerous injury on his thigh. He now abandoned all hope of success, raised the siege, and returned to Athens.

§ 11. Loud was the indignation against Miltiades on his return. He was accused by Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, of having deceived the people, and was brought to trial. His wound had already begun to show symptoms of gangrene. He was carried into court on a couch, and there lay before the assembled judges, while his friends pleaded on his behalf. They could offer no excuse for his recent conduct, but they reminded the Athenians of the inestimable services they had received from the accused, and urged them in the strongest terms to spare the victor of Marathon. The judges were not insensible to this appeal; and instead of condemning him to death, as the accuser had demanded, they commuted the penalty to a fine of fifty talents, probably the cost of the armament. He was unable immediately to raise this sum, and died soon afterwards of his wound. The fine was subsequently paid by his son Cimon. Later writers relate that Miltiades died in prison; but Herodotus does not mention his imprisonment, and we may therefore hope that the hero of Marathon was spared this further indignity.

The melancholy end of Miltiades must not blind us to his offence, and ought not to lead us to charge the Athenian people with ingratitude and fickleness. The Athenians did not forget his services at Marathon, and it was their gratitude towards him which alone saved him from death. He had grossly abused the public confidence, and deserved his punishment. A state which should give impunity to a criminal on account of previous services would soon cease to exist.

§ 12. Soon after the battle of Marathon, a war broke out between Athens and Ægina, which continued down to the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. This war is of great importance in Grecian history, since to it the Athenians were indebted for their navy, which enabled them to save Greece at Salamis as they had already done at Marathon.

The rocky island of Ægina is situated in the Saronic Gulf, about twelve miles from the coast of Attica, and contains only about forty-one square English miles. But, notwithstanding its small extent, it is one of the most celebrated of the Grecian islands. In the mythical ages it was the residence of Æacus, king of the Myrmidons, from whom Achilles and some of the most illustrious Grecian heroes were descended. In historical times it was inhabited by a wealthy and enterprising Dorian people, who carried on an extensive commerce with all parts of the Hellenic world. It is said that silver money was first coined in Ægina, by Pheidon, tyrant of Argos;* and we know that the name of Æginetan was given to one of the two scales of weights and measures current throughout Greece. The wealth which its citizens acquired by commerce was partly devoted to

* Respecting this statement, see p. 57.

the encouragement of art, which was cultivated in this island with great success during the half-century preceding the Persian war. Indeed, during this period Ægina held a prominent rank among the Grecian states, and possessed the most powerful navy in all Greece.

§ 13. There had been an ancient feud between Athens and Ægina, which first broke out into open hostilities a few years after the expulsion of Hippias from Athens. About the year 506 B. C. the Thebans, who had been defeated by the Athenians,* applied for aid to Ægina. This was immediately granted; and the Æginetans immediately attacked the Athenian territory, without making any formal declaration of war. Of the details of this contest we have no information; and we lose sight of Ægina for the next few years.

In the year before the battle of Marathon Ægina is mentioned among the Grecian states which gave earth and water to the envoys of Darius. It was, probably, as much hatred of the Athenians as fear of the Persians which led the Æginetans to submit to Darius, hoping to crush their obnoxious rivals with the help of the Great King. The Persians, however, were not yet in Greece; and the Athenians lost no time in sending an embassy to Sparta, accusing the Æginetans of having betrayed the common cause of Hellas, and calling upon the Spartans, as the protectors of Grecian liberty, to punish the offenders. This request met with prompt attention; and Cleomenes, one of the Spartan kings, forthwith crossed over to Ægina. He was proceeding to arrest and carry away some of the leading citizens, when Demaratus, the other Spartan king, privately encouraged the Æginetans to defy the authority of his colleague. This was the second important occasion on which Demaratus had thwarted the plans of his colleague; and Cleomenes returned to Sparta, firmly resolved that Demaratus should not have a third opportunity.

It appears that there had always been doubts respecting the legitimacy of Demaratus. Cleomenes now persuaded Leotychides, the next heir to the crown, to lay claim to the royal dignity, on the ground that Demaratus was disqualified by his birth. The Spartans referred the question to the Delphic oracle; and, at the secret instigation of Cleomenes, the priestess declared that his colleague was illegitimate. Leotychides thus ascended the throne, and Demaratus descended into a private station. Shortly afterwards, the deposed monarch received a gross affront from the new king at a public festival, whereupon he quitted Sparta in wrath, and repaired to the Persian court, where we shall subsequently find him among the counsellors of Darius.

Cleomenes now returned to Ægina, accompanied by Leotychides. The Æginetans did not dare to resist the joint demand of the two Spartan kings, and surrendered to them ten of their leading citizens, whom Cleomenes deposited as hostages in the hands of the Athenians.

* See p. 106.

§ 14. After the battle of Marathon, the Æginetans endeavored to recover these hostages; and the refusal of the Athenians to give them back led to a renewal of the war, which was prosecuted with great activity on both sides. It was now that Themistocles came forward with his celebrated proposition, which converted Athens into a maritime power. Hitherto the Athenians had not possessed a navy; and Themistocles clearly saw that without a powerful fleet it would be impossible for his countrymen to humble their rival. But his views extended still further. He well knew that Persia was preparing for another and still more formidable attack upon Greece; and he had the sagacity to perceive that a large and efficient fleet would be the best protection against the barbarians. Influenced by these two motives, and also impressed with the conviction that the very position of Athens fitted it to be a maritime and not a land power, he urged the Athenians at once to build and equip a numerous and powerful fleet. The Athenians were both able and willing to follow his advice. There was at this time a large surplus in the public treasury, arising from the produce of the valuable silver mines at Laurium. These mines, which belonged to the state, were situated in the southern part of Attica, near Cape Sunium, in the midst of a mountainous district.* It had been recently proposed to distribute this surplus among the Athenian citizens; but Themistocles persuaded them to sacrifice their private advantage to the public good, and to appropriate this money to building a fleet of two hundred ships. The immediate want of a fleet to cope with the Æginetans probably weighed with the Athenian people more powerfully than the prospective danger from the Persians. "And thus," as Herodotus says, "the Æginetan war saved Greece by compelling the Athenians to make themselves a maritime power." Not only were these two hundred ships built, but Themistocles also succeeded about the same time in persuading the Athenians to pass a decree that twenty new ships should be built every year.

§ 15. Of the internal history of Athens during the ten years between the battles of Marathon and Salamis we have little information. We only know that the two leading citizens of this period were Themistocles and Aristides. These two eminent men formed a striking contrast to each other. Themistocles possessed abilities of the most extraordinary kind. In intuitive sagacity, in ready invention, and in prompt and daring execution, he surpasses almost every statesman, whether of ancient or of modern times. With unerring foresight he divined the plans of his enemies; in the midst of difficulties and perplexities, not only was he never at a loss for an expedient, but he always adopted the right one; and he carried out his schemes with an energy and a promptness which astonished both friends and foes. But these transcendent abilities were marred by a

* Some of the shafts, and large accumulations of scoria, still testify to the extent of the ancient mining operations in the district of Laurium. — ED.

want of honesty. In the exercise of power he was accessible to bribes, and he did not hesitate to employ dishonest means for the aggrandizement both of Athens and of himself. He closed a glorious career in disgrace and infamy, an exile and a traitor.

Aristeides was inferior to Themistocles in ability, but was incomparably superior, not only to him but to all his contemporaries, in honesty and integrity. In the administration of public affairs he acted with a single eye to the public good, regardless of party ties and of personal friendships. His uprightness and justice were so universally acknowledged, that he received the surname of the Just. But these very virtues procured him enemies. Not only did he incur the hatred of those whose corrupt practices he denounced and exposed, but many of his fellow-citizens became jealous of a man whose superiority was constantly proclaimed. We are told that an unlettered countryman gave his vote against Aristeides at the ostracism simply on the ground that he was tired of hearing him always called the Just.

Between men of such opposite characters as Themistocles and Aristeides there could not be much agreement. In the management of public affairs they frequently came into collision; and they opposed each other with such violence and animosity, that Aristeides is reported to have said, "If the Athenians were wise, they would cast both of us into the *barathrum*." After three or four years of bitter rivalry, the two chiefs appealed to the ostracism, and Aristeides was banished.

Aristeides had used all his efforts to prevent the Athenians from abandoning their ancient habits, and from converting their state from a land into a maritime power. There can be no doubt that he viewed such a change as a dangerous innovation, and thought that the sailor would not make so good an Athenian citizen as the heavy-armed soldier. It was fortunate, however, for the liberties of Greece, that the arguments of his rival prevailed. Aristeides was a far more virtuous citizen than Themistocles; but their country could now dispense with the former much better than with the latter.



Bust of Miltiades.



View of Thermopylæ.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE BATTLES OF THERMOPYLÆ AND ARTEMISIUM.



§ 1. Death of Darius and Accession of Xerxes. § 2. Preparations for the Invasion of Greece. § 3. A Bridge thrown across the Hellespont, and a Canal cut through the Isthmus of Mount Athos. § 4. Xerxes sets out from Sardis. Order of the March. § 5. Passage of the Hellespont. § 6. Numbering of the Army on the Plain of Doriscus. § 7. Continuation of the March from Doriscus to Mount Olympus. § 8. Preparations of the Greeks to resist Xerxes. Congress of the Grecian States at the Isthmus of Corinth. § 9. Patriotism of the Athenians. Resolution of the Greeks to defend the Pass of Tempe, which is afterwards abandoned. § 10. Description of the Pass of Thermopylæ. § 11. Leonidas sent out with Three Hundred Spartans to defend the Pass of Thermopylæ. § 12. Attack and Repulse of the Persians at Thermopylæ. § 13. A Persian Detachment cross the Mountains by a Secret Path in order to fall upon the Greeks in the Rear. § 14. Heroic Death of Leonidas and his Comrades. § 15. Monuments erected to their Honor. § 16. Proceedings of the Persian and Grecian Fleets. § 17. The Persian Fleet overtaken by a Terrible Storm. § 18. The First Battle of Artemisium. § 19. Second Storm. § 20. Second Battle of Artemisium. Retreat of the Grecian Fleet to Salamis.

§ 1. THE defeat of the Persians at Marathon served only to increase the resentment of Darius. He now resolved to collect the whole forces of his empire, and to lead them in person against Athens. For three years, busy preparations were made throughout his vast dominions. In the fourth year, his attention was distracted by a revolt of the Egyptians, who had always borne the Persian yoke with impatience; and before he could reduce them to subjection he was surprised by death, after a reign of thirty-seven years (B. C. 485).

The death of Darius was a fortunate event for Greece. It deprived the Persians of an able ruler, who possessed an extensive knowledge of men and of affairs, and it gave the Athenians time to form the navy which proved the salvation of Greece. Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, was a man of little ability and less experience. Being the favorite son of Atossa, the daughter of the great Cyrus, he had received the education of an Eastern despot, and been surrounded with slaves from his cradle. In person he was the tallest and handsomest man amidst the vast hosts which he led against Greece; but there was nothing in his mind to correspond to this fair exterior. His character was marked by faint-hearted timidity and childish vanity. Such was the monarch upon whom now devolved the execution of the schemes of Darius.

Xerxes had not inherited his father's animosity against Greece, and at first appeared ready to abandon the enterprise. But he was surrounded by men who urged him to prosecute his father's plans. Foremost among these was Mardonius, who was eager to retrieve his reputation, and to obtain the conquered country as a satrapy for himself. The powerful family of the Thessalian Aleuadæ and the exiled Peisistratids from Athens warmly seconded the views of Mardonius, exaggerating the fertility and beauty of Greece, and promising the monarch an easy and a glorious victory. They also inflamed his ambition with the prospect of emulating the military glory of his father, Darius, and of his grandfather, Cyrus, and of extending his dominions to the farthest limits of the world. The only one of his counsellors who urged him to adopt a contrary course was his uncle Artabanus; but his advice was rejected, and Xerxes finally determined upon the invasion of Greece.

§ 2. The subjugation of the Egyptians, however, claimed his immediate attention. This was effected without much difficulty in the second year of his reign (B. C. 484); and he was now at liberty to march against Greece. Darius had nearly completed his preparations for the invasion of Greece at the time of his death; and the forces which he had collected were considered by this prudent monarch sufficient for the purpose. The new king was anxious to make a still more imposing display of his power. He was not satisfied with collecting a military power sufficient for the conquest of Europe; he also resolved to gratify his vanity and love of ostentation by gathering together the most numerous armament which the world had ever seen. Accordingly, for four years more the din of preparation sounded throughout Asia. Troops were collected from every quarter of the Persian empire, and were ordered to assemble at Critalla, in Cappadocia. As many as forty-six different nations composed the land force, of various complexions, languages, dresses, and arms. Among them might be seen many strange and barbarous tribes,—nomad hordes of Asiatics, armed with a dagger and a lasso, with which they entangled their enemy,—Libyans, whose only arms were wooden staves with the

end hardened in the fire,—and Ethiopians, from the Upper Nile, with their bodies painted half white and half red, clothed with the skins of lions and panthers, and armed with arrows tipped with a point of sharp stone instead of iron. The fleet was furnished by the Phœnicians and Ionians, and other maritime nations subject to the Persian monarch. Immense stores of provisions were at the same time collected from every part of the empire, and deposited at suitable stations along the line of march as far as the confines of Greece.

§ 3. While these vast preparations were going on, two great works were also undertaken, which would at the same time both render the expedition easier, and bear witness to the grandeur and might of the Persian king. These were the construction of a bridge across the Hellespont, and the cutting of a canal through the isthmus of Mount Athos. The first of these works was intrusted to Phœnician and Egyptian engineers. The bridge extended from the neighborhood of Abydos, on the Asiatic coast, to a spot between Sestus and Madytus, on the European side, where the strait is about an English mile in breadth. After it had been completed, it was destroyed by a violent storm, at which Xerxes was so enraged, that he not only caused the heads of the chief engineers to be struck off, but in his daring impiety commanded the “divine” Hellespont to be scourged, and a set of fetters cast into it. Thus having given vent to his resentment, he ordered two bridges to be built in place of the former, one for the army to pass over, and the other for the baggage and beasts of burden. The new work consisted of two broad causeways alongside of one another, each resting upon a row of ships, which were moored by anchors, and by cables fastened to the sides of the channel.

The voyage round the rocky promontory of Mount Athos had become an object of dread to the Persians, from the terrible shipwreck which the fleet of Mardonius had suffered on this dangerous coast. It was to avoid the necessity of doubling this cape that Xerxes ordered a canal to be cut through the isthmus which connects the peninsula of Mount Athos with the mainland. This work employed a large number of men for three years. It was about a mile and a half long, and sufficiently broad and deep for two triremes to sail abreast. The traces of this canal, which are still distinctly visible, sufficiently disprove the assertion of many writers, both ancient and modern, that the cutting through of Mount Athos is a mere fiction.*

§ 4. At the end of the year 481 B. C., all the preparations were completed for the invasion of Greece. Xerxes spent the winter at Sardis; and early in the spring of the following year (480) he set out from the Lydian capital in all the pomp and splendor of a royal progress. The vast host

* Juvenal speaks of it as a specimen of Greek mendacity:—

“creditur olim
Velificatus Athos, et quidquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historia.”

was divided into two bodies of nearly equal size, between which ample space was left for the Great King and his Persian guards. The baggage led the way, and was followed by one half of the army, without any distinction of nations. Then after an interval came the retinue of the king. First of all marched a thousand Persian horsemen, followed by an equal number of Persian spearmen, the latter carrying spears with the points downwards, and ornamented at the other end with golden pomegranates. Behind them walked ten sacred horses, gorgeously caparisoned, bred on the Nisæan plain of Media; next the sacred car of Jove, drawn by eight white horses; and then Xerxes himself in a chariot, drawn by Nisæan horses. He was followed by a thousand spearmen and a thousand horsemen, corresponding to the two detachments which immediately preceded him. They were succeeded by ten thousand Persian infantry, called the "Immortals," because their number was always maintained. Nine thousand of them had their spears ornamented with pomegranates of silver at the reverse extremity; while the remaining thousand, who occupied the outer ranks, carried spears similarly adorned with pomegranates of gold. After the "Immortals" came ten thousand Persian cavalry, who formed the rear of the royal retinue. Then, after an interval of two furlongs, the other half of the army followed.

§ 5. In this order the multitudinous host marched from Sardis to Abydos, on the Hellespont. Here a marble throne was erected for the monarch upon an eminence, from which he surveyed all the earth covered with his troops, and all the sea crowded with his vessels. His heart swelled within him at the sight of such a vast assemblage of human beings; but his feelings of pride and pleasure soon gave way to sadness, and he burst into tears at the reflection, that in a hundred years not one of them would be alive. At the first rays of the rising sun the army commenced the passage of the Hellespont. The bridges were perfumed with frankincense and strewed with myrtle, while Xerxes himself poured libations into the sea from a golden beaker, and, turning his face towards the east, offered prayers to the sun that he might carry his victorious arms to the farthest extremities of Europe. Then throwing the beaker into the sea, together with a golden bowl and a Persian cimeter, he ordered the Immortals to lead the way. The army crossed by one bridge, and the baggage by the other; but so vast were their numbers, that they were seven days and seven nights in passing over, without a moment of intermission. The speed of the troops was quickened by the lash, which was constantly employed by the Persians to urge on the troops in the battle as well as during the march.*

§ 6. Upon reaching Europe, Xerxes continued his march along the

* Whips made of the hide of the hippopotamus were used by Ibrahim Pasha to flog the Arabs into battle during the Egyptian invasion of Greece in 1827.

coast of Thrace. Upon arriving at the spacious plain of Doriscus, which is traversed by the river Hebrus, he resolved to number both his land and naval forces. The mode employed for numbering the foot-soldiers was remarkable. Ten thousand men were first numbered, and packed together as closely as they could stand; a line was drawn, and a wall built round the place they had occupied, into which all the soldiers entered successively, till the whole army was thus measured. There were found to be a hundred and seventy of these divisions, thus making a total of 1,700,000 foot. Besides these, there were 80,000 horse, and many war-chariots and camels, with about 20,000 men. The fleet consisted of 1,207 triremes, and 3,000 smaller vessels. Each trireme was manned by 200 rowers and 30 fighting men; and each of the accompanying vessels carried 8 men, according to the calculation of Herodotus. Thus the naval force amounted to 517,610. The whole armament, both military and naval, which passed over from Asia to Doriscus, would accordingly consist of 2,317,610 men. Nor is this all. In his march from Doriscus to Thermopylæ, Xerxes received a still further accession of strength. The Thracian tribes, the Macedonians, and the other nations in Europe whose territories he traversed, supplied 300,000 men, and 120 triremes containing an aggregate of 24,000 men. Thus when he reached Thermopylæ the land and sea forces amounted to 2,641,610 fighting men. This does not include the attendants, the slaves, the crews of the provision ships, &c., which, according to the supposition of Herodotus, were more in number than the fighting men; but supposing them to have been equal, the total number of male persons who accompanied Xerxes to Thermopylæ reaches the astounding aggregate of 5,283,220!

Such are the vast numbers given by Herodotus. They seem so incredible, that many writers have been led to impeach the veracity of the historian. But it cannot be doubted that Herodotus had received his account from persons who were present at Doriscus, and that he has faithfully recorded the numbers that had been related to him. It is probable, however, that these numbers were at first grossly exaggerated in order to please Xerxes himself, and were still further magnified by the Greeks to exalt their own heroism in overcoming such an enormous host. The exact number of the invading army cannot be determined; but we may safely conclude, from all the circumstances of the case, that it was the largest ever assembled at any period of history.

§ 7. From Doriscus Xerxes continued his march along the coast, through Thrace and Macedonia. The principal cities through which he passed had to furnish a day's meal for the immense host, and for this purpose had made preparations many months beforehand. The cost of feeding such a multitude brought many cities to the brink of ruin. The island of Thasos alone, which had to undertake this onerous duty on account of its possessions on the mainland, expended no less a sum than

400 talents, or nearly £100,000 in our money; and a witty citizen of Abdera recommended his countrymen to return thanks to the gods, because Xerxes was satisfied with one meal in the day. At Acanthus, Xerxes was gratified by the sight of the wonderful canal, which had been executed by his order. Here he parted for the first time from his fleet, which was directed to double the peninsulas of Sithonia and Pallene, and wait his arrival at the city of Therma, which is better known by its later name of Thessalonica. In his march through the wild and woody country between Acanthus and Therma, his baggage-camels were attacked by lions, which then existed in this part of Europe.* At Therma he rejoined his fleet, and continued his march along the coast till he reached Mount Olympus, separating Macedonia from the country properly called Hellas. The part of Europe through which he had hitherto marched had been already conquered by Megabazus and Mardonius, and yielded implicit obedience to the Persian monarch. He was now for the first time about to leave his own dominions and tread upon the Hellenic soil.

§ 8. The mighty preparations of Xerxes had been no secret in Greece; and while he was passing the winter at Sardis, a congress of the Grecian states was summoned to meet at the Isthmus of Corinth. This congress had been convened by the Spartans and Athenians, who now made a vigorous effort to unite the members of the Hellenic race in one great league for the defence of their hearths and their homes. But in this attempt they failed. The salvation of Greece appeared to depend upon its unanimity, and this unanimity could not be obtained. Such was the terror inspired by the countless hosts of Xerxes, and so absurd did it seem to offer resistance to his superhuman power, that many of the Grecian states at once tendered their submission to him when he sent to demand earth and water, and others at a greater distance refused to take any part in the congress.

Taking a glance at the Hellenic world, we shall be astonished to see how small a portion of the Greeks had the courage to resist the Persian despot. The only people north and east of the Isthmus of Corinth who remained faithful to the cause of Grecian liberty were the Athenians and Phocians, and the inhabitants of the small Boeotian towns of Platea and Thepiæ. The other people in Northern Greece were either partisans of the Persians, like the Thebans, or were unwilling to make any great sacrifices for the preservation of their independence.

In Peloponnesus, the powerful city of Argos stood sullenly aloof. The Argives had never forgotten that they were once the ruling people in Peloponnesus. They had made many attempts to resist the growing power and influence of Sparta; but about five years before the battle of

* The figure of a lion seizing a bull is found on the reverse of the coins of Acanthus.

Marathon (B.C. 595), they had been effectually humbled by the great victory which the Spartan king, Cleomenes, had gained over them, and in which as many as six thousand of their citizens perished. They therefore contemplated the invasion of Xerxes with indifference, if not with pleasure, and were more willing to submit to the sovereignty of the Persian monarch than to the supremacy of their hated rivals. The Achæans likewise took no part in the contest, probably from hatred to the Dorians, who had driven their ancestors from their homes.

From the more distant members of the Hellenic race no assistance was obtained. Envoys had been sent by the congress at Corinth to Crete, Coreyra, and Syracuse. The Cretans excused themselves under pretence of an oracle. The Coryræans promised their aid, and despatched a fleet of sixty vessels, but with strict orders not to double Cape Malea till the result of the contest should be known. Gelon, the ruler of Syracuse, offered to send a powerful armament, provided the command of the allied forces was intrusted to him; but the envoys did not venture to accept a proposal, which would have placed both Sparta and Athens under the control of a Sicilian despot.

§ 9. The desertion of the cause of Grecian independence by so many of the Greeks did not shake the resolution of Sparta and of Athens. The Athenians, especially, set a noble example of an enlarged patriotism. They became reconciled to the Æginetans, and thus gained for the common cause the powerful navy of their rival. They readily granted to the Spartans the supreme command of the forces by sea as well as by land, although they furnished two thirds of the vessels of the entire fleet. Their illustrious citizen Themistocles was the soul of the congress. He sought to enkindle in the other Greeks some portion of the ardor and energy which he had succeeded in breathing into the Athenians. The confederates bound themselves to resist to the death; and in case of success, to consecrate to the Delphian god a tenth of the property of every Grecian state which had surrendered to the Persians without being compelled by irresistible necessity.

The congress had now to fix upon the spot where they should offer resistance to the Persians. The Thessalians, who dreaded the return of the Aleuadæ to their cities, urged the congress to send a body of men to guard the pass of Tempe, which forms the entrance to Northern Greece. They promised to take an active part in the defence; adding, that, if the request was refused, they should be obliged to make terms with the Persians. Accordingly a body of ten thousand men was sent into Thessaly under the command of the Spartan Euænetus and the Athenian Themistocles. The pass of Tempe is a long and narrow defile in Mount Olympus, through which the river Penæus forces its way into the sea. On each side, steep and inaccessible mountains rise to a great height, and in some parts approach so closely as to leave scarcely sufficient space for a road. It is im-

possible for an army to force its way through this pass, if defended by a resolute body of men ; but upon arriving at the spot, the Grecian commanders perceived that it would be easy for the Persians to land troops in their rear ; and they learnt at the same time, that there was another passage across Mount Olympus, a little farther to the west. For these reasons they considered it necessary to abandon this position, and return to the Isthmus of Corinth. Their retreat was followed by the submission of the whole of Thessaly to Xerxes.

§ 10. After Tempe, the next spot in Greece most convenient for defence against an invading army is the pass of Thermopylæ. This celebrated pass lies between the lofty and precipitous mountains of Ceta, and an inaccessible morass forming the edge of the Malian Gulf. It is about a mile in length. At each of its extremities the mountains approach so near the morass, as to leave barely room for the passage of a single carriage. These narrow entrances were called Pylæ, or the Gates. The Northern, or to speak more properly, the western Gate, was close to the town of Anthela, where the Amphictyonic Council held its autumnal meetings ; while the southern, or the eastern Gate, was near the Locrian town of Alpeni. The space between the gates was wider and more open, and was distinguished by its hot springs, from which the pass derived the name of Thermopylæ, or the "Hot Gates." This pass was as defensible as that of Tempe, and in one important respect possessed a decided superiority over the latter. The island of Eubœa is here separated from the mainland by a narrow strait, which in one part is only two miles and a half in breadth ; and accordingly it is easy, by defending this part of the sea with a fleet, to prevent an enemy from landing troops at the southern end of the pass.*



Plan of Thermopylæ.

* The present condition of Thermopylæ corresponds closely with the ancient descriptions, except that the morass, formed by the deposits of the Spercheios, occupies a space

§ 11. The Greeks therefore resolved to make a stand at Thermopylæ, and to defend at the same time both the pass and the Eubœan strait. The whole allied fleet, under the command of the Spartan Eurybiades, sailed to the north of Eubœa, and took up its station off that portion of the northern coast of the island which faces Magnesia and the entrance to the Thessalian Gulf, and which was called Artemisium, from a neighboring temple of Artemis (Diana). It was, however, only a small land force that was sent to the defence of Thermopylæ. When the arrival of Xerxes at Therma became known, the Greeks were upon the point of celebrating the Olympic games, and the festival of the Carnean Apollo, which was observed with great solemnity at Sparta and in the other Doric states. The Peloponnesians could not make up their minds to neglect these sacred games, even when the dreaded enemy was almost at their doors. They therefore resolved to send forward only a small detachment, which they thought would be sufficient to maintain the pass till the festivals were over, when they would be able to march against Xerxes with all their forces. The command of this body was intrusted to the Spartan king, Leonidas, the younger brother and successor of Cleomenes. It consisted of 300 Spartans, with their attendant Helots, and nearly 3,000 hoplites from the other Peloponnesian states. In their march through Bœotia they were joined by 700 Thespians, who were warmly attached to the cause of Grecian independence, and also by 400 Thebans, whom Leonidas compelled the Theban government to furnish, much against its will. On their arrival at Thermopylæ, their forces were still further augmented by 1,000 Phocians and a body of Opuntian Locrians, so that their numbers were not much short of 7,000 men.

It was now that Leonidas learnt, for the first time, that there was an unfrequented path over Mount Ceta, by which a foe might penetrate into Southern Greece without marching through Thermopylæ. This path, commencing near Trachis, ascended the northern side of the mountain called Anopæa, along the torrent of the Asopus, crossed one of the ridges of Mount Ceta, and descended on the southern side near the termination of the pass at the Locrian town of Alpeni. Leonidas was informed of the existence of this path by the Phocians; and, at their own desire, he posted them at the summit, to defend it against the enemy. The Spartan king

which at the time of the battle was covered with water. But the pass itself would be as difficult for an invading army to force against a small body of defenders as it was found to be by the Persians. The hot springs have incrustated the ground for many acres, over which the traveller walks or rides, every step causing a hollow sound. At present the streams are made to move the wheel of a mill to grind corn for the neighboring villages, almost in the shadow of the *polyandron*, where the Three Hundred were buried. From the mill a constant vapor arises, as if steam-works were in operation there. The heat of the water is about 111 degrees of Fahrenheit. A bath at Thermopylæ is not only very refreshing after a hard day's journey, but would be an excellent remedy for rheumatism and other similar complaints, if the patient could only get there. The scenery, independent of its great historical associations, is wild and picturesque in the highest degree. — ED.

took up his station, with the remainder of his troops, within the pass of Thermopylæ. He rendered his position still stronger by rebuilding across the northern entrance a wall, which had been erected in former days by the Phocians, but which had been suffered to fall into ruins. Having thus made all his arrangements, Leonidas calmly awaited the approach of the Persian host. But the majority of the men did not share the calmness of their general; and so great became their alarm at the smallness of their numbers, when the multitudinous forces of Xerxes began to draw near, that the Peloponnesians were anxious to abandon their present position and make the Isthmus of Corinth their point of defence. It was only the personal influence of Leonidas, seconded by the indignant remonstrances of the Phocians and Locrians, which prevailed upon them to continue faithful to their post. At the same time, he despatched messengers to the various cities, urging them to send him immediate reinforcements.

§ 12. Meanwhile Xerxes had arrived within sight of Thermopylæ. He had heard that a handful of desperate men, commanded by a Spartan, had determined to dispute his passage, but he refused to believe the news. He was still more astonished when a horseman, whom he had sent to reconnoitre, brought back word that he had seen several Spartans outside the wall in front of the pass, some amusing themselves with gymnastic exercises, and others combing their long hair. In great perplexity, he sent for the Spartan king, Demaratus, who had accompanied him from Persia, and asked him the meaning of such madness. Demaratus replied, that the Spartans would defend the pass to the death, and that it was their practice to dress their heads with peculiar care when they were going to hazard their lives. Xerxes still could not believe that they were mad enough to resist his mighty host, and delayed his attack for four days, expecting that they would disperse of their own accord. Later writers related, that Xerxes sent to them to deliver up their arms. Leonidas desired him "to come and take them." One of the Spartans being told that "the Persian host was so prodigious, that their arrows would conceal the sun":—"So much the better," he replied, "we shall then fight in the shade."

At length, upon the fifth day, Xerxes ordered a chosen body of Medes to advance against the presumptuous foes, and bring them into his presence. Remembering their former glory as the masters of Asia, and anxious to avenge their defeat at Marathon, the Medes fought with bravery; but their superior numbers were of no avail in such a narrow space, and they were kept at bay by the long spears and steady ranks of the Greeks. After the combat had lasted a long time with heavy loss to the Medes. Xerxes ordered his ten thousand "Immortals" to advance. But these were as unsuccessful as the former. Xerxes beheld the repulse of his troops from a lofty throne which had been provided for him, and was seen to leap thrice from his seat in an agony of fear or rage.

§ 13. On the following day the attack was renewed, but with no better success ; and Xerxes was beginning to despair of forcing his way through the pass, when a Malian, of the name of Ephialtes, betrayed to the Persian king the secret of the path across the mountains. Overjoyed at this discovery, a strong detachment of Persians was ordered to follow the traitor. They set out at nightfall, and at daybreak had nearly reached the summit, where the Phocians were stationed. In Greece the dawn of day is distinguished by a peculiar stillness ; and the universal silence was first broken by the trampling of so many men upon the leaves with which the sides of the mountains were strewed. The Phocians flew to arms, and, anxious for their own safety, became unmindful of the important trust which had been committed to them, abandoned the path, and took refuge on the highest part of the ridge. The Persians, without turning aside to pursue them, continued their march along the path, and began to descend the southern side of the mountain.

Meantime Leonidas and his troops had received ample notice of the impending danger. During the night, deserters from the enemy had brought him the news ; and their intelligence was confirmed by his own scouts on the hills. In the council of war, which was forthwith summoned by Leonidas, opinions were divided ; the majority recommended that they should retire from a position which could no longer be defended, and reserve their lives for the future safety of Greece. But Leonidas refused to retreat. As a Spartan he was bound by the laws to conquer or to die in the post assigned to him ; and he was the more ready to sacrifice his life, since an oracle had declared that either Sparta itself or a Spartan king must perish by the Persian arms. His three hundred comrades were fully equal to the same heroism which actuated their king ; and the seven hundred Thespians resolved to share the fate of this gallant band. He allowed the rest of the allies to retire, with the exception of the four hundred Boeotians, whom he retained as hostages.

§ 14. Xerxes delayed his attack till the middle of the day, when it was expected that the detachment sent across the mountain would arrive at the rear of the pass. But Leonidas and his comrades, only anxious to sell their lives as dearly as possible, did not wait behind the wall to receive the attack of the Persians, but advanced into the open space in front of the pass, and charged the enemy with desperate valor. Numbers of the Persians were slain ; many were driven into the neighboring sea ; and others again were trampled to death by the vast hosts behind them. Notwithstanding the exhortations of their officers, and the constant use of the lash, it was with difficulty that the barbarians could be brought to face this handful of heroes. As long as the Greeks could maintain their ranks they repelled every attack ; but when their spears were broken, and they had only their swords left, the enemy began to press in between them. Leonidas was one of the first that fell, and around his body the battle

aged fiercer than ever. The Persians made the greatest efforts to obtain possession of it; but four times they were driven back by the Greeks with great slaughter. At length, thinned in numbers, and exhausted by fatigue and wounds, this noble band retired within the pass, and seated themselves on a hillock behind the wall. Meanwhile, the detachment which had been sent across the mountains began to enter the pass from the south. The Thebans seized the opportunity of begging quarter, proclaiming that they had been forced to fight against their will. Their lives were spared; and the detachment marched on through the pass. The surviving heroes were now surrounded on every side, overwhelmed with a shower of missiles, and killed to a man.

§ 15. On the hillock where the Greeks made their last stand, a marble lion was set up in honor of Leonidas. Two other monuments were also erected near the spot. The inscription on the first recorded "that four thousand Peloponnesians had here fought with three hundred myriads (or three millions) of foes." The second, which was destined for the Spartans alone, contained the memorable words:—

"Stranger, the tidings to the Spartans tell,
That here, obeying their commands, we fell." *

Both of these epigrams were probably written by the poet Simonides, who also celebrated the glory of the heroes of Thermopylæ in a noble ode, of which the following fragment is still extant:—

"Of those who at Thermopylæ were slain,
Glorious the doom, and beautiful the lot;
Their tomb an altar: men from tears refrain
To honor them, and praise, but mourn them not.
Such sepulchre, nor drear decay
Nor all-destroying time shall waste; this right have they.
Within their grave the home-bred glory
Of Greece was laid; this witness gives
Leonidas the Spartan, in whose story
A wreath of famous virtue ever lives." †

§ 16. While Leonidas had been fighting at Thermopylæ, the Greek fleet had also been engaged with the Persians at Artemisium. The Greek ships assembled off the northern coast of Eubœa were two hundred and seventy-one in number, commanded, as has been mentioned above, by the Spartan Eurybiades. The Athenian squadron was led by Themistocles and the Corinthian by Adeimantus; but of the other commanders we have no mention. Three vessels were sent ahead to watch the movements of the Persians. Off the island of Sciathus they were captured by a squadron of ten Persian vessels, which had in like manner been de-

* "Ὁ ξείν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅτι τῇδε
Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Translated at Thermopylæ.—Ed.

† Sterling.

spatched by the Persian admiral to obtain intelligence. As soon as the Greeks at Artemisium heard of this disaster, and of the speedy approach of the whole Persian fleet, they were seized with a panic, such as had taken possession of the soldiers of Leonidas upon the advance of the land force of the Persians. But Eurybiades did not possess the same influence over his men as the Spartan king; and the whole fleet abandoned their position, and sailed up the channel between Eubœa and the mainland to Chalcis, where the straits, being only forty yards across, might easily be defended by a few ships. This retreat was equivalent to an abandonment of the whole scheme of defence, as it gave the Persians full liberty to land troops in the rear of the defenders of Thermopylæ. But now a mightier power than that of man came forward, and saved the Greeks in spite of themselves.

§ 17. The Persian admiral, having learnt from the ten ships sent on the look-out that the coast was clear, set sail from the Gulf of Therma, and arrived in one day at almost the southern corner of Magnesia. Along the greater part of this coast the high and precipitous rocks of Mount Pelion line the water's edge; but there is an open beach for a short distance between the town of Casthanæa and the promontory of Sepias. Here the Persian admiral determined to pass the night; but owing to the vast number of his ships, only a small portion of them could be drawn up on shore; the remainder rode at anchor eight lines deep. In this position they were overtaken on the following morning by a sudden hurricane, which blew upon the shore with irresistible fury. The ships were torn from their anchorage, and driven against one another, and dashed against the cliffs. For three days and three nights the tempest raged without intermission; and when, on the fourth day, calm at length returned, the shore was seen strewn for many miles with wrecks and corpses. At least four hundred ships of war were destroyed, together with a countless number of transports, stores, and treasures. The remainder of the fleet doubled the southern promontory of Magnesia, and cast anchor at Aphetæ at the entrance to the Pagasæan Gulf.

§ 18. The news of this terrible disaster, which report had magnified into the entire destruction of the Persian fleet, revived the spirits of the Greeks at Chalcis. They now sailed back with the utmost speed to their former station at Artemisium, which is opposite Aphetæ, at the distance of only a few miles. But great was their surprise at seeing that the Persians still possessed such an overwhelming number of ships. The sight again struck them with alarm; and they were on the point of returning to Chalcis, when the Eubœans sent one of their citizens to Themistocles, with an offer of thirty talents, on condition that he should induce the Greek commanders to remain and hazard a battle in defence of the island. There can be no doubt that Themistocles had already urged his associates in command to defend the Eubœan strait against the enemy, and he there-

fore readily undertook the commission offered him by the Eubœans. In all periods of their history, the Greeks seldom had sufficient principle to resist a bribe; and Themistocles was now enabled to accomplish by money what he had failed to do by argument. By giving five talents to the Spartan Eurybiades, three to the Corinthian Adeimantus, and presents to the other commanders, he prevailed upon them to remain.

While the Greeks were thus brought with difficulty to face the enemy, the Persian fleet was animated with a very different spirit. They felt confident of victory, and their only fear was lest the Greeks should escape them. In order to prevent this, they sent a squadron of two hundred ships, with instructions to sail round Eubœa and cut off the retreat of the Greeks. Themistocles had now succeeded in inspiring his comrades with sufficient courage to sail forth and offer battle to the enemy. But being anxious to acquire some experience of the nautical evolutions of the enemy before they ventured upon a decisive engagement, they waited till it was nearly dusk. Their ships were drawn up in a circle, with their sterns pointed inwards; and they seemed to be awaiting the attack of the enemy who began to close in upon them on every side. But suddenly, at a given signal, they rowed out in all directions, and attacked the enemy's ships, of which they took or disabled no fewer than thirty. The Persians were not prepared for such boldness, and were at first thrown into confusion; but they soon rallied, and began to inflict considerable damage upon the Greeks, when night put an end to the contest, and each fleet returned to its former station,—the Greeks to Artemisium, and the Persians to Aphetæ.

§ 19. This auspicious commencement raised the courage of the Greeks, and gave them greater confidence in their own strength. They were still further encouraged by the events of the following night. It seemed as if the gods had come to fight on their side. For although it was the middle of summer, at which season rain rarely falls in Greece, another terrific storm burst upon the Persians. All night long it blew upon the coast at Aphetæ, thus causing little inconvenience to the Greeks upon the opposite shore. The main body of the Persian fleet sustained considerable damage; and the squadron which was sailing round Eubœa was completely destroyed. The greater part of the eastern side of this island is an unbroken line of precipitous rocks, with scarcely a ravine in which even a boat can be hauled up. The squadron was overtaken by the storm off one of the most dangerous parts of the coast, called "the Hollows," and was driven upon the rocks and broken to pieces.

The tidings of this second disaster to the Persian fleet reached the Greeks on the following day; and while they were congratulating themselves upon the visible interposition of the gods in their favor, they were animated to still greater confidence by the arrival of fifty-three fresh Athenian ships. With this reinforcement they sailed out in the after-

noon, and destroyed some Cilician ships at their moorings; but the Persian fleet had suffered too much from the storm in the preceding night to engage in battle.

§ 20. Indignant at these insults, and dreading the anger of Xerxes, the Persians prepared to make a grand attack upon the following day. Accordingly, about noon they sailed towards Artemisium in the form of a crescent. The Greeks kept near the shore, that they might not be surrounded, and to prevent the Persians from bringing their whole fleet into action. The battle raged furiously the whole day, and each side fought with determined valor. The Egyptians distinguished themselves most among the Persians, and the Athenians among the Greeks. Both parties suffered severely; and though the Persians lost a greater number of ships and men, yet so many of the Greek vessels were disabled, that they found it would be impossible to renew the combat.

Under these circumstances the Greek commanders saw that it would be necessary to retreat; and their determination was hastened by the intelligence which they now received, that Leonidas and his companions had fallen, and that Xerxes was master of the pass of Thermopylæ. They forthwith sailed up the Eubœan channel, the Corinthians leading the van and the Athenians bringing up the rear. At the various landing-places along the coast Themistocles set up inscriptions, calling upon the Ionians not to fight against their fathers. He did this in the hopes either of detaching some of the Ionians from the Persians, or at any rate of making them objects of suspicion to Xerxes, and thus preventing the monarch from employing them in any important service. Having sailed through the Eubœan strait, the fleet doubled the promontory of Sunium, and did not stop till it reached the island of Salamis.



A Greek Warrior. From an Ancient Vase.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS.

§ 1. Results of the Battle of Thermopylæ. § 2. Alarm and Flight of the Athenians. § 3. March of the Persians and Attempt upon Delphi. § 4. Taking of Athens and Arrival of the Persian Fleet. § 5. Dissensions and Debates of the Greeks. § 6. Stratagem of Themistocles. Arrival of Aristides. § 7. Position of the Hostile Fleets. Preparations for the Combat. § 8. Battle of Salamis. § 9. Defeat and Flight of Xerxes. § 10. Pursuit of the Greeks. § 11. Homeward March of Xerxes. § 12. The Greeks celebrate their Victory. § 13. Carthaginian Expedition to Sicily. Defeat and Death of Hamilcar.

§ 1. THE apathy of the Lacedæmonians in neglecting to provide a sufficient defence against the advancing host of Xerxes seems altogether unaccountable; nor is it easy to understand why the Athenians themselves did not send a single troop to aid in defending Thermopylæ. The heroic and long-sustained resistance of the handful of men who perished in that pass, as well as the previous battle of Marathon, clearly proves that a moderately numerous force, together with ordinary military precautions, would have sufficed to arrest the onward march of the Persians. But the small body to which that duty was assigned was altogether inadequate to the occasion. The forcing of the pass annihilated the chief defence of Southern Greece. Many of the Grecian states which before were wavering now declared for the invader, and sent contingents to his army; whilst his fleet was also strengthened by reinforcements from Carystus and the Cyclades.

The Athenians were now threatened with inevitable destruction. The Peloponnesians had utterly neglected their promise of assembling a force in Bœotia for the protection of Attica; and there was consequently nothing to prevent the Persians from marching straight to Athens. The isolated position of the Peloponnesians had probably influenced them in their selfish policy; at all events, on the news of the defeat at Thermopylæ, they abandoned Attica and the adjoining states to their fate, whilst they strained every nerve to secure themselves by fortifying the Isthmus of Corinth. It is true that in this selfish proceeding they overlooked the fact that their large extent of coast could not be thus secured from the descent of the Persian fleet. But after all, the greatest as well as the most pressing danger arose from the army of Xerxes. At sea, the Greeks and the Barbarians were much more nearly matched; and if the multitudinous land forces of the Persian monarch were once arrested in their progress, and compelled to retreat, there was perhaps little reason to dread that his fleet, composed mostly of auxiliaries, would be able to make any permanent impression on the Peloponnesus, or indeed to remain upon the coast of Greece.

§ 2. The Athenians, relying upon the march of a Peloponnesian army into Bœotia, had taken no measures for the security of their families and property, and beheld with terror and dismay the barbarian host in full march towards their city. Fortunately, the Grecian fleet, on retiring from Artemisium, had stopped at Salamis on its way to Trœzen, where it had been ordered to re-assemble; and, at the entreaties of the Athenians, Eurybiades consented to remain for a time at Salamis, and to assist the Athenian citizens in transporting their families and effects. It was thus by accident, and not from any preconceived military plan, that Salamis became the station of the Grecian fleet.

In six days, it was calculated, Xerxes would be at Athens,—a short space to remove the population of a whole city; but fear and necessity work wonders. Before it had elapsed, all who were willing to abandon their homes had been safely transported, some to Ægina, the greater part to Trœzen, where they met with an hospitable reception; but many could not be induced to proceed farther than Salamis. It was necessary for Themistocles to use all his art and all his eloquence on this occasion. Those who were deaf to the voice of reason were assailed with the terrors of superstition. On a first interrogation the oracle of Delphi warned the Athenians to fly to the 'ends of the earth, since nothing could save them from destruction. In a second response the Delphian god was more obscure but less alarming. "The divine Salamis would make women childless,"—yet "when all was lost, a wooden wall would still shelter the Athenians." In the interpretation of Themistocles, by whom these words had perhaps been suggested, they clearly indicated a fleet and a naval victory as the only means of safety. As a further persuasion, it was

declared that the Sacred Serpent, which haunted the temple of Athena Polias, on the Acropolis, had deserted the sanctuary; and could the citizens hesitate to follow the example of their guardian deity?

In some, however, superstition, combined with love of their ancient homes, worked in an opposite direction. The oracle which declared the safety of the Athenians to lie in their wooden walls might admit of another meaning; and a few, especially among the aged and the poor, resolved to shut themselves up in the Acropolis, and to fortify its accessible or western front with barricades of timber. Not only in them, but even in those who had resolved to abandon Athens, the love of country grew stronger in proportion as the danger of losing it became more imminent. The present misery extinguished past dissensions. Themistocles proposed a decree revoking all sentences of banishment, and specially included in it his opponent and rival Aristides. The rich and the aristocratic assisted the city both by their example and their money. The Hippeis, or knights, headed by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, marched in procession to the Acropolis to hang up their bridles in the temple of Athena, and to fetch thence some consecrated arms more suitable for that naval service for which they were about to abandon their ancient habits and privileges. The Senate of the Areopagus not only exerted its public authority in order to provide funds for the equipment of the fleet and the support of the poorer emigrants, but contributed to those objects by the private munificence of its members. The fund was increased by the policy of Themistocles. Under the pretext that the Gorgon's head had been removed from the statue of Athena, he directed that the baggage of each departing citizen should be searched, and appropriated to the service of the state the private treasures which were about to be exported.

§ 3. While these things were passing at Athens, the Persian army was in full march towards the city. Xerxes was surprised to find that the Olympic games still deterred the Peloponnesians from opposing his progress; nor was his astonishment diminished on learning that the prize, which occasioned so much excitement and emulation, was a simple wreath of the wild-olive. Of the states which lay between Thermopylæ and Attica, the Phocians alone refused to submit to the Persians. Under the conduct of the Thessalians, the Persian army poured into Phocis, but found only deserted towns; several of which, however, they plundered and destroyed. The same fate attended Thespiæ and Platæa, the only towns of Bœotia which declined to acknowledge the conqueror.

On his march towards Athens, Xerxes sent a detachment of his army to take and plunder Delphi. But this attempt proved unsuccessful. The god of the most renowned oracle of the Hellenic world vindicated at once the majesty of his sanctuary and the truth of his predictions. He forbade the Delphians to remove the treasures which enriched and adorned his shrine, and encouraged by divine portents the handful of priests and citi-

zens who ventured to remain and defend his temple. The sacred arms preserved in the inner cells, and which it was sacrilege to touch, were miraculously conveyed outside the door, as if the god himself interfered to arm his defenders. As the Persians climbed the rugged path, at the foot of Mount Parnassus, leading up to the shrine, and had already reached the temple of Athena Pronæa, thunder was heard to roll, and two crags, suddenly detaching themselves from the mountain, rolled down upon the Persians, and spread dismay and destruction in their ranks. Seized with a sudden panic, they turned and fled, pursued, as they said, by two warriors of superhuman size and prowess, who had assisted the Delphians in defending their temple. The Delphians themselves confirmed the report, averring that the two warriors were the heroes Phylacus and Autonôus. Herodotus, when he visited Delphi, saw in the sacred inclosure of Athena Pronæa the identical crags which had crushed the Persians; and near the spot may still be seen large blocks of stone which have rolled down from the mountain.

§ 4. On arriving before Athens, Xerxes found the Acropolis occupied by a handful of desperate citizens, whom the Peisistratids in his suite in vain exhorted to surrender. The nature of the Acropolis might, indeed, have inspired them with reasonable hopes of successful resistance, had the disparity of force been less enormous. Rising abrupt and craggy to the height of 150 feet above the level of the town, its summit presents a space of about 1,000 feet in length, from east to west, and 500 in breadth, from north to south. On every side except the west it is nearly inaccessible, and in the few places where access seemed practicable, it was defended by an ancient fortification called the Pelasgic wall. The Persian army took up a position on the Areopagus (Mars' Hill), over against the northwestern side of the Acropolis, whence they endeavored to destroy the wooden fortification which had been erected, by shooting against them arrows furnished with burning tow. But even after the destruction of these barricades, the Athenians managed to keep their assailants at bay by rolling down huge stones upon them as they attempted to mount the western ascent. At length some of the besiegers ventured to climb up the precipitous rock, on the northern side, by the cave of Aglaurus, where no guard was stationed. They gained the summit unperceived, thus taking the little garrison in the rear. Confusion and despair now seized upon the Athenians. Some threw themselves down from the rock, others took refuge in the inner temple; while the Persian host, to whom the gates had been thrown open by their comrades, mounted to the attack, pillaged and burned the temples and houses on the Acropolis, and put its defenders to the sword.

Thus was the oracle accomplished which had foretold that Athens should fall before the might of Persia. But in the very midst of her ashes and desolation, a trivial portent seemed to foreshadow the resurrection of her

power. The Athenians in the train of Xerxes, whilst sacrificing in the Acropolis, observed with astonishment that the sacred olive-tree, which grew in the temple of Athena, had, in the two days which had elapsed since the fire, thrown out a fresh shoot a cubit in length.

About the same time that the army of Xerxes took possession of Athens, his fleet arrived in the bay of Phalerum. Its strength is not accurately known, but at the lowest estimate must have exceeded 1,000 vessels. The combined Grecian fleet at Salamis consisted of 366 ships; * a larger force than had assembled at Artemisium, yet far inferior to that of the Persians. Of these ships 200 were Athenian; the remainder consisted of the contingents of the allies, among which that of the Corinthians was the most numerous after the Athenian, namely, forty vessels.

Xerxes went down to inspect his fleet, and held a council of war as to the expediency of an immediate attack upon the Greeks. The kings of Sidon and Tyre, together with the other assembled potentates, probably with the view of flattering Xerxes, were for an immediate battle. One voice alone broke the unanimity of the meeting. Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, in Caria, deprecated the policy of fighting in the narrow strait of Salamis, where the numerous force of Xerxes would be an encumbrance rather than a help. She urged that, if the army were marched towards Peloponnesus, the Peloponnesian ships would withdraw from the Grecian fleet, in order to protect their own homes. She is likewise represented as having drawn a comparison between the maritime skill of the Greeks and Persians, very little flattering to the latter. But these representations, though received with good temper, were disregarded by Xerxes, and orders were issued for an attack on the following morning. At the same time the army was commanded to march towards Peloponnesus.

§ 5. At this critical juncture dissension reigned in the Grecian fleet. In the council of war which had been summoned by Eurybiades, Themistocles urged the assembled chiefs to remain at Salamis, and give battle to the Persians in the narrow straits, where the superior numbers of the Persians would be of less consequence. The Peloponnesian commanders, on the other hand, were strongly opposed to remaining in their present position. They were of opinion that the fleet should be removed to the Isthmus of Corinth, and thus be put in communication with their land forces. The news of the taking of Athens, which arrived during the debate, gave force to these counsels. The majority came to a vote in favor of retreat; but the approach of night obliged them to remain till the following morning.

It was with gloomy thoughts that Themistocles retired from the council. Upon reaching his own ship, a friend named Mnesiphilus, to whom he communicated the decision, urged him to make one more attempt to detain

* According to Herodotus; but Æschylus reckons them at 310 only.

the Peloponnesians. Late as it was, he immediately proceeded to the ship of Eurybiades, where, urging with more freedom, and in greater detail than he had been able to use in the council, all the arguments against the separation of the fleet, he succeeded in persuading Eurybiades to convoke another assembly. He also used all his efforts privately with the different commanders to induce them to alter their opinion. But he elicited nothing but anger and reproach. When the council met, the Peloponnesian commanders loudly expressed their dissatisfaction at seeing a debate reopened which they had deemed concluded. Adeimantus, especially, the Corinthian admiral, broke out into open rebukes and menaces. "Themistocles," he exclaimed, "those who rise at the public games before the signal are whipped." "True," replied Themistocles, "but they who lag behind it never win a crown." Another incident in this discussion has been immortalized by Plutarch. It is related by this writer that Eurybiades, incensed by the language of Themistocles, lifted up his stick to strike him, whereupon the Athenian exclaimed, "Strike, but hear me!" *

Themistocles repeated his arguments and entreaties, but without effect. Adeimantus, with unfeeling insolence, even denied his right to vote; since, Athens being in the hands of the Persians, he represented no free Grecian city. Stung by this remark, Themistocles reminded the assembly that he was at the head of two hundred well-armed ships; a force with which he could easily procure for himself a city, and even a better city than Corinth. Prophecies, he observed, had promised to Athens the town of Siris in Italy; it only remained for the Athenians to sail thither and take possession of it. Meanwhile, let the assembly consider what the Grecian fleet would be without the Athenian contingent.

This menace silenced his opponents. Eurybiades, half convinced before, hesitated no longer; and, without taking the votes of the assembly, issued orders for the fleet to remain and fight at Salamis. The Peloponnesians obeyed, indeed, the orders of their commander. The following morning discovered them engaged in preparing their ships for action; but with an evident reluctance, soon increased to open discontent by messages received from home. These represented the distress and terror of their countrymen, engaged in fortifying the Isthmus against the overwhelming force of Xerxes. Of what use was it to attempt the defence of Attica, already in the hands of the Persians? Surely it would be much better for the Peloponnesian seamen to return and defend their native and yet unconquered country; where, even if worsted at sea, they might transfer their services to the land.

§ 6. Incited by these representations, the very men who had found

* This memorable story, however, is not in accordance with the narrative of Herodotus, in which it is Adeimantus, and not Eurybiades, to whom Themistocles had given offence, and who opposes the Athenian with so much vehemence.

fault with a second council now clamored for a third. It met, and was characterized by the same turbulence and the same dissensions as the former councils. The malcontents, though representing only a small proportion of the naval force, had a numerical superiority of votes; and Themistocles, perceiving that the decision of the assembly would be against him, determined to effect his object by stratagem. Among his slaves was an Asiatic Greek named Sicinnus, whom he had intrusted with the education of his children; a man of address and ability, and perfectly acquainted with the Persian tongue. Themistocles secretly despatched this man with a message to Xerxes, representing the dissensions which prevailed in the Grecian fleet, and how easy a matter it would be to surround and vanquish an armament both small and disunited. Themistocles himself was described by Sicinnus as favorable to the Persian cause; nor, to judge from his subsequent conduct, might the wily Athenian, in the present desperate situation of affairs, have been altogether indisposed to stand favorably in the sight of Xerxes. However this may be, Xerxes, already well inclined to strike a blow, readily adopted the suggestion, and ordered his captains to close up the straits of Salamis at both ends.

It has been already stated that the Persian fleet was stationed in the bay of Phalerum, a harbor on the Attic coast, a few miles southeast of the entrance of the straits which divided the island of Salamis from Attica. This entrance, as well as that on the northwestern side, leading into the Bay of Eleusis, is exceedingly narrow, being in parts not more than a quarter of a mile in breadth. Towards the middle, however, it expands; and on the side of Salamis forms a bay or harbor, on which the town of Salamis was situated, and where the Grecian fleet was stationed. During the night the fleet of Xerxes moved from Phalerum northwards along the coast, and took up a position on the Attic side of the straits, which they lined through their whole extent, while portions blocked up both the northern and southern outlets of the straits.

Meanwhile, the debate of the Grecian leaders continued long after nightfall. Themistocles had employed every art to protract the discussion, in order to gain time for the effect of his stratagem; and when at last the assembly broke up, it was only on the understanding that the debate should be resumed before daybreak.

Scarcely had the council re-assembled, when Themistocles was summoned from it by a message that somebody wished to speak to him. It was Aristides, who, in the sixth year of an unjust banishment, had returned to serve his ungrateful country, and to assist, but not to share, the triumph of a rival. His rival had, indeed, proposed, and his country had ratified, the revocation of the sentence; though to an ordinary man the repentance might have seemed suspicious, and the atonement of little value, which recalled him to his native land, or, more properly speaking,

which restored him to his exiled countrymen, only to share in their dangers and distresses. But no such reflections found a place in the mind of Aristides. He was occupied only with his country's welfare, and his first address to Themistocles was that their ancient rivalry should for the future be exerted only in their country's cause. He then communicated the fact that the Grecian fleet was completely surrounded by that of the Persians; and related that it was only by favor of the darkness that his own vessel had contrived to elude them. Themistocles, having thus learned the success of his stratagem, expressed his satisfaction, and desired Aristides to communicate the news of their situation to the council, which would not be disposed to believe it from his own lips. But even from the lips of Aristides such unwelcome intelligence found but little credit, till it was confirmed by the arrival of a Tenian ship, which had deserted from the enemy.

§ 7. At length the day began to dawn which was to decide the fate of Greece. As the veil of night rolled gradually away, the Persian fleet was discovered stretching as far as the eye could reach along the coast of Attica. Its right wing, consisting of Phœnician and Cyprian vessels, was drawn up towards the Bay of Eleusis, whilst the Ionians occupied the left, towards Peiræus and the southern entrance of the straits. On the low and barren island of Psyttaleia, adjacent to that point, a detachment of choice Persian troops had been landed. As the Grecian fleet was concentrated in the harbor of the town of Salamis, it was thus surrounded, as it were, in a net by the Persians. Xerxes, who attributed the disasters at Artemisium to his own absence, had caused a lofty throne to be erected upon one of the projecting declivities of Mount Ægaleos, opposite the harbor of Salamis, whence he could survey the combat, and stimulate by his presence the courage of his men; whilst by his side stood scribes, prepared to record the names both of the daring and the backward.

"A king sat on the rocky brow
Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis;
And ships, by thousands, lay below,
And men in nations; — all were his!
He counted them at break of day, —
And when the sun set, where were they?"

The Grecian commanders lost no time in preparing to meet their multitudinous opponents. The Athenians were posted in the left wing, and consequently opposed to the Phœnicians on the Persian right. The Lacædæmonians and the other Peloponnesians took their station on the right, and the Æginetans and Eubœans in the centre. Animated by the harangues of Themistocles and the other leaders, the Greek seamen embarked with alacrity, encouraging one another to deliver their country their wives and children, and the temples of their gods, from the grasp of the barbarians. Just at this juncture a favorable omen seemed to prom-

ise them success. When Eurybiades gave the order for the fleet to remain and fight at Salamis, a trireme had been despatched to Ægina to invoke the assistance of Æacus, and the Æacid heroes Talamon and Aias (Ajax). As the Greeks were on the point of embarking, the trireme returned from the mission just in time to take her place in the line of battle.

- A A A. Persian fleet.
- B B B. Grecian fleet.
- C C C. The Persian army.
- D. Throne of Xerxes.
- E. New Salamis.
- F. Old Salamis.
- G. The island Psyttaleia.
- H. Piræus.
- I. Phalerum.
- 1. Athenian ships.
- 2. Lacedæmonian and other Peloponnesian ships.
- 3. Ægæan and Eubœan ships.
- 4. Phœnician ships.
- 5. Cyprian ships.
- 6. Cilician and Pamphylian ships.
- 7. Ionian ships.
- 8. Persian ships.
- 9. Egyptian ships.



Battle of Salamis

§ 8. As the trumpets sounded, the Greeks rowed forward to the attack, hurling into the still morning air the loud war pæan, reverberated shrilly from the cliffs of Salamis, and not unanswered by the Persians. But suddenly a panic appeared to seize the Grecian oarsmen. They paused,—

backed astern,—and some of the rearward vessels even struck the ground at Salamis. At this critical juncture a supernatural portent is said to have reanimated the drooping courage of the Greeks. A female figure was seen to hover over the fleet, uttering loud reproaches at their flight. Reanimated by the vision, the Greeks again rowed forward to the attack. History has preserved to us but few details of the engagement, which, indeed, soon became a scene of confusion too intricate to be accurately observed; but the names of those who first grappled with the enemy have not been left unrecorded. The Athenian captains, Ameinias and Lycomedes, the former a brother of the poet Æschylus, were the first to bring their ships into action; Democritus, a Naxian, was the third. The Persian fleet, with the exception of some of the Ionic contingents, appears to have fought with alacrity and courage. But the very numbers on which they so confidently relied proved one of the chief causes of their defeat. They had neither concert in action, nor space to manœuvre; and the confusion was augmented by the mistrust with which the motley nations composing the Persian armament regarded one another. Too crowded either to advance or to retreat, their oars broken or impeded by collision with one another, their fleet lay like an inert and lifeless mass upon the water, and fell an easy prey to the Greeks. A single incident will illustrate the terror and confusion which reigned among the Persians. Artemisia, although, as we have related, averse to giving battle, distinguished herself in it by deeds of daring bravery. At length she turned and fled, pursued by the Athenian trierarch, Ameinias. Full in her course lay the vessel of the Carian prince, Damosithymus of Calyndus. Instead of avoiding, she struck and sunk it, sending her countryman and all his crew to the bottom. Ameinias, believing from this act that she was a deserter from the Persian cause, suffered her to escape. Xerxes, who from his lofty throne beheld the feat of the Halicarnassian queen, but who imagined that the sunken ship belonged to the Greeks, was filled with admiration at her courage, and is said to have exclaimed, "My men are become women, my women men!"

§ 9. The number of ships destroyed and sunk is stated at forty on the side of the Greeks, and two hundred on that of the Persians, exclusive of those which were captured with all their crews. Besides this loss at sea, Aristides succeeded in inflicting on the Persians another on land. It has been already stated, that some chosen Persian troops had been landed at Psyttaleia, in order to assist such Persian ships or destroy such Grecian ships as might be forced upon the island. When the rout of the Persian fleet was completed, Aristides landed on the island with a body of Hoplites, defeated the Persians, and cut them to pieces to a man.*

* The poet Æschylus, who fought in this battle, as well as at Marathon, should be looked upon as one of the principal authorities. In "The Persians," the messenger gives to

Boundless were the rage and vexation of Xerxes, as he contemplated the flight and destruction of his fleet. Some Phœnician crews, which were unlucky enough to be forced ashore close at the despot's feet, felt the full weight of his displeasure. In vain they sought to throw the blame of the defeat on the Ionic Greeks serving under the Persian flag. Xerxes, who, besides the feat of Artemisia, had observed a very daring act of valor performed by a Samothracian vessel, treated the Phœnicians as dastardly calumniators, and ordered them to be beheaded.

Notwithstanding this signal defeat and loss, the Persian fleet was still formidable by its numbers, whilst their land force had suffered hardly any loss. The Greeks themselves did not regard the victory as decisive, and prepared to renew the combat. But from this necessity they were relieved by the pusillanimity of Xerxes. Passing at once from overweening con-

Queen Atossa a very animated description. I take the passage from Professor Blackie's excellent translation.

"Some evil god, or an avenging spirit,
Began the fray. From the Athenian fleet
There came a Greek, and thus thy son bespoke:
'Soon as the gloom of night shall fall, the Greeks
No more will wait, but, rushing to their oars,
Each man will seek his safety where he may,
By secret flight.' This Xerxes heard, but knew not
The guile of Greece, nor yet the jealous gods,
And to his captains straightway gave command
That, when the sun withdrew his burning beams,
And darkness filled the temple of the sky,
In triple lines their ships they should dispose,
Each wave-plashed outlet guarding, fencing round
The isle of Ajax surely. Should the Greeks
Deceive this guard, or with their ships escape
In secret flight, each captain with his head
Should pay for his remissness. These commands
With lofty heart, thy son gave forth, nor thought
What harm the gods were weaving. They obeyed.
Each man prepared his supper, and the sailors
Bound the lithe oar to its familiar block.
Then, when the sun his shining glory paled,
And night swooped down, each master of the oar,
Each marshaller of arms, embarked; and then
Line called on line to take its ordered place.
All night they cruised, and, with a moving belt,
Prisoned the frith, till day gan peep, and still
No stealthy Greek the expected flight essayed.
But when at length the snowy-steeded day
Burst o'er the main, all beautiful to see,
First from the Greeks a tuneful shout uprose,
Well-omened, and, with replication loud,
Leaped the blithe echo from the rocky shore.
Fear seized the Persian host, no longer tricked
By vain opinion; not like wavering flight
Billowed the solemn pæan of the Greeks,
But like the shout of men to battle urging,

fidence to unreasonable distrust, the Persian monarch became anxiously solicitous even about his own personal safety. He no longer relied on the capability of his ships to protect his retreat over the Hellespont, especially as his own conduct had alienated a considerable part of the fleet. The Phœnicians, alarmed by the threats which rage and fear caused Xerxes to utter against them, stole away in the night, and sailed homewards. The whole care of the Persian monarch was now centred on securing his retreat by land. The best troops were disembarked from the ships, and marched towards the Hellespont, in order to secure the bridge, whilst the fleet itself was ordered to leave Phalerum and make for Asia.

These dispositions of Xerxes were prompted by Mardonius. As the adviser of the expedition, Mardonius felt all the danger of responsibility for its failure, especially if the personal safety of his sovereign should be

With lusty cheer. Then the fierce trumpet's voice
 Blazed o'er the main; and on the salt sea flood
 Forthwith the oars with measured plash descended,
 And all their lines, with dexterous speed displayed,
 Stood with opposing front. The right wing first,
 Then the whole fleet, bore down, and straight uprose
 A mighty shout: 'SONS OF THE GREEKS, ADVANCE!
 YOUR COUNTRY FREE, YOUR CHILDREN FREE, YOUR WIVES!
 THE ALTARS OF YOUR NATIVE GODS DELIVER,
 AND YOUR ANCESTRAL TOMBS, — ALL 'S NOW AT STAKE!'
 A like salute from our whole line back rolled
 In Persian speech. Nor more delay, but straight
 Trireme on trireme, brazen beak on beak
 Dashed furious. A Greek ship led on the attack,
 And from the prow of a Phœnician struck
 The figure-head: and now the grapple closed
 Of each ship with his adverse desperate.
 At first the main line of the Persian fleet
 Stood the harsh shock: but soon their multitude
 Became their ruin: in the narrow frith
 They might not use their strength, and, jammed together,
 Their ships with brazen beaks did bite each other,
 And shattered their own oars. Meanwhile the Greeks
 Stroke after stroke dealt dexterous all around,
 Till our ships showed their keels, and the blue sea
 Was seen no more, with multitude of ships
 And corpses covered. All the shores were strewn,
 And the rough rocks, with dead: till, in the end,
 Each ship in the barbaric host, that yet
 Had oars, in most disordered flight rowed off.
 As men that fish for tunnies, so the Greeks,
 With broken booms, and fragments of the wreck,
 Struck our snared men, and hacked them, that the sea
 With wail and moaning was possessed around,
 Till black-eyed Night shot darkness o'er the fray.
 These ills thou hearest: to rehearse the whole,
 Ten days were few; but this, my queen, believe,
 No day yet shone on earth whose brightness looked
 On such a tale of death." — ED.

at all endangered. With adroit flattery he consulted at once the fears and the vanity of Xerxes, and his own personal interests. He represented to his master that the defeat, after all, was but slight, and had fallen entirely upon the foreign auxiliaries; that having attained one of the great objects of the expedition by the capture of Athens, he might now retire with honor, and even with glory; and that, for the rest, he (Mardonius) would undertake to complete the conquest of Greece with three hundred thousand men. Xerxes readily listened to this advice, which accorded so well with his own inclinations, and which was supported by his courtiers, as well as by Queen Artemisia.

§ 10. When the Greeks learned that the Persian fleet had left Phalerum, they immediately sailed in pursuit of it. Themistocles and the Athenians are represented, but probably on no sufficient ground, as anxious to push on to the Hellespont, and cut off the retreat of the Persians, and as having been restrained only by the more prudent counsels of Eurybiades and the Peloponnesians. The moment was chosen by Themistocles to send a second message to Xerxes, of a much more questionable character than the first. Sicinnus was again despatched to inform the Persian monarch that Themistocles, out of personal friendship for him, had restrained the Greeks from destroying the bridge over the Hellespont, and thus cutting off his retreat. In this communication it is impossible to believe that Themistocles can have had anything but his own personal interest in view. He was well aware that the Persian cause was far from desperate; and even if the Greeks should prove victorious in the end, he may have been anxious to secure a safe retreat for himself, if he should be detected in his guilty practices.

The Greeks pursued the Persian fleet as far as the island of Andros, but without success. To punish those islands which had sided with Xerxes was a natural and justifiable act, which the large naval force under the command of Themistocles enabled him to execute; but he abused the same means in order to gratify his private rapacity. The Andrians, indeed, were too poor to be robbed; and though Themistocles threatened them with two great gods, — Persuasion and Necessity, — they found themselves protected, as they said, by two others equally efficient, — Poverty and Helplessness. But in other quarters he succeeded better. From Carystus, Paros, and other places, he privately extorted bribes, by engaging to preserve them from attack; and after a short time employed in the vain attempt to wring something from Andros, the Grecian fleet returned to Salamis.

§ 11. Meanwhile Xerxes pursued his homeward march through Bœotia into Thessaly. In the latter country Mardonius selected the forces with which he proposed to conclude the war, consisting chiefly of Persians, Medes, Sacæ, and Bactrians, to the number of three hundred thousand men. But as autumn was now approaching, and as sixty thousand of

these troops were to escort the march of Xerxes as far as the Hellespont, Mardonius resolved to postpone all further operations till the spring.

After forty-five days' march from Attica, Xerxes again reached the shores of the Hellespont, with a force greatly diminished by famine and pestilence. The sufferings of his army were exaggerated by Æschylus, and by later poets and moralists, who delighted in heightening the contrast between the proud magnificence of the monarch's advance, and the ignominious humiliation of his retreat. Many of these statements cannot be accepted as historical facts; although there can be no doubt that great numbers perished from want of provisions, and the diseases which always follow in the path of famine. On the Hellespont Xerxes found his fleet, but the bridge had been washed away by storms. Landed on the shores of Asia, the Persian army at length obtained abundance of provisions, and contracted new maladies by the sudden change from privation to excess. Thus terminated this mighty but unsuccessful expedition. Two thousand years later, still more barbarous Eastern hordes were destined to find a settlement on the fair shores of Greece. But Greece had then worked out her appointed task, and had transmitted her arts, her literature, and her civilization to the nations of Western Europe.*

§ 12. Among the Greeks nothing now remained to be done but to celebrate their victory after the national fashion by the distribution of rewards. To the Æginetans was adjudged the chief prize for valor, whilst the Athenians carried off the second. Amongst individual combatants, the Æginetan, Polycritus, and the Athenians, Eumenes and Ameinias, obtained the first rank. The deities also received their share of honor. Three Phœnician triremes were dedicated respectively to Athena at Sunium, to Poseidon at the Corinthian Isthmus, and to the Salaminian hero, Aias. The shrine of the Delphian Apollo was also still further enriched by the offerings of grateful superstition.

Having distributed the rewards of valor, the Greek commanders

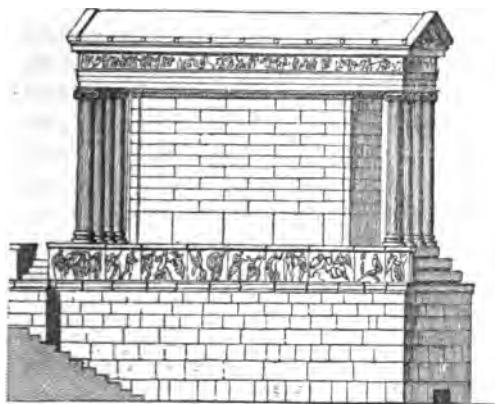
* The maintenance of the Hellenic spirit, even under the four centuries of Turkish misrule, is an extraordinary phenomenon in history. The revival of Greek nationality, by which the Turkish yoke was thrown off the necks of a portion of the Hellenic race, was a glorious proof of the indestructible spirit of liberty, transmitted from the classic ages. The political progress made by the numerically insignificant kingdom of Hellas, since the desolating war of the revolution, is a brilliant proof of the civic genius of the people; and the present condition of education, as exhibited by the schools, gymnasia, and the University of Otho at Athens, is such as to excite the admiration of the traveller, who has the smallest sympathy with the struggles of an illustrious race to vindicate their hereditary title to intellectual distinction. But for the illiberal and unwise policy of the three great powers, France, England, and Russia, who settled the boundaries of the kingdom of Hellas so as to exclude the important provinces of Thessaly, Epeirus, Macedonia, &c., and the most valuable of the islands,—throwing back under the wretched government of Turkey three fourths of the Greek population of Greece, and surrendering the noble island of Crete to the tender mercies of the Pacha of Egypt,—that classic land might at this moment have been one of the most prosperous, intelligent, and enterprising countries in Europe, and the present dangerous crisis in Eastern affairs perhaps wholly averted. — ED.

undertook the more difficult task of assigning the prizes of wisdom and conduct. Upon the altar of Poseidon, at the Isthmus of Corinth, whither the Grecian fleet had now repaired, each chief deposited a ticket inscribed with two names, of those whom he considered entitled to the first and second prizes. But in this adjudication vanity and self-love defeated their own objects. Each commander had put down his own name for the first prize; for the second, a great majority preponderated in favor of Themistocles. But since the first prize thus remained undecided, and as the second could not, consequently, be adjudicated, the Athenian leader reaped no benefit from these votes. From the Spartans, however, whom he shortly afterwards visited, he received the honors due to his merit. A crown of olive similar to that which rewarded their own commander, Eurybiades, was conferred upon him, together with one of the most splendid chariots which the city could produce; and on his departure the three hundred Hippeis, or knights, the youth and the flower of the Lacedæmonian militia, accompanied him as a guard of honor as far as Tegea. In fact, the honors heaped upon Themistocles by the haughty Spartans were so extraordinary, as to excite, it is said, the jealousy of the Athenians against their distinguished countryman.

§ 13. On the very same day on which the Persians were defeated at Salamis, another portion of the Hellenic race, the Sicilian Greeks, also obtained a victory over an immense barbarian force. There is reason to believe that the invasion of Sicily by the Carthaginians was concerted with Xerxes, and that the simultaneous attack on two distinct Grecian peoples, by two immense armaments, was not merely the result of chance. It was, however, in the internal affairs of Sicily that the Carthaginians sought the pretext and the opportunity for their invasion. About the year 481 B. C., Theron, despot of Agrigentum, a relative of Gelon's, the powerful ruler of Syracuse, expelled Terillus from Himera, and took possession of that town. Terillus, backed by some Sicilian cities which formed a kind of Carthaginian party, applied to the Carthaginians to restore him. The Carthaginians complied with the invitation; and in the year 480 B. C. Hamilcar landed at Panormus with a force composed of various nations, which is said to have amounted to the enormous sum of three hundred thousand men. Having drawn up his vessels on the beach, and protected them with a rampart, Hamilcar proceeded to besiege the Himeræans, who on their part prepared for an obstinate defence. At the instance of Theron, Gelon marched to the relief of the town with fifty thousand foot and five thousand horse. An obstinate and bloody engagement ensued, which, by a stratagem of Gelon's, was at length determined in his favor. The ships of the Carthaginians were fired, and Hamilcar himself slain. According to the statement of Diodorus, one hundred and fifty thousand Carthaginians fell in the engagement, while the greater part of the remainder surrendered at discretion, twenty ships alone escaping with a few fugi

tives. This account may justly be regarded as an *exaggeration*; yet it cannot be doubted that the victory was a decisive one, and the number very great of the prisoners and slain.

Thus were the arms of Greece victorious on all sides, and the outposts of Europe maintained against the incursions of the semi-barbarous hordes of Asia and Africa. In Sicily, Greek taste made the sinews of the prisoners subserve the purposes of art; and many of the public structures which adorned and distinguished Agrigentum rose by the labor of the captive Carthaginians.



Temple of Niké Apteros (the Wingless Victory), on the Acropolis at Athens, restored.

CHAPTER XX.

BATTLES OF PLATÆA AND MYCÆLE.

§ 1. Position of the Persian and Greek Fleets. § 2. Preparations of Mardonius for the Campaign. § 3. He solicits the Athenians to join him. Faithlessness of the Spartans. § 4. Mardonius occupies Athens. Athenian Embassy to Sparta. March of the Spartan Army. § 5. Mardonius retires into Bœotia: followed by the Grecian Army. Skirmishes. § 6. The Greeks descend into the Plain. Manceuvres of the two Armies. § 7. Alexander, King of Macedon, visits the Grecian Camp. The Greeks resolve to change their Ground: their disorderly Retreat. § 8. Battle of Platæa. Defeat of the Persians. § 9. Division of the Spoil. § 10. Reduction of Thebes, and Execution of the Theban Leaders. § 11. Death of Aristodemus. § 12. League of Platæa. Religious Ceremonies. § 13. Battle of Mycæle. Defeat of the Persians. § 14. Liberation of the Greek Islands. § 15. Siege and Capture of Sestos.

§ 1. THE remnant of the Persian fleet, after conveying Xerxes and his army across the Hellespont, wintered at Cymé and Samos; and early in the ensuing spring, the whole armament, to the number of about four hundred vessels, reassembled at the latter island. This movement was adopted in order to keep a watch over Ionia, which showed symptoms of an inclination to revolt, and not with any design of attacking the Grecian fleet. The latter, consisting of about one hundred and ten ships, under the command of the Spartan king, Leotychides, assembled in the spring at Egina. From this station it advanced as far eastward as Delos; but the Ionian envoys despatched to the Peloponnesians, with promises that the Ionians would revolt from Persia as soon as the Greek fleet appeared off their coast, could not prevail upon Leotychides to venture an attack upon the Persians.

§ 2. The disastrous retreat of Xerxes had not much shaken the fidelity of his Grecian allies. Potidæa, indeed, and the other towns on the isthmus of Palléné, declared themselves independent; whilst symptoms of disaffection were also visible among the Phocians; but the more important allies of Persia, the Macedonians, the Thessalians, and especially the Bœotians, were still disposed to co-operate vigorously with Mardonius. That general prepared to open the campaign in the spring. As a preliminary measure, adopted probably with the view of flattering the religious prejudices of his Greek allies, he consulted some of the most celebrated oracles in Bœotia and Phocis respecting the issue of the war. He was not without hopes of inducing the Athenians to join the Persian alliance; and, in order to facilitate such a step, it was pretended that the oracles had foretold the approach of the time when the Athenians, united with the Persians, should expel the Dorians from Peloponnesus.

§ 3. The influence of superstition was aided by the intrigues of diplomacy. Alexander, king of Macedon, was despatched to conciliate the Athenians, now partially re-established in their dilapidated city. His offers on the part of the Persians were of the most seductive kind; the reparation of all damage, the friendship of the Great King, and a considerable extension of territory: the whole backed by the pressing instances of Alexander himself, and enforced by a vivid picture of the exposed and helpless situation of Attica.

The temptation was certainly strong. On the one hand, ruined homes and empty granaries, the result of the last campaign; the first shock and severest brunt of the war to be sustained by Attica, as the outpost of Southern Hellas, and this for lukewarm and selfish allies, to whose negligence and breach of faith the Athenians chiefly owed their present calamities: on the other hand, their city restored, their starving population fed, the horrors of war averted, and only that more agreeable part of it adopted which would consist in accompanying and aiding an overwhelming force in a career of almost certain victory. The Lacedæmonians were quite alive to the exigencies of the situation, so far, at least, as it concerned their own safety. They also had sent envoys to counteract the seductions of Alexander, and to tender relief to the distressed population of Athens. The answer of the Athenians was magnanimous and dignified. They dismissed Alexander with a positive refusal, and even with something like a threat of personal violence in case he should again be the bearer of such proposals; whilst to the Lacedæmonians they protested that no temptations, however great, should ever induce them to desert the common cause of Greece and freedom. In return for this disinterested conduct, all they asked was that a Peloponnesian army should be sent into Bœotia for the defence of the Attic frontier; a request which the Spartan envoys promised to fulfil.

No sooner, however, had they returned to their own country than this

promise was completely forgotten. As on the former occasion, the Lacedæmonians covered their selfishness and indifference beneath the hypocritical garb of religion. The omens were unfavorable; the sun had been eclipsed at the moment when Cleombrotus, the Spartan king, was consulting the gods respecting the expedition; and, besides this, they were engaged in celebrating the festival of the Hyacinthia. But no omens nor festivals had prevented them from resuming with unremitting diligence the labor of fortifying the Isthmus, and the walls and battlements were now rapidly advancing towards completion.

§ 4. When Mardonius was informed that the Athenians had rejected his proposal, he immediately marched against Athens, accompanied by all his Grecian allies; and in May or June, B. C. 479, about ten months after the retreat of Xerxes, the Persians again occupied that city. With feelings of bitter indignation against their faithless allies, the Athenians saw themselves once more compelled to remove to Salamis. But even in this depressed condition, the naval force of the Athenians still rendered them formidable; and Mardonius took advantage of his situation to endeavor once more to win them to his alliance. Through a Hellespontine Greek, the same favorable conditions were again offered to them, but were again refused. One voice alone, that of the senator Lycidas, broke the unanimity of the assembly. But his opposition cost him his life. He and his family were stoned to death by the excited populace.

In this desperate condition the Athenians sent ambassadors to the Spartans to remonstrate against their breach of faith, and to implore them, before it was too late, to come forwards in the common cause of Greece. The ambassadors were also instructed to intimate that necessity might at length compel the Athenians to listen to the proposals of the enemy. This message, however, was very coolly received by the Lacedæmonians. For ten days no answer whatever was returned; and it can scarcely be doubted that the reply, which they at last thought fit to make, would have been a negative, but for a piece of advice which opened their eyes to the consequences of their selfish policy. Chileos, a Tegean, a man whose wisdom they revered, and whom they consulted on this occasion, pointed out to them that their fortifications at the isthmus would prove of no avail in case the Athenians allied themselves to the Persians, and thus, by means of their fleet, opened a way into the heart of Peloponnesus. It is strange that the Lacedæmonians should have needed this admonition, which seems obvious enough; but selfishness is proverbially blind.

The conduct of the Spartans was as prompt as their change of resolution had been sudden. That very night five thousand citizens, each attended by seven Helots, were despatched to the frontiers; and these were shortly followed by five thousand Lacedæmonian Perioeci, each attended by one light-armed Helot. Never before had the Spartans sent so large a force into the field. Their example was followed by other Peloponnesian cities; and

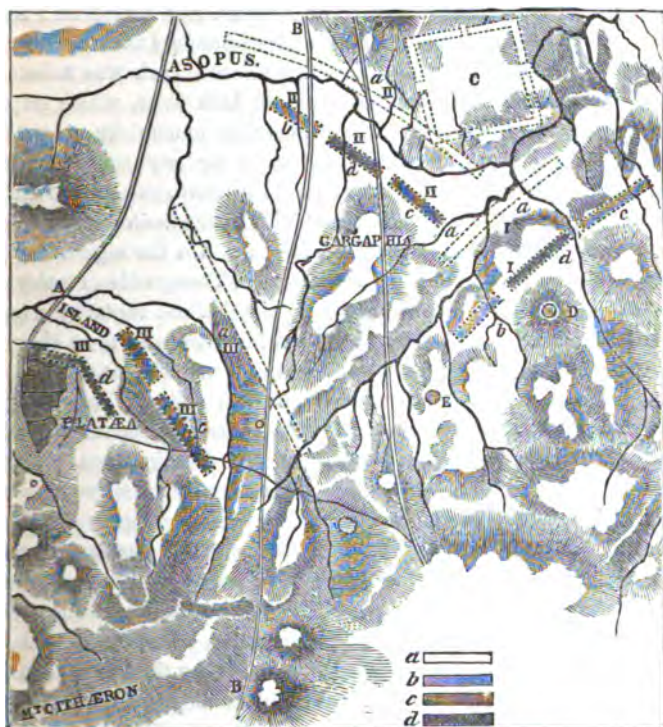
the Athenian envoys returned to Salamis with the joyful news that a large army was preparing to march against the enemy, under the command of Pausanias, who acted as regent for Pleistarchus, the infant son of Leonidas.

§ 5. Mardonius, on learning the approach of the Lacedæmonians, abandoned Attica, and proceeded by the pass of Decelæa across Mount Parnes into Bœotia, a country more adapted to the operations of the cavalry, in which his strength principally lay. Whilst he still entertained a hope that the Athenians might be induced to join his arms, he had refrained from committing any depredations on their territory; but finding this expectation vain, he employed the last days of his stay in burning and devastating all that had been spared by the army of Xerxes. After crossing the frontiers of Bœotia, and marching a day or two along the Asopus, he finally took up a position on the left bank of that river, and not far from the town of Plataea. Here he caused a camp to be constructed of ten furlongs square, and fortified with barricades and towers. The situation was well selected, since he had the friendly and well-fortified city of Thebes in his rear, and was thus in no danger of falling short of provisions. Yet the disposition of his army was far from being sanguine. With the exception of the Thebans and Bœotians, his Grecian allies were become lukewarm or wavering; and even among the Persians themselves, the disastrous flight of their monarch in the preceding year had naturally damped all hopes of the successful issue of a campaign which was now to be conducted with far inferior forces.

Meanwhile, the Lacedæmonian force collected at the Isthmus was receiving reinforcements from the various states of Peloponnesus. On its march through Megara it was joined by 3,000 Megarians; and at Eleusis received its final accession of 8,000 Athenian and 600 Plataean Hoplites, who had crossed over from Salamis under the command of Aristides. The Grecian army now consisted of 38,700 heavy-armed men, attended by Helots and light-armed troops to the number of nearly 70,000; and, together with 1,800 badly armed Thespians, formed a grand total of about 110,000 men. There were, however, no cavalry, and but very few bowmen.

Having consulted the gods by sacrifices, which proved of a favorable nature, the Grecian army broke up from Eleusis, and directed its march over the ridge of Cithæron. On descending its northern side, the Greeks came in sight of the Persian army drawn up in the valley of the Asopus. Pausanias, not caring to expose his troops to the attacks of the Persian cavalry on the plain, halted them on the slopes of the mountain, near Erythræ, where the ground was rugged and uneven. (See Plan, First Position.) This position did not, however, altogether preserve them. Skilled in the use of the bow and of the javelin, the Persian horsemen, under the command of Masistius, repeatedly charged the Greeks, harass-

ing them with flights of missiles, and taunting them with cowardice for not venturing down into the plain. The Megarians, especially, suffered severely, until rescued by a body of three hundred chosen Athenians, who succeeded in repulsing the Persian cavalry, and killing their leader, Masiæstius, a man tall in stature and of distinguished bravery. The Greeks celebrated their triumph by parading the corpse through the army in a cart.



Battle of Plataea. (From Grote's Greece.)

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|--------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| a. Persians. | I. First position occupied by the opposing armies. | A. Road from Plataea to Thebes. |
| b. Athenians. | II. Second Position. | B. Road from Megara to Thebes. |
| c. Lacedæmonians. | III. Third Position. | C. Persian Camp. |
| d. Various Greek allies. | | D. Erythræ. |
| | | E. Hysiaæ. |

§ 6. This success encouraged Pausanias to quit the high ground and take up a position on the plain. Defiling from Erythræ in a westerly direction, and marching by Hysiaæ, he formed his army in a line on the right bank of the Asopus. In this arrangement, the right wing, which extended to the fountain Gargaphia, was conceded, as the post of honor, to the Lacedæmonians; the occupation of the left, near the grove of the hero Androcrates, was disputed between the Tegeans and Athenians. The matter was referred to the whole body of the Lacedæmonian troops, who by acclamation declared the Athenians entitled to the preference.

On perceiving that the Greeks had changed their position, Mardonius drew up his army opposite to them, on the other side of the Asopus. (See Plan, Second Position.) He himself, with the Persians and Medes, the flower of his army, took his post in the left wing, facing the Lacedæmonians on the Grecian right; whilst the Greeks and Macedonians in the Persian service, to the number, probably, of fifty thousand, were opposed to the Athenians on the left. The centre of Mardonius was composed of Bactrians, Indians, Sacæ, and other Asiatics, and Egyptians; and his whole force probably amounted to about three hundred thousand men.

But though the armies were thus in presence, each was reluctant to commence the attack. The soothsayers on both sides, whose responses were probably dictated by the feeling prevalent among the commanders, declared that the sacrifices were unfavorable for any aggressive movement. For eight days the armies remained inactive, except that the Persians annoyed the Greeks at a distance with their missiles, and altogether prevented them from watering at the Asopus. On the eighth day Mardonius, at the suggestion of the Theban leader, Timagenidas, employed his cavalry in cutting off the supplies of the Greeks, and captured a train of five hundred beasts of burden, together with their escort, as they were defiling through one of the passes of Cithæron. Artabazus, the second in command, advised Mardonius to continue this policy of harassing and wearing out the Greeks, without risking a general engagement; and also to endeavor, by means of bribes, to corrupt and disunite them. That this latter step was feasible appears from what actually occurred among the Athenians. Several of the wealthier Hoplites serving in their ranks entered into a conspiracy to establish at Athens, under Persian supremacy, an oligarchy resembling that at Thebes. Fortunately, however, the plot was discovered and repressed by Aristides. But Mardonius was too impatient to await the success of such measures, which he considered as an imputation on the Persian arms; and, overruling the opinions of Artabazus and the rest of his officers, gave orders to prepare for a general attack.

§ 7. On the night after Mardonius had taken this resolution, Alexander, king of Macedon, leaving the Persian camp by stealth, rode up to the Athenian outposts, and, desiring to speak with Aristides and the other generals, informed them of the intended attack on the morrow. "I risk my life," he observed, "in conveying this intelligence; but I too am a Greek by descent, and with sorrow should I see Hellas enslaved by the Persians."

Aristides immediately communicated this news to Pausanias. On hearing it, the latter made a proposal savoring but little of the traditional Spartan valor; namely, that the Athenians, who had had experience of the Persian mode of fighting, should change places with the Lacedæmonians in the line. The Athenians readily assented to this arrangement

Mardonius, however, on perceiving the change which had been made, effected a corresponding one in his own line. Hereupon Pausanias marched back to the Grecian right, and was again followed by Mardonius; so that the two armies remained in their original position.

Neither side, however, was inclined to venture a general attack. The fighting was confined to the Persian cavalry, which the Greeks had no adequate means of repelling. For some portion of the day it obtained possession of the fountain of Gargaphia, the only source from which the Greeks could procure their water, and succeeded in choking it up. It also intercepted the convoys of provisions proceeding to the Grecian camp. Under these circumstances, finding the ground untenable, Pausanias summoned a council of war, in which it was resolved to retreat during the night to a place called the Island, about ten furlongs in the rear of their present position, and half-way between it and the town of Platæa. The spot selected, improperly called an island, was in fact a piece of ground about three furlongs in breadth, comprised between two branches of the river Oëroë, which, rising from distinct sources in Cithæron, and running for some space nearly parallel with one another, at length unite, and flow in a westerly direction into the Gulf of Corinth. The nature of the ground would thus afford to the Greeks both abundance of water and protection from the enemy's cavalry.

The retreat, however, though for so short a distance, was effected in disorder and confusion. The Greek centre, chiefly composed of Megarians and Corinthians, instead of taking up a position on the Island, as commanded by Pausanias, did not halt till they reached the town of Platæa, where they formed in front of the Heræum on high ground, and protected by buildings. (See Plan, Third Position.) Some time after their departure Pausanias commanded the right wing, which, as we have said, was composed of Lacedæmonians, to follow. But his orders were disputed by one of his captains, Amompharetus, a leader of one of the lochi, who had not been present at the council of war, and who, considering this retrograde movement as a retreat derogatory to Spartan honor, obstinately refused to stir from his post. Meanwhile, the Athenians, — not unnaturally distrustful of the Spartans, — before they broke ground themselves, despatched a mounted messenger to ascertain whether the right wing was really preparing to march. The messenger found the Spartan troops in their former position, and Pausanias, together with the other generals, engaged in a warm dispute with the refractory captain. No threats of being left alone could induce him to move; and when reminded that the order for retreat had been resolved upon in a council of war, he took up a huge rock, and casting it at the feet of Pausanias, exclaimed, "With this pebble I give my vote not to fly from the foreigners."

Meantime, the day began to dawn: a little longer delay and retreat would become impossible. Pausanias resolved to abandon Amomphare-

tus and his lochus to their fate, should he really prove so obstinate as to stand his ground after the departure of the rest of the army. The order to march was given. The slant rays of the rising sun gleamed on the tall and bristling spears of the Lacedæmonian columns as they slowly ascended the hills which separated them from the Island. The Athenians, posted more towards the east, and who were to arrive at the appointed spot by turning the hills, began their march at the same time. Amompharetus was not so madly obstinate as to await alone the approach of the Persians. Finding that his comrades had really departed, he gave orders to follow, and overtook them at their first halt.

§ 8. Mardonius beheld with astonishment and disdain the retreating ranks of the Spartans. The order was given to pursue. The shout of victory already rang through the Persian host, as they dashed in a confused mass, cavalry and infantry, through the waters of the Asopus, and up the hill after the retreating foe. Scarcely had Pausanias time to deploy on the spot where he had halted for Amompharetus, when the Persian cavalry were upon him. These were soon followed by the infantry; who, planting in the ground their long wicker shields, or *gerrha*, and thus forming a kind of breastwork, annoyed the Lacedæmonians with showers of arrows. Even in these circumstances the rites of religion were not neglected by Pausanias. For some time the sacrifices were unfavorable for an attack; till Pausanias invoked the assistance of Hera, whose temple rose conspicuous at Plateæ. Hardly had the prayer been uttered, when the victims changed, and the order to charge was given. The line of wicker shields fell at the first onset of the Lacedæmonians. The light-armed undisciplined Persians, whose bodies were unprotected with armor, had now to maintain a very unequal combat against the serried ranks, the long spears, and the mailed bodies of the Spartan phalanx. Desperate deeds of valor they performed, throwing themselves upon the Grecian ranks and endeavoring to get into close combat, where they could use their javelins and daggers. Mardonius at the head of his body-guard of one thousand picked men, and conspicuous by his white charger, was among the foremost in the fight, till struck down by the hand of Aimnestus, a distinguished Spartan. The fall of their general was the signal for flight to the Persians, already wearied and disheartened by the fruitless contest. The panic was general, both among the Persians themselves and their Asiatic allies; nor did they once stop till they had again crossed the Asopus and reached their fortified camp.

The glory of having defeated the Persians at Plateæ rests, therefore, with the Lacedæmonians; yet the Athenians also were not without some share in the honor of the day. Pausanias, when overtaken by the Persians, despatched a horseman to Aristides to request him to hasten to his assistance; but the coming up of the Bœotians prevented him from doing so. A sharp conflict ensued between the latter and the Athenians. The

Thebans, especially, fought with great bravery; but were at length repulsed with considerable loss. Though compelled to give way, they retreated in good order to Thebes, being covered by their cavalry from the pursuit of the Athenians. None of the other Greeks in the Persian service took any share in the fight, but turned their backs as soon as they saw that the day was lost. Of the Persians themselves, forty thousand under the command of Artabazus did not strike a blow. The eagerness and impetuosity of Mardonius, and the contempt which he had conceived for the Lacedæmonians on account of what he considered their flight, had led him to begin the attack without waiting for the corps of Artabazus; and when that general arrived upon the field, the rout was already complete. Artabazus, indeed, who had always deprecated a general engagement, was probably not very zealous on the occasion; at all events, he did not make a single attempt to restore the fortune of the day; and instead of retreating either to Thebes, or to the fortified camp of his countrymen, he gave up the whole expedition as irretrievably lost, and directed his march towards the Hellespont.

The Lacedæmonians, now reinforced by the Corinthians and others from Plataea, pursued the Persians as far as their fortified camp, whose barricades proved a complete check to them, till the Athenians, more skilled in that species of warfare, came to their assistance. The barricades were then stormed and carried, after a gallant resistance on the part of the Persians. The camp became a scene of the most horrible carnage. According to Herodotus, only three thousand men, exclusive of the division under Artabazus, escaped, out of an army of three hundred thousand. These numbers are probably exaggerated; yet the Persian loss was undoubtedly immense. That of the Greeks was comparatively small, and seems not to have exceeded thirteen or fourteen hundred men.

§ 9. It remained to bury the dead and divide the booty; and so great was the task, that ten days were consumed in it. The body of Mardonius, found among the slain, was treated by Pausanias with respect; on the morrow, not, perhaps, without his connivance, it was secretly conveyed away and interred. A monument was even erected over it, which was to be seen several centuries afterwards. His cimeter and silver-footed throne fell to the share of the Athenians, by whom they were preserved, along with the breastplate of Masistius, in the Acropolis of Athens. The other booty was ample and magnificent. Gold and silver coined, as well as in plate and trinkets; rich vests and carpets; ornamented arms; horses, camels; in a word, all the magnificence of Eastern luxury, were collected together in order to be divided among the conquerors. A tithe was first selected for the Delphian Apollo, together with ample offerings for the Olympic Zeus and the Isthmian Poseidon: and then, after a large share had been appropriated to Pausanias, the remainder was divided among the Grecian contingents in proportion to their numbers.

§ 10. The reduction of Thebes, which had proved the most formidable ally of the Persians, was still necessary to complete the victory. On the eleventh day after the battle, Pausanias invested that city, and demanded that the leading men who had espoused the Persian cause, especially Timagenidas and Attaginus, should be delivered up to him. The Thebans having refused to comply with this demand, Pausanias began to batter their walls, and to lay waste the country around. At length, after the siege had lasted twenty days, Timagenidas, and the other *Medizing* leaders, voluntarily offered to surrender themselves, hoping, probably, to be able to redeem their lives for a sum of money. In this expectation, however, they were completely disappointed. The whole of them, with the exception of Attaginus, who found means to escape, were conveyed to Corinth, and put to death without any form of trial. No attempt was made to pursue Artabazus, who escaped safely into Asia.

§ 11. Among the slain Spartans was Aristodemus, the sole survivor of those who had fought at Thermopylæ. The disgrace of having outlived that battle seems to have rendered life a burden to him. In order to wash it out, he stepped forth from the ranks at the battle of Plataea, and after performing prodigies of valor, received from the enemy the death which he courted. But in the distribution of funeral honors, this conduct could extort no favor from the stern justice of his countrymen. They considered that desperate rashness and contempt of discipline were no atonement for former misconduct, and refused to put him on a level with the other citizens who had fallen in the combat. Among these was Amompharetus, the captain whose obstinacy had precipitated the attack of the Persians, and thus perhaps, though undesignedly, contributed to secure the victory.

// § 12. With the Greeks, religion and politics went ever hand in hand; and if the town and territory of Plataea, as the scene of the Persian defeat, were signally honored on this occasion with the grateful offerings of devotion, it was not probably without a view to the services which might be hereafter required from its citizens in the cause of Grecian independence. In the market-place of Plataea, Pausanias, in the presence of the assembled allies, offered up a sacrifice and thanksgiving to Zeus Eleutherios, or the Liberator, in which the gods and heroes of the Platæan territory were made partakers. The Platæans were intrusted with the duty of taking care of the tombs of the slain; of offering a periodical sacrifice in honor of the victory; and of celebrating it every fifth year with gymnastic games, in a grand public festival, to be called the Eleutheria. For these services the large sum of eighty talents was allotted to them out of the spoil, part of which was employed in erecting a temple to Athena. At the same time the independence of Plataea, and the inviolability of her territory, were guaranteed by the allies; the defensive league against the Persians was renewed; the contingent which each ally should furnish

was specified; and it was arranged that deputies from all of them should meet annually at Plataea.

§ 13. At the very time of the defeat at Plataea, the failure of the Persian expedition was completed by the destruction of their naval armament. Leotychides, the Spartan admiral, having at length sailed across the Ægean, found the Persian fleet at Mycalé, a promontory of Asia Minor near Miletus, and only separated by a strait of about a mile in breadth from Cape Poseidium, the easternmost extremity of Samos. Their former reverses seem completely to have discouraged the Persians from hazarding another naval engagement. The Phœnician squadron had been permitted to depart; the rest of the ships were hauled ashore and surrounded with a rampart; whilst an army of sixty thousand Persians, under the command of Tigranes, lined the coast for their defence.

The Greeks landed on the 4th of the month Boëdromion (September 22d), in the year 479 B. C.: the very day on which the battle of Plataea was fought. A supernatural presentiment of that decisive victory, conveyed by a herald's staff, which floated over the Ægean from the shores of Greece, is said to have pervaded the Grecian ranks at Mycalé as they marched to the attack. As at Plataea, the Persians had planted their *ger-rha*, or wicker shields, before them; but after a sharp contest this bulwark was overthrown. The Persians now turned their backs, and fled to their fortification, pursued by the Greeks, who entered it almost simultaneously. Here a bloody struggle ensued. The Persians fought desperately, though without discipline, and for some time maintained an unequal conflict. At length the arrival of the Lacedæmonians, who composed the right wing of the Greek force, and who had been retarded by the hilly ground which they had to traverse, as well as the open revolt of the Ionians, who now turned upon their masters, completed the discomfiture of the Persians. A large number of them, together with both their generals, Tigranes and Mardontes, perished on this occasion; and the victory was rendered still more decisive by the burning of their fleet. The honor of the day, which, however, was not won without the sacrifice of many lives, was principally due to the Athenians, as the Lacedæmonians did not arrive till the battle was nearly decided.

§ 14. The remnant of the Persian army retreated to Sardis, where Xerxes had lingered ever since his flight from Greece. He was not in a position to avenge this affront, or to retain the Ionian cities of the continent in obedience; still less was it possible for him, after the destruction of his fleet, to preserve his dominion over the islands. The latter were immediately admitted into the Greek confederation; but respecting the Ionian cities on the continent there was more difficulty. The Greeks were not in a condition to guarantee their independence; and therefore the Peloponnesian commanders offered to transport their inhabitants into Greece, where they prepared to make room for them, by transplanting

into Asia the Greeks who had espoused the Persian cause. But this proposition was strenuously opposed by the Athenians, who regarded their own dignity and glory as inseparably bound up with the maintenance of their Ionian colonies; and indeed the effect of such a measure must have been to transfer them completely to the Persians.

§ 15. So imperfect in those times was the transmission of intelligence, that the Greeks still believed the bridge across the Hellespont to be entire, though it was broken and useless almost a twelvemonth previously, during the retreat of Xerxes. At the instance of the Athenians, Leotychides set sail with the view of destroying it; but having learnt at Abydos that it no longer existed, he departed homewards with the Peloponnesian vessels. Xanthippus, however, the Athenian commander, seized the opportunity to recover from the Persians the Thracian Chersonese, which had long been an Athenian possession, and proceeded to blockade Sestos, the key of the strait. Being thus taken by surprise, the Persians flung themselves into the town without having time to collect the provisions necessary for a siege. Nevertheless, amid the most painful privations, they contrived to protract the siege till a late period of the autumn, when famine and insubordination reached such a height, that the Persian commanders, Ceobazus and Artayctes, were fain to quit the town by stealth, which was immediately surrendered. Artayctes, having fallen into the hands of the Greeks, was fixed to a high pole, and left to perish just at the spot where the bridge of Xerxes had stood. This deviation from the usual humanity of the Greeks, and which seems to have been sanctioned by Xanthippus, can only be accounted for by religious exasperation occasioned by Artayctes having violated and insulted the grove and temple of the hero Protesilaus, in the neighborhood of Sestos.

After this exploit the Athenians returned home, carrying with them the cable of the bridge across the Hellespont, which were afterwards preserved in the Acropolis as a trophy.



Ruins of an Ionic Temple in Lycia.



Bust of Pindar.

CHAPTER XXI.

HISTORY OF LITERATURE.

§ 1. General Characteristics. § 2. Simonides. § 3. Pindar. § 4. Ibycus and Bacchylides. § 5. Rise of History and of Composition in Prose. § 6. Hecataeus, Charon of Lampsacus, Hellenicus. § 7. Herodotus. § 8. Character of his Work. Analysis. § 9. Predilection of Herodotus for Athens. § 10. Style of his Work.

§ 1. DURING the period which we have been surveying in the present book, Grecian literature was gradually assuming a more popular form, especially at Athens, where, since the expulsion of the Peisistratids, the people were rapidly advancing both in intellectual culture and in political importance. Of this we have a striking proof in the rise of the drama, and the founding of a regular theatre; for dramatic entertainments must be regarded as the most popular form which literature can assume. Nearly half a century before the Persian invasion, Thespis had sketched out the first feeble rudiments of tragedy; and Æschylus, the real founder of tragic art, exhibited a play nine years before he fought at Marathon. But tragedy still awaited its final improvements from the hand of Sophocles, whilst comedy can hardly be said to have existed. For these reasons we shall defer an account of the Greek drama to a later period, when we shall be enabled to present the subject as a whole, and in a connected point of view.

Tragedy, the noblest emanation of ancient genius, was in fact only the final development of lyric poetry; which, in the period we are considering, had attained its highest pitch of excellence in the hands of Simonides and Pindar. These two great masters of the lyre never ventured, however, beyond the stricter limits of that species of composition, and left their contemporary, Æschylus, to gather laurels in a new and unexplored field. With Pindar ends the ancient school of lyric poetry; with Æschylus properly begins the splendid list of Athenian dramatists.

§ 2. Simonides was considerably older than both of these poets; but the length of years which he attained made him their contemporary. He

was born at Iulis, in the island of Ceos, in the year 556 B. C. His family had cultivated music and poetry with diligence and success, and he himself was trained up in them as a profession. From his native island he proceeded to Athens, where he resided some years at the court of Hipparchus, together with Anacreon and Lasus of Hermione, the teacher of Pindar: a society which could not but serve to expand and mature his powers, more especially as a sort of rivalry existed between him and Lasus. Here he seems to have remained till the expulsion of Hippias (B. C. 510). Subsequently he spent some time in Thessaly, under the patronage of the Aleuads and Scopads, the dominant families of the cities of Larissa and Crannon. The poet seems, however, to have been but little satisfied with his visit. His songs were unappreciated by the rugged Thessalians, and ill rewarded by their vain and selfish masters. Scopas bespoke a poem on his own exploits, which Simonides recited at a banquet. In order to diversify the theme, Simonides, as was customary on such occasions, introduced into it the exploits of Castor and Pollux. An ordinary mortal might have been content to share the praises of the sons of Leda; but vanity is exacting; and as the tyrant sat at his festal board among his courtiers and sycophants, he grudged every verse that did not echo his own praises. When Simonides approached to receive his promised reward, Scopas exclaimed, "Here is my half of thy pay; the Tyndarids who have had so much of thy praise will doubtless furnish the other." The disconcerted poet retired to his seat amidst the laughter which followed the great man's jest. In a little time he received a message that two young men on horseback, whose description answered in every respect to that of Castor and Pollux, were waiting without, and anxious to see him. Simonides hastened to the door, but looked in vain for the visitors. Scarcely, however, had he left the banqueting-hall, when the building fell in with a loud crash, burying Scopas and all his guests beneath the ruins. Into the authenticity of such a story it would be idle to inquire. It is enough that we see in it the tribute which a lively and ingenious people paid to merit, as in the tales of Arion saved by the dolphin, and of Ibycus avenged by the cranes.

But a nobler subject than the praises of despots awaited the muse of Simonides, — the struggles of Greece for her independence. At the time of the Persian wars, the poet, who had then reached the age usually allotted to man, was again residing among the Athenians. His genius, however, was still fresh and vigorous, and was employed in celebrating the most momentous events of that memorable epoch. He carried away the prize from Æschylus with an elegy upon the warriors who had fallen at the battle of Marathon. Subsequently we find him celebrating the heroes of Thermopylæ, Artemisium, Salamis, and Plataea. He was upwards of eighty when his long poetical career at Athens was closed with the victory which he gained by the dithyrambic chorus in B. C. 477, making the

fifty-sixth prize that he had carried off. Shortly after this event he repaired to Syracuse at the invitation of Hiero. Here he spent the remaining ten years of his life, not only entertaining Hiero with his poetry, but instructing him by his wisdom; for Simonides was a philosopher as well as a poet, and is reckoned amongst the sophists.

Simonides was one of the most prolific poets that Greece had seen; but only a few fragments of his compositions have descended to us. He employed himself on all the subjects which fell to the lyric poet, then the mouthpiece of human life with all its joys and sorrows, its hopes and disappointments. He wrote hymns, pæans, elegies, hyporchemes, or songs for dancing, dithyrambs, epinician odes, and threnes, or dirges, in which he lamented the departed great. In the last species of composition he particularly excelled. His genius was inclined to the pathetic, and none could touch with truer effect the chords of human sympathy.

§ 3. Pindar, though the contemporary of Simonides, was considerably his junior. He was born either at, or in the neighborhood of, Thebes in Bœotia, about the year 522 B. C. His family ranked among the noblest in Thebes, and seems to have been celebrated for its skill in music, though there is no authority for the assertion that they were hereditary flute-players. The youth soon gave indications of a genius for poetry, which induced his father to send him to Athens to receive more perfect instruction in the art. Later writers tell us that his future glory as a poet was miraculously foreshadowed by a swarm of bees which rested upon his lips while he was asleep, and that this miracle first led him to compose poetry. At Athens he became the pupil of Lasus of Hermione, who was the founder of the Athenian dithyrambic school. He returned to Thebes before he had completed his twentieth year, and is said to have received instruction there from Myrtis and Corinna, two poetesses who then enjoyed great celebrity in Bœotia. Corinna appears to have exercised considerable influence upon the youthful poet, and he was not a little indebted to her example and precepts. It is related that she recommended him to introduce mythical narrations into his poems, and that when, in accordance with her advice, he composed a hymn in which he interwove almost all the Theban mythology, she smiled and said, "We ought to sow with the hand, and not with the whole sack." With both these poetesses he contended for the prize in the musical contests at Thebes.

Pindar commenced his professional career at an early age, and soon acquired so great a reputation, that he was employed by various states and princes of the Hellenic race to compose choral songs. He was courted especially by Alexander, king of Macedonia, and by Hiero, despot of Syracuse. The praises which he bestowed upon Alexander are said to have been the chief reason which led his descendant, Alexander the Great, to spare the house of the poet when he destroyed the rest of Thebes. About B. C. 473 he visited Syracuse, but did not remain more than four

years with Hiero, as he loved an independent life, and did not care to cultivate the courtly arts which rendered his contemporary, Simonides, a more welcome guest at the table of their patron. But the estimation in which Pindar was held is still more strikingly shown by the honors conferred upon him by the free states of Greece. Although a Theban, he was always a great favorite with the Athenians, whom he frequently praised in his poems, and whose city he often visited. The Athenians testified their gratitude by making him their public guest, and by giving him ten thousand drachmas; and at a later period they erected a statue in his honor.

The only poems of Pindar which have come down to us entire are his Epinicia, or triumphal odes, composed in commemoration of victories gained in the great public games. But these were only a small portion of his works. He also wrote hymns, pæans, dithyrambs, odes for processions, songs of maidens, mimic dancing-songs, drinking-songs, dirges, and encomia, or panegyrics on princes.*

The style of Pindar is marked by daring flights and abrupt transitions, and became proverbial for its sublimity. He compared himself to an eagle,—a simile which has been beautifully expressed in the lines of Gray:—

“ The pride and ample pinion
That the Theban eagle bare, .
Sailing with supreme dominion
Through the azure deep of air.”

§ 4. The only other poets of this epoch whom we need mention are Ibycus and Bacchylides. Ibycus was a native of Rhegium, and flourished towards the middle of the sixth century before the Christian era. The best part of his life was spent at the court of Polycrates of Samos. The story of his death is well known. While travelling through an unfrequented place near Corinth, he was set upon by robbers and mortally wounded. As he was on the point of expiring, he called upon a flock of cranes that happened to fly over the spot to avenge his death. Soon afterwards the cranes were beheld hovering over the theatre at Corinth, where the people were assembled; and one of the murderers, who were present, struck with remorse and terror, involuntarily exclaimed, “ Behold the avengers of Ibycus ! ” and thus occasioned the detection of the crimi-

* Most of them are mentioned by Horace:—

“ Seu per audaces nova dithyrambos
Verba devolvit, numerisque fertur
Lege solutis;
Seu deos (*hymns and pæans*) regesve (*encomia*) canit, decorum
Sanguinem:
Sive quos Elea domum reducit
Palma coelestes (*the Epinicia*).
Flebilli sponse juvenemve raptum
Plorat ” (*the Dirges*). — OD. IV. 2.

nals.* The poetry of Ibycus was chiefly of an amatory character. He wrote in a dialect which was a mixture of the Doric and Æolic.

Bacchylides was a native of Iulis in the island of Ceos, and the nephew and fellow-townsmen of Simonides. He lived with Simonides and Pindar at the court of Hiero at Syracuse. His odes and songs turned on the same subjects as those of the poets just named; but though he seems to have rivalled his uncle in the grace and finish of his compositions, he was far from attaining to the strength and energy of Pindar. He wrote in the Doric dialect, with a mixture of the Attic.

Such were the principal characteristics of the poetry of the epoch which we are considering, and such the chief poets who flourished in it. Our attention must now be directed to a striking feature in the literature of the period,—the rise of composition in prose, and of history properly so called.

§ 5. The Greeks had arrived at a high pitch of civilization before they can be said to have possessed a history. Nations far behind them in intellectual development have infinitely excelled them in this respect. Many of the Eastern nations had continuous chronicles from a very remote antiquity, as the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and the Jews. But among the Greeks this branch of literature was singularly neglected. Their imagination seems to have been entirely dazzled and fascinated with the glories of the heroic ages, and to have taken but little interest in the events which were daily passing around them. But a more critical and inquiring spirit was now beginning to spring up, especially among the Ionians of Asia Minor. We have already recorded the rise of natural philosophy among that people, and we are now to view them as the originators of history in prose. This innovation of course implies a more extended use of the art of writing, without which a long prose composition could not be remembered. //

§ 6. The use of prose in writing was probably coeval with the art of writing itself; but its first application was only to objects of essential utility, and it was long before it came to be cultivated as a branch of literature. The first essays in literary prose cannot be placed earlier than the sixth century before the Christian era. Three nearly contemporary authors, who flourished about the middle of that century, lay claim to the honor of having been the first prose-writers; namely, Cadmus of Miletus, Pherecydes of Syros, and Acusilaus of Argos; but Hecataeus of Miletus, to whom Herodotus frequently refers by name, must be regarded as the first historical prose-writer of any importance. He was apparently a man of wealth and importance, and distinguished himself by the sound advice which he gave the Ionians at the time of their revolt from Per-

* One of the finest ballads of Schiller is on this subject. It has been translated into English several times. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's version is the best known. — Ed.

sia (B. C. 500). He lived till the close of the Persian wars in Greece. Like many other early Greek historians, Hecataeus was a great traveller, for at first geography and history were almost identical. Egypt especially he seems to have carefully explored. Two works are ascribed to him; one of a geographical nature, called "Periodus," or travels round the earth, and the other of an historical kind, which is sometimes cited by the name of "Genealogies," and sometimes by that of "Histories." The former of these seems to have constituted the first regular system of Grecian geography; but it was probably little more than a "Periplus," or circumnavigation of the Mediterranean, and its adjoining seas. The "Genealogies" related to the descent and exploits of the heroes of mythology.

Charon of Lampsacus, an Ionian city on the Hellespont, is remarkable as the first prose-writer whose subjects were selected from the historical times, and treated in a rational and discriminating manner; and he has therefore some title to be regarded as the first historian really deserving of the name. He flourished in the first half of the fifth century B. C., and was certainly alive in B. C. 464.

The only other prose-writer previous to Herodotus, whom it is necessary to mention, is Hellanicus of Mytilenê. Hellanicus was alive at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, and was therefore a contemporary of Herodotus, though probably a little older. He was by far the most eminent and most voluminous writer of history before the time of Herodotus, and seems to have been the author of at least ten or twelve works of considerable size. Many others were ascribed to him which in all probability were spurious. Like his predecessors, a large portion of his labors was dedicated to imaginary pedigrees, but some of them were historical and chronological. He seems to have been acquainted with the early history of Italy and Rome. He must be regarded as forming the chief link between the earlier logographers and Herodotus; but his works were probably very far from exhibiting the unity of design which we find in that of the latter writer.

§ 7. According to the strict order of chronology, neither Herodotus nor some others of the authors just mentioned belong to the period which we are now considering; but the subject of Herodotus connects him so intimately with the Persian wars, that we have preferred to give an account of him here, rather than in a subsequent book. Herodotus was born in the Dorian colony of Halicarnassus in Caria, in the year 484 B. C., and accordingly about the time of the Persian expeditions into Greece. He was descended from a distinguished family, but respecting his youth and education we are totally in the dark. One of the earliest events of his life with which we are acquainted is his retirement to Samos, in order to escape the tyranny of Lygdamis, a grandson of Queen Artemisia, who had fought so bravely at Salamis. It was perhaps in Samos that Herodotus

acquired the Ionic dialect. The celebrity of the Ionian writers of history had caused that dialect to be regarded as the appropriate vehicle for that species of composition; but though Herodotus made use of it, his language has been observed not to be so pure as that of Hecataeus, who was an Ionian by birth. Herodotus was probably rather more than thirty years of age when he went to Samos. How long he remained there cannot be determined. He seems to have been recalled to his native city by some political crisis; for on his return he took a prominent part in delivering it from the tyrant Lygdamis. The dissensions, however, which prevailed at Halicarnassus after that event, compelled Herodotus again to emigrate; and it was probably at this period that he undertook the travels of which he speaks in his work. The extent of them may be estimated from the fact, that there was scarcely a town in Greece, or on the coast of Asia Minor, with which he was not acquainted; that he had explored Thrace and the coasts of the Black Sea; that in Egypt he had penetrated as far south as Elephantiné; and that in Asia he had visited the cities of Babylon, Ecbatana, and Susa. The latter part of his life was spent at Thurii, a colony founded by the Athenians in Italy in B. C. 443; and it was probably at this place that he composed the greater portion of his history. The date of his settlement at Thurii cannot be accurately fixed. Some accounts make him accompany the first colonists thither; but there are reasons for believing that he did not take up his abode there till several years afterwards. According to a well-known story in Lucian, Herodotus, when he had completed his work, recited it publicly at the great Olympic festival, as the best means of procuring for it that celebrity to which he felt that it was entitled. Posting himself on the platform of the temple of Zeus, he recited, or rather chanted, the whole of his work to the assembled Greeks. The effect is described as immediate and complete. The delighted audience at once assigned the names of the nine Muses to the nine books into which it is divided; whilst the celebrity of the author became so great, that it even eclipsed that of the victors in the games. A still later author (Suidas) adds, that Thucydides, then a boy, was present at the festival with his father Olorus, and was so affected by the recital as to shed tears; upon which Herodotus congratulated Olorus on having a son who possessed so early such a zeal for knowledge. But there are many objections to the probability of these tales.

The time and manner of the death of Herodotus are uncertain, but we know, from some allusions in his history, that he was alive subsequently to the year 408 B. C. According to one tradition he died at Thurii; according to another, at Pella in Macedonia. The former account is hardly probable, since Thurii revolted from Athens in 412, when the old Athenian colonists who sided with the mother country were driven into exile. Unless, therefore, we assume that Herodotus took part with the insurgents, it seems most likely that he quitted Thurii at this period,

and it is not improbable that, like Lysias the orator, he returned to Athens.

§ 8. Herodotus interwove into his history all the varied and extensive knowledge acquired in his travels, and by his own personal researches. The real subject of that magnificent work is the conflict between the Greek race, in the widest sense of the term, and including the Greeks of Asia Minor, with the Asiatics. This is the ground-plan of the book, and was founded on a notion then current of an ancient enmity between the Greeks and Asiatics, as exemplified in the stories of Io, Medæa, and Helen. Thus the historian had a vast epic subject presented to him, which was brought to a natural and glorious termination by the defeat of the Persians in their attempt upon Greece. He touches the ancient and mythical times, however, but lightly, and hastens on to a more recent and authentic historical period. Croesus, king of Lydia, the earliest Asiatic monarch who had succeeded in reducing a portion of the Greek race to subjection, first engages his attention at any length. The quarrel between Croesus and Cyrus, king of Persia, brings the latter power upon the stage. The destruction of the Lydian monarchy by the Persians is related, and is followed by a retrospective view of the rise of the Persian power, and of the Median empire. This is succeeded by an account of the reduction of the rest of Asia Minor and of Babylonia; and the first book closes with the death of Cyrus in an expedition against the Massagetæ, a race inhabiting the plains beyond the Caspian Sea. Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, undertakes an expedition against Egypt, which gives occasion to a description of that country occupying the whole of the second book. In the third book the annexation of Egypt to the Persian empire is related, as well as the abortive attempts of Cambyses against the Æthiopians and Ammonians. The death of Cambyses, the usurpation of the false Smerdis, and the accession of Darius, form the remainder of the third book. The fourth book is chiefly occupied with the Scythian expedition of Darius; whilst at the same time a Persian armament fitted out in Egypt for the conquest of Libya, serves to introduce an account of the discovery and colonization of the latter country by the Greeks. In the fifth book the termination of the Thracian expedition under the satrap Megabazus is related; and a description is given of the Thracian people. This book also contains an account of the origin of the quarrel between Persia and the Greek colonies in Asia Minor. The history of the wars between the Greeks and Persians then runs on with little interruption in the remainder of this book, and in the last four books. The work concludes with the reduction of Sestos by the Athenians.

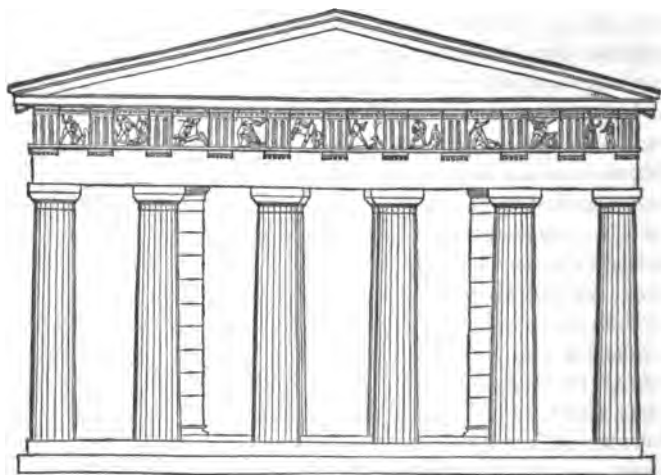
§ 9. The love and admiration of Herodotus for Athens are apparent throughout his work; he sided with her with all his soul, and declared her to be the saviour of Grecian liberty. This attachment was not unrewarded by the Athenians, and a *psephisma*, or vote of the people, is

recorded, granting him the sum of ten talents out of the public treasury. It was this not unfounded admiration of Herodotus for Athens that gave occasion to Plutarch, or some writer who assumed Plutarch's name, to charge him with partiality and malice towards other Grecian states.

§ 10. The ease and simplicity of the style of Herodotus lend it an indescribable charm, and we seem rather to be conversing with an intelligent traveller than reading an elaborately composed history. On the other hand, a certain want of skill in composition may be observed in it. Prose style does not arrive at perfection till much has been written, and with Herodotus it was still in its infancy. Nor must we seek in him for that depth of philosophical reflection which we find in Thucydides. Sometimes, indeed, he exhibits an almost childish credulity. Yet he had formed a high notion of the value of history, and was evidently a sincere lover of truth. He may sometimes have received the accounts of others with too trusting a simplicity, yet he always gives them for what they are worth, leaving the reader to form his own judgment, and often cautioning him as to their source and value. On the other hand, where he speaks from his own observation, his accounts may be implicitly relied upon; and many of them, which were formerly doubted as improbable, have been confirmed by the researches of modern travellers. In short, Herodotus is the Homer of history. He has all the majesty and simplicity of the great epic bard, and all the freshness and vivacity of coloring which mark the founder of a new literary epoch.



Bust of Herodotus.



The Theseum at Athens.

BOOK IV.

THE ATHENIAN SUPREMACY AND THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

B. C. 477 – 404.

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM THE EXPULSION OF THE PERSIANS TO THE DEATH OF THEMISTOCLES.

§ 1. Further Proceedings against the Persians. § 2. Misconduct and Treason of Pausanias. § 3. The Maritime Supremacy transferred to the Athenians. § 4. Confederacy of Deke. § 5. The Combined Fleet under Cimon. § 6. Growth of the Athenian Power. Plans of Themistocles. § 7. Rebuilding of Athens. The Lacedæmonians attempt to prevent its being fortified. § 8. Fortification of Peiræus. § 9. Strife of Parties at Athens. Misconduct of Themistocles. § 10. He is ostracized. § 11. Pausanias convicted of *Medism*. § 12. Themistocles implicated in his Guilt. He escapes into Asia. § 13. He is magnificently received by Artaxerxes. His Death and Character. § 14. Death of Aristides.

§ 1. THE last campaign had effectually delivered Greece from all fear of the Persian yoke; but the Persians still held some posts from which it concerned both the interests and the honor of the Greeks to expel them. They were in possession of the island of Cyprus and of the important

town of Byzantium, together with Eion on the Strymon, Doriscus, and several other places in Thrace. A fleet was therefore fitted out (B. C. 478) the year after the battle of Plataea, and placed under the command of the Spartan regent, Pausanias. Of this fleet only twenty ships belonged to the Peloponnesians, whilst thirty, under the command of Aristides and Cimon, were furnished by Athens alone. After delivering most of the Grecian towns in Cyprus from the Persians, this armament sailed up the Bosphorus and laid siege to Byzantium, which was garrisoned by a large Persian force commanded by some kinsmen of Xerxes. The town surrendered after a protracted siege; but it was during this expedition that the conduct of the Spartan commander struck a fatal blow at the interests of his country.

§ 2. The immense booty, as well as the renown, which Pausanias had acquired at Plataea, had filled him with pride and ambition. When he returned home, he felt it irksome to conform to the simplicity and sobriety of a Spartan life, and to submit to the commands of the Ephors. He had given a signal instance of the pride with which he was inflated by causing Simonides to attribute the glory of the Persian defeat solely to himself in the epigram* which he composed for the tripod dedicated at Delphi; a piece of vanity which gave such offence to the Lacedæmonians, that they caused the inscription to be erased, and another to be substituted in its place. Nevertheless, in spite of these symptoms, he had been again intrusted with the command. During the whole course of it, his conduct was marked by the greatest vanity and insolence; towards the end, it was also sullied by treason. After the capture of Byzantium, he put himself in communication with the Persian court, through Gongylus, an Eretrian exile and subject of Persia. He sent Gongylus clandestinely to Xerxes, with those members of the royal family who had been taken at Byzantium, and assured the allies that they had escaped. At the same time he despatched the following letter to Xerxes:—

“Pausanias, the Spartan commander, wishing to oblige thee, sends back these prisoners of war. I am minded, if it please thee, to marry thy daughter, and to bring Sparta, and the rest of Greece, under thy dominion. This I hold myself able to do with the help of thy counsels. If, therefore, the project at all pleases thee, send down some trustworthy man to the coast, through whom we may carry on our future correspondence.”

Xerxes was highly delighted with this letter, and sent a reply in which he urged Pausanias to pursue his project night and day, and promised to supply him with all the money and troops that might be needful for its execution. At the same time he appointed Artabazus, who had been second in command in Bœotia, to be satrap of Dascylium, where he would be able to co-operate with the Spartan commander. But the childish

* The Greek epigram means inscription simply, and not necessarily the pointed style of composition intended by that word in modern languages. — Ed.

vanity of Pausanias betrayed his plot before it was ripe for execution. Elated by the confidence of Xerxes, and by the money with which he was lavishly supplied, he acted as if he had already married the great king's daughter. He assumed the Persian dress; he made a progress through Thrace, attended by Persian and Egyptian guards; and copied, in the luxury of his table and the dissoluteness of his manners, the example of his adopted country. Above all, he offended the allies by his haughty reserve and imperiousness.

§ 3. His designs were now too manifest to escape attention. His proceedings reached the ears of the Spartans, who sent out Dorcis to supersede him. But when Dorcis arrived, he found that the allies had transferred the command of the fleet to the Athenians.

There were other reasons for this step besides the disgust occasioned by the conduct of Pausanias. Even before the battle of Salamis, the preponderating naval power of Athens had raised the question whether she was not entitled to the command at sea; and the victory gained there, under the auspices of Themistocles, had strengthened her claim to that distinction. But the delivery of the Ionian colonies from the Persian yoke was the immediate cause of her attaining it. The Ionians were not only attracted to Athens by affinity of race, but, from her naval superiority, regarded her as the only power capable of securing them in their newly acquired independence. Disgusted by the insolence of Pausanias, the Ionians now serving in the combined Grecian fleet addressed themselves to Aristides and Cimon, whose manners formed a striking contrast to those of the Spartan leader, and begged them to assume the command. Aristides was the more inclined to listen to this request as it was made precisely at the time when Pausanias was recalled. The Spartan squadron had accompanied him home; so that, when Dorcis arrived with a few ships, he found himself in no condition to assert his pretensions.

§ 4. This event was not a mere empty question about a point of honor. It was a real revolution, terminated by a solemn league, of which Athens was to be the head; and though it is wrong to date the Athenian *empire* from this period, yet it cannot be doubted that this confederacy formed her first step towards it. Aristides took the lead in this matter, for which his proverbial justice and probity, and his conciliatory manners, eminently qualified him. The league obtained the name of "the Confederacy of Delos," from its being arranged that deputies of the allies belonging to it should meet periodically for deliberation in the temple of Apollo and Artemis in that island. The league was not, however, confined to the Ionians. It was joined by all who sought, in the maritime power of Athens, a protection against the attacks of Persia. Besides the Ionic islands of Samos and Chios, it was joined by Rhodes, Coa, Lesbos, and Tenedos. Among the continental towns belonging to it, we find Miletus, the Greek towns on the peninsula of Chalcidice, and the recently

delivered Byzantium. Each state was assessed in a certain contribution either of money or ships, as proposed by the Athenians and ratified by the Synod.* The assessment was intrusted to Aristides, whose justice and impartiality were universally applauded. Of the details, however, we only know that the first assessment amounted to four hundred and sixty talents (about £112,000 sterling†); that certain officers called *Hellenotamiae* were appointed by the Athenians to collect and administer the contributions; that Delos was the treasury; and that the tax was called *phoros*; a name which afterwards became odious when the tribute was abused for the purposes of Athenian ambition.

§ 5. Such was the origin of the Confederacy of Delos. Soon after its formation Aristides was succeeded in the command of the combined fleet by Cimon, whose first important action seems to have been the capture of Eion on the Strymon. This place was bravely defended by Boges, the Persian governor, who refused all offers of capitulation; and when his provisions were exhausted and all further defence impracticable, he caused a large funeral pile to be kindled, into which he cast his wives, his concubines, and children, and lastly himself.

The next event of any moment was the reduction of the island of Scyros, probably in B. C. 470. A portion of the inhabitants of Scyros had been condemned by the Amphictyonic Council as guilty of piracy, and, in order to avoid payment of the fine imposed upon them, appealed to Cimon; who took possession of the island, and, after expelling the natives, colonized it with Athenians. The hero Theseus had been buried in Scyros; and now, by command of an oracle, his bones were disinterred and carried to Athens, where they were deposited with much solemnity in a temple called the *Thesæum*, which exists at the present day.

§ 6. The isle of Scyros is small and barren, but its position and excellent harbor rendered it an important naval station. The occupation of it by the Athenians seems to have been the first actual step taken by them in the career of aggrandizement on which they were now about to enter; but the rapid growth of their maritime power, and especially the formation of the Confederacy of Delos, had already roused the jealousy and suspicion of Sparta and other states. It was, probably, a lingering dread of the Persians, against whose attacks the Athenian fleet was indispensably necessary, which had prevented the Lacedæmonians from at once resenting that encroachment on their supremacy. Up to that time Sparta had been regarded as entitled to take the lead in Grecian affairs, and for a moment the league formed at Platæa after the defeat of Mardonius seemed to confirm her in that position. But she was soon deprived of it by the misconduct of her leaders, and by the skill and enterprise of Athens.

* The Synod (*σύνδοκος*) was the assembly of delegates from the several states, with authority to decide upon the general affairs of the confederacy. — Ed.

† Half a million of dollars. — Ed.

That city was the only one which, during the Persian wars, had displayed ability and heroism equal to the crisis. She had taken a large share in the battle of Plataea, whilst the glory of Marathon and Salamis and Mycalé was almost entirely her own. Above all, the sufferings which she had voluntarily undergone in the common cause entitled her to the love and sympathy of Greece. It was not, however, the gratitude of her allies which placed her in the commanding situation she was now about to seize. She owed it rather to the eminent qualities of two of her citizens, — to the genius of Themistocles and to the virtue of Aristides. It was, as we have seen, through the immediate agency of Aristides that the Confederacy of Delos was established: a matter which his able but unprincipled rival, owing to the want of confidence felt in his character, would hardly have been able to carry out. But it was Themistocles who had first placed Athens in a situation which enabled her to aspire to the chief command. His genius had mastered all the exigencies of the crisis. His advice to the Athenians to rely on their ships, and to abandon their city to its fate, had not only saved Athens but Greece. He was now engaged in measures which might enable Athens by the same means to consolidate and extend her power; and the Confederacy of Delos promised to bring his plans to an earlier maturity than even he had perhaps ventured to anticipate. But in order to understand the plans of Themistocles, it will be necessary to revert to the city of Athens itself, and to trace its progress after the close of the Persian war. //

§ 7. The Athenians, on their return to Attica after the defeat of the Persians, found their city ruined and their country desolate. Their first care was to provide shelter for the houseless families which had been transported back from Trœzen, Ægina, and Salamis. When this had been accomplished, they began to rebuild their city on a larger scale than before, and to fortify it with a wall. Those allies to whom the increasing maritime power of Athens was an object of suspicion, and especially the Æginetans, to whom it was more particularly formidable, beheld her rising fortifications with dismay. In order to prevent the completion of these fortifications, they endeavored to inspire the Lacedæmonians with their own fears, and urged them to arrest the work. But though Sparta shared the jealousy of the Æginetans on this occasion, she could not with any decency interfere by force to prevent a friendly city from exercising a right inherent in all independent states. She assumed, therefore, the hypocritical garb of an adviser and counsellor. Concealing her jealousy under the pretence of zeal for the common interests of Greece, she represented to the Athenians that, in the event of another Persian invasion, fortified towns would serve the enemy for camps and strongholds, as Thebes had done in the last war; and proposed that the Athenians should not only desist from completing their own fortifications, but help to demolish those which already existed in other towns.

The object of this proposal was too transparent to deceive so acute a statesman as Themistocles. Athens was not yet, however, in a condition to incur the danger of openly rejecting it; and he therefore advised the Athenians to dismiss the Spartan envoys, with the assurance that they would send ambassadors to Sparta to explain their views. He then caused himself to be appointed one of these ambassadors, together with Aristides and Abronychus; and, setting off at once for Sparta, directed his colleagues to linger behind as long as possible. At Sparta, the absence of his colleagues, at which he affected to be surprised, afforded him an excuse for not demanding an audience of the Ephors. During the interval thus gained, the whole population of Athens, of both sexes and every age, worked day and night at the walls, which, when Aristides and Abronychus at length arrived at Sparta, had attained a height sufficient to afford a tolerable defence. Meanwhile, the suspicions of the Spartans had been more than once aroused by messages from the Æginetans respecting the progress of the walls. Themistocles, however, positively denied their statements, and urged the Spartans to send messengers of their own to Athens in order to learn the true state of affairs; at the same time instructing the Athenians to detain them as hostages for the safety of himself and colleagues. As there was now no longer any motive for concealment, Themistocles openly avowed the progress of the works, and his intention of securing the independence of Athens, and enabling her to act for herself. As the walls were now too far advanced to be easily taken, the Spartans found themselves compelled to acquiesce, and the works were completed without further hindrance.

§ 8. Having thus secured the city from all danger of an immediate attack, Themistocles pursued his favorite project of rendering Athens the greatest maritime and commercial power of Greece. The large fleet which he had called into existence, and which he had persuaded the Athenians to increase by building twenty triremes every year, was destitute of a strong and commodious harbor such as might afford shelter both against the weather and the attacks of an enemy. The open roadstead of Phalerum was quite inadequate for these purposes; and during his administration three years before, Themistocles had persuaded his countrymen to improve the natural basins of Peiræus and Munychia. The works had been interrupted, and perhaps ruined, by the Persians; but he now resumed his scheme on a still more magnificent scale. Peiræus and Munychia were both inclosed in a wall as large in extent as that of the city itself, but of vastly greater height and thickness. In his own magnificent ideas, which already beheld Athens the undisputed mistress of the sea, the wall which sheltered her fleet was to be perfectly unassailable. Its height was to be such that boys and old men might suffice for its defence, and leave the men of military age to act on board the fleet. It seems, however, to have been found either unnecessary or impossible to carry out the design

of Themistocles. The wall rose only to about sixty feet, or half the projected height; but this was always found amply sufficient.*

§ 9. The ancient rivalry between Themistocles and Aristides had been in a good degree extinguished by the danger which threatened their common country during the Persian wars. Aristides had since abandoned his former prejudices, and was willing to conform to many of the democratical innovations of his rival. In fact, the crisis through which Athens had recently passed had rendered the progress of the democratical sentiment irresistible. Whilst the greater part of the male population was serving on shipboard without distinction of rank, and the remainder dispersed in temporary exile, political privileges had been necessarily suspended; and the whole body of the people, rendered equal by the common danger, became also equal in their civil rights. The effect of this was to produce, soon after their return to Attica, a still further modification of the constitution of Cleisthenes. The Thetes, the lowest of the four classes of Athenian citizens, were declared eligible for the magistracy, from which they had been excluded by the laws of Solon. Thus not only the archonship, but consequently the Council of Areopagus, was thrown open to them; and, strange to say, this reform was proposed by Aristides himself.

Nevertheless, party spirit still ran high at Athens. Cimon and Alcmaeon were violent opponents of Themistocles, and of their party Aristides was still the head. The popularity of Aristides was never greater than at the present time, owing not only to the moderation and the more liberal spirit which he exhibited, but also to his great services in establishing the Confederacy of Delos. He was, therefore, more than ever to be dreaded as an adversary; and the conduct of Themistocles soon laid him open to the attacks of his enemies. He offended the Athenians by his ostentation and vanity. He was continually boasting of his services to the state; but, worse than all this, his conduct was stained with positive guilt. There was much to be done after the close of the Persian wars in restoring order in the Grecian communities; in deposing corrupt magistrates, in punishing evil-doers, and in replacing fugitives and political exiles in their possessions. All these things opened a great field for bribery and corruption; and whilst Themistocles, at the head of an Athenian squadron, was sailing among the Greek islands for the ostensible purpose of executing justice, there is little room to doubt that he corrupted its very source by accepting large sums of money from the cities which he visited.

§ 10. The influence of the Lacedæmonians was still considerable at Athens. The conservative party there, and especially Cimon, one of its

* For a further account of the topography of Athens and the Peiræus, see Chap. XXXIV.

principal leaders, regarded with love and veneration the stable institutions of Sparta, which formed a striking contrast to the democratical innovations which were making such rapid progress in their own city. The Lacedæmonians on their side were naturally inimical to the Athenian democracy, as the party most opposed to their interests and power; and to Themistocles himself they were personally hostile, on account of the deception which he had lately practised upon them. Hence, when Pausanias became suspected of *Medism*, they urged the political opponents of Themistocles to accuse him of being implicated in the same crime. This accusation was at all events premature; nor is it surprising that the Athenian statesman should have been acquitted of a charge which could not at that time be brought home to Pausanias himself. The result, however, of this accusation was to embitter party spirit at Athens to such a degree, that it was found necessary to resort to ostracism, and Themistocles was condemned to a temporary banishment (B. C. 471). He retired to Argos, and had been residing in that city for a space of about five years when indubitable proofs were discovered of his being implicated in the treasonable correspondence of Pausanias with the Persians. But in order to explain the fall of the Athenian statesman, we must first relate that of the Spartan regent, with which it was intimately connected.

§ 11. The recall of Pausanias from Byzantium has been already mentioned. On his arrival at home he seems to have been acquitted of any definite charges; yet the general presumption of his guilt was so strong, that he was not again intrusted with the command of the fleet. This was perhaps an additional motive with him to complete his treachery. Under pretence of serving as a volunteer, he returned to Byzantium with a single trireme, and renewed his negotiations with Artabazus. Here he seems to have again enjoyed a sort of ascendancy, till his conduct obliged the Athenians to expel him from this city. He then retired to Colonnæ, in the Troad, where he still pursued his designs; employing both Persian gold, and perhaps the influence of the Spartan name, in order to induce various Grecian cities to participate in his schemes.

At the news of these proceedings the Spartans again ordered Pausanias home, under pain of being denounced as a public enemy. With this order he deemed it prudent to comply; foreseeing that, if proscribed, his influence would be at an end, and relying, probably, on his riches to bribe his judges and procure an acquittal. But, though at first imprisoned by the Ephors, nobody was bold enough to come forward as his accuser. His treachery, though sufficiently palpable, seems to have offered no overt and legally tangible act, and he was accordingly set at liberty. He now employed himself in hatching treason nearer home. He tampered with the Helots, and by promises of enfranchisement and political rights endeavored to persuade them to overthrow the Ephors, and make him sole sovereign. Though these plots were communicated to the Ephors, they

were still either unable or unwilling to prosecute so powerful a criminal. Meanwhile, he continued his correspondence with Persia; and an accident at length afforded convincing proofs of his guilt.

A favorite slave, to whom he had intrusted a letter to Artabazus, observed with dismay that none of the messengers employed in this service had ever returned. Moved by these fears, he broke the seal and read the letter, and finding his suspicions of the fate that awaited him confirmed, he carried the document to the Ephors. But in ancient states the testimony of a slave was always regarded with suspicion. The Ephors refused to believe the evidence offered to them unless the slave placed them in a position to have it confirmed by their own ears. For this purpose they directed him to plant himself as a suppliant in the grove of Poseidon, near Cape Tænarus, in a hut behind which two of their body might conceal themselves. Pausanias, as they had expected, anxious and surprised at the step taken by his slave, hastened to the spot to question him about it. The conversation which ensued between them, and which was overheard by the Ephors, rendered it impossible for them any longer to doubt the guilt of Pausanias. They now determined to arrest him on his return to Sparta. They met him in the street near the temple of Athena Chalciæcus (of the Brazen House); when Pausanias, either alarmed by his guilty conscience, or put on his guard by a secret signal from one of the Ephors, turned and fled to the temple, where he took refuge in a small chamber belonging to the building. From this sanctuary it was unlawful to drag him; but the Ephors caused the doors to be built up and the roof to be removed; and his own mother is said to have placed the first stone at the doors. When at the point of death from starvation, he was carried from the sanctuary before he polluted it with his corpse.

§ 12. Such was the end of the victor of Plataea. After his death proofs were discovered among his correspondence that Themistocles was implicated in his guilt. The Lacedæmonians now again called upon the Athenians to prosecute their great statesman before a synod of the allies assembled at Sparta; and joint envoys were sent from Athens and Sparta to arrest him.

Themistocles avoided the impending danger by flying from Argos to Corcyra. The Corcyræans, however, refusing to shelter him, he passed over to the continent; where, being still pursued, he was forced to seek refuge at the court of Admetus, king of the Molossians, though he had made Admetus his personal enemy by opposing him on one occasion in some favor which the king begged of the Athenians. Fortunately, Admetus happened to be from home. The forlorn condition of Themistocles excited the compassion of the wife of the Molossian king, who placed her child in his arms, and bade him seat himself on the hearth as a suppliant. As soon as the king arrived, Themistocles explained his peril,

and adjured him by the sacred laws of hospitality not to take vengeance upon a fallen foe. Admetus accepted his appeal and raised him from the hearth; he refused to deliver him to his pursuers, and at last only dismissed him on his own expressed desire to proceed to Persia. Having traversed the mountains, Themistocles reached Pydna, on the Thermaic Gulf, where, under an assumed name, he took passage in a merchant-vessel bound for the coast of Asia Minor. The ship was driven by stress of weather to the island of Naxos, which happened at that very moment to be blockaded by an Athenian fleet. In this conjuncture Themistocles adopted one of those decisive resolutions which never failed him in the hour of danger. Having summoned the master of the vessel, he disclosed to him his real name, and the peril which menaced him in case of discovery. He then conjured the master not to make the land, at the same time threatening that, if detected, he would involve him in his own ruin by representing him as the accomplice of his flight; promising, on the other hand, a large reward if he would secure his escape. These representations induced the master to keep the sea in spite of the weather; and Themistocles landed safely at Ephesus.

§ 13. Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, was now upon the throne of Persia, and to him Themistocles hastened to announce himself. Having been conducted to Susa, he addressed a letter to the Persian king, in which he claimed a reward for his past services in favoring the escape of Xerxes, and promised to effect much for Persian interests if a year were allowed him to mature his plans. Artaxerxes welcomed the arrival of the illustrious stranger, and readily granted his request. According to the tales current at a later period, the king was so transported with joy as to start from his sleep at night and thrice to cry out, "I have got Themistocles the Athenian." At the end of the year, Themistocles, having acquired a sufficient knowledge of the Persian language to be able to converse in it, entertained Artaxerxes with magnificent schemes for the subjugation of Greece, and succeeded in gaining his entire confidence and favor. Artaxerxes loaded him with presents, gave him a Persian wife, and appointed Magnesia, a town not far from the Ionian coast, as his place of residence. In accordance with Eastern magnificence, the revenues of that place, amounting to the yearly sum of fifty talents,* were assigned to him for bread, whilst Myos was to supply condiments, and Lampsacus wine. At Magnesia Themistocles was joined by his family; and after living there some time was carried off by disease at the age of sixty-five, without having realized, or apparently attempted, any of those plans with which he had dazzled the Persian monarch. Rumor, which ever dogs the footsteps of the great, ascribed his death to poison, which he took of his own accord, from a consciousness of his inability to perform his

* About \$52,000. — Ed.

promises; but this report, which was current in the time of Thucydides, is rejected by that historian, though it was subsequently adopted by writers of no mean note. The tale was probably propagated by the friends of Themistocles, who also asserted that, at his express command, they had carried his bones to Attica, and had secretly buried them in his native land. In the time of the Roman empire his tomb was shown upon the promontory at the right hand of the entrance of the great harbor of Peiræus.* This was doubtless the invention of a later age; but the imagination could not have chosen a fitter spot for the ashes of the founder of the maritime greatness of Athens. Hence we find in an ancient epigram, supposed to have been inscribed upon his tomb:—

“By the sea’s margin, on the watery strand,
Thy monument, Themistocles, shall stand:
By this directed to thy native shore,
The merchant shall convey his freighted store;
And when our fleets are summoned to the fight,
Athens shall conquer with thy tomb in sight.”

Themistocles is one of those characters which exhibit at once all the greatness and all the meanness of human nature. Acuteness in foreseeing, readiness and wisdom in contriving, combined with vigor and decision in acting, were the characteristics of this great statesman, and by these qualities he not only rescued his country from the imminent danger of the Persian yoke, but enabled her to become one of the leading states of Greece. Yet his lofty genius did not secure him from the seductions of avarice and pride, which led him to sacrifice both his honor and his country for the tinsel of Eastern pomp. But the riches and luxury which surrounded him served only to heighten his infamy, and were dearly bought with the hatred of his countrymen, the reputation of a traitor, and the death of an exile.

§ 14. Aristides died about four years after the banishment of Themistocles. The common accounts of his poverty are probably exaggerated, and seem to have been founded on the circumstances of a public funeral, and of handsome donations made to his three children by the state. But in ancient times these were no unusual marks of respect and gratitude towards merit and virtue; and as he was *archon eponymus* at a time when only the first class of the Solonian census was admissible to this office, he must have enjoyed a certain amount of property. But whatever his property may have been, it is at least certain that he did not acquire or increase it by unlawful means; and not even calumny has ventured to assail his well-earned title of *the Just*.

* Massive remains still exist of what has been called the Tomb of Themistocles. The situation is most appropriate for such a monument, commanding a near view of the whole scene of the battle of Salamis, and laved by the waters that bore the Persian fleet on that memorable day. — ED.



Pericles and Aspasia.

CHAPTER XXIII.

RISE AND GROWTH OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE. — FROM THE BATTLE OF EURYMEDON TO THE THIRTY YEARS' TRUCE WITH SPARTA.

§ 1. Cimon Leader of the Aristocratical Party at Athens. § 2. Revolt of Naxos. § 3. Battle of Eurymedon. § 4. The Athenians blockade Thasos, and attempt to found Colonies in Thrace. § 5. Earthquake at Sparta and Revolt of the Helots. § 6. Decline of Spartan Power. § 7. Cimon assists the Spartans to suppress the Revolt, but without Success. The Spartans offend the Athenians by dismissing their Troops. § 8. Parties at Athens. Character of Pericles. § 9. Attack upon the Areopagus. § 10. Ostracism of Cimon. § 11. Administration and Foreign Policy of Pericles. § 12. Expedition of the Athenians into Egypt against the Persians. § 13. Hostilities with Corinth and Ægina. Defeat of the Corinthians at Megara. § 14. The Long Walls of Athens commenced. § 15. The Lacedæmonians march into Bœotia. Battle of Tanagra. § 16. Recall of Cimon. § 17. Battle of Ænophyta, and Conquest of Bœotia. Conquest of Ægina. § 18. The Five Years' Truce. Expedition of Cimon to Cyprus. His Death. § 19. Conclusion of the War with Persia. § 20. The Athenian Power at its Height. § 21. Decline of the Athenian Power. Revolution in Bœotia. Other Athenian Reverses. Invasion of Attica by the Lacedæmonians under Pleistoanax. § 22. Pericles recovers Eubœa. Thirty Years' Truce with Sparta.

§ 1. ON the death of Aristides, Cimon became the undisputed leader of the aristocratical or conservative party at Athens. Cimon was generous, affable, magnificent; and, notwithstanding his political views, of exceedingly popular manners. He had inherited the military genius of his father, and was undoubtedly the greatest commander of his time.

He employed the vast wealth acquired in his expeditions in adorning Athens and gratifying his fellow-citizens. He kept open house for such of his *demoi* (the *Laciadæ*) as were in want of a meal, and appeared in public attended by well-dressed slaves, who were often directed to exchange their comfortable garments with the threadbare clothes of needy citizens. But his mind was uncultivated by arts or letters, and what eloquence he possessed was rough and soldierlike.

§ 2. The capture of Eion and reduction of Scyros by Cimon have been already related. It was two or three years after the latter event that we find the first symptoms of discontent among the members of the Confederacy of Delos. Naxos, one of the confederate islands, and the largest of the Cyclades, revolted in B. C. 466, probably from a feeling of the growing oppressiveness of the Athenian headship. It was immediately invested by the confederate fleet, and after a blockade of unknown duration reduced and made tributary to Athens. It was during this blockade that Themistocles, as before related, passed the island in his flight to Asia. This was another step towards dominion gained by the Athenians, whose pretensions were assisted by the imprudence of the allies. Many of the smaller states belonging to the confederacy, wearied with perpetual hostilities, commuted for a money payment the ships which they were bound to supply; and thus, by depriving themselves of a navy, lost the only means by which they could assert their independence.

§ 3. The same year was marked by a memorable action against the Persians. Cimon, at the head of two hundred Athenian triremes, and one hundred furnished by the allies, proceeded to the coast of Asia Minor, where he expelled the Persians from several Grecian towns in Caria and Lycia. Meanwhile the Persians had assembled a large fleet and army at the mouth of the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia. Their fleet already consisted of two hundred vessels, chiefly Phœnician; and as a reinforcement of eighty more was expected, Cimon resolved to lose no time in making an attack. After speedily defeating the fleet, Cimon landed his men and marched against the Persian army, which was drawn up on the shore to protect the fleet. The land force fought with bravery, but was at length put to the rout. These victories were still further enhanced by the destruction of the eighty vessels, with which Cimon happened to fall in on his return. A victory gained on the same day both by sea and land added greatly to the renown of Cimon, and was commemorated on the tripod dedicated to Apollo as one of the most glorious of Grecian exploits.

§ 4. The successes of the Athenians, and their undisputed power at sea, led them to extend their empire by means of colonies. Some of the Athenians who had settled at Eion on the Strymon after the expulsion of the Persians, had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the surrounding country, which was principally occupied by Edonian Thracians, and was distinguished not only by the fertility of its soil, but also by its gold

mines on Mount Pangæus. But in their attempts to form a permanent settlement on this coast, the Athenians were opposed by the inhabitants of the opposite island of Thasos, who were possessed of considerable territory upon the continent of Thrace, and derived a large revenue from the mines of Scapté Hylé and other places.

The island of Thasos was a member of the Confederacy of Delos, with which, however, this quarrel does not appear to have been in any way connected. The ill-feeling soon reached such a pitch, that Cimon was despatched in B. C. 465 with a powerful fleet against the Thasians. In this expedition the Athenians gained various successes both by sea and land, but totally failed in their attempt to found a colony on the mainland, near Eion. This result, however, was owing to the hostility of the native tribes. A body of ten thousand Athenians and their allies, who had taken possession of Ennea Hodoi, a place on the Strymon, about three miles above Eion, were attacked by the Thracians and nearly all of them slain. Nevertheless the Athenians did not abandon the blockade of Thasos. After a siege of more than two years that island surrendered, when its fortifications were razed, its fleet and its possessions in Thrace were confiscated, and it was condemned to pay an annual, as well as an immediate, tribute.

§ 5. The expedition to Thasos was attended with a circumstance which first gives token of the coming hostilities between Sparta and Athens. At an early period of the blockade the Thasians secretly applied to the Lacedæmonians to make a diversion in their favor by invading Attica; and though the Lacedæmonians were still ostensibly allied with Athens, they were base enough to comply with this request. But their treachery was prevented by a terrible calamity which befell themselves. In the year B. C. 464, their capital was visited by an earthquake which laid it in ruins and killed twenty thousand of its citizens, besides a large body of their chosen youth, who were engaged in a building in their gymnastic exercises. But this was only part of the calamity. The earthquake was immediately followed by a revolt of the Helots, who were always ready to avail themselves of the weakness of their tyrants. Some of that oppressed people had been dragged from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Tænarus, probably in connection with the affair of Pausanias, related in the preceding chapter; and now the whole race, and even the Lacedæmonians themselves, believed that the earthquake was caused by the anger of that "earth-shaking" deity. Encouraged by this signal of the divine favor, and being joined by some of the Perioeci, the Helots rushed to arms, and marched straight upon Sparta. In this attempt to seize the capital they were repulsed; nevertheless they were still able to keep the field; and, being joined by the Messenians, fortified themselves in Mount Ithomé in Messenia. Hence this revolt is sometimes called the third Messenian war. After two or three years spent in a vain attempt to dis-

lodge them from this position, the Lacedæmonians found themselves obliged to call in the assistance of their allies, and among the rest of the Athenians.

§ 6. That Sparta should thus have condescended to solicit the assistance of her rival to quell a domestic feud, shows that she must have fallen greatly from her former power and station. During the period, indeed, in which we have traced the rise of Athens, Sparta had been proportionably declining. Of the causes of this decline we can only mention some of the more prominent. Foremost among them was the misconduct of her leaders. The misconduct of Pausanias, by which the maritime supremacy was transferred to Athens, has been already related. His infamy found a counterpart in the infamy of Leotychides, another of her kings, and the conqueror of Mycalé; who, being employed in arranging the affairs of Thessaly after its evacuation by the Persians, was convicted of taking bribes from the Persian king. The Lacedæmonians committed, moreover, a great political blunder in the settlement of Bœotia, whose affairs had been so thoroughly shaken by the Persian invasion. Thebes, convicted of *Medism*, was, with the concurrence of Sparta, degraded from her former rank and influence; whilst Platæa and Thespiæ, which stood opposed to the capital, were strengthened, and the latter repeopled. Thus the influence of Athens in Bœotia was promoted, in proportion as Thebes, her ancient enemy, was weakened and degraded. The affairs of the Peloponnesus itself had been unfavorable to the Spartans. They had been engaged in a harassing war with the Arcadians, and were also cramped and menaced by the growing power of Elis. And now all these causes of weakness were aggravated by the earthquake, and consequent revolt of the Helots.

§ 7. It was with great difficulty that Cimon persuaded his countrymen to assist the Lacedæmonians in quelling this revolt. His power was now somewhat waning before the rising influence of Pericles. Notwithstanding what he had accomplished at Thasos, it is even said that more had been expected by the Athenians, and that Pericles actually accused him, though without success, of having been diverted from the conquest of Macedonia, by the bribes of Alexander, the king of that country. Cimon, however, at length succeeded in persuading the Athenians to despatch him, with a force of four thousand hoplites, to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians; but the ill success of this expedition still further strengthened the hands of his political opponents.

The aid of the Athenians had been requested by the Lacedæmonians on account of their acknowledged superiority in the art of attacking fortified places. As, however, Cimon did not succeed in dislodging the Helots from Ithomé, the Lacedæmonians, probably from a consciousness of their own treachery in the affair of Thasos, began to suspect that the Athenians were playing them false. The conduct of the latter does not seem to

have afforded the least ground for this suspicion, and Cimon, their general, was notoriously attached to Sparta. Yet the Lacedæmonians, fearing that the Athenians intended to join the Helots, abruptly dismissed them, stating that they had no longer any occasion for their services; although the other allies were retained, and the siege of Ithomé still proceeded.

§ 8. This rude dismissal gave great offence at Athens, and annihilated for a time the political influence of Cimon. The democratical party had from the first opposed the expedition; and it afforded them a great triumph to be able to point to Cimon returning not only unsuccessful but insulted. That party was now led by Pericles. A sort of hereditary feud existed between Pericles and Cimon; for it was Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, who had impeached Miltiades, the father of Cimon. The character of Pericles was almost the reverse of Cimon's. Although the leader of the popular party, his manners were reserved. He was of high family, being descended on his mother's side from the princes of Sicyon and the Alcmaeonidæ, whilst on his father's he was connected with the family of Peisistratus, to which tyrant he is said to have borne a striking personal resemblance. He appeared but little in society or in public, reserving himself for great occasions; a conduct which, when he did come forward, enhanced the effect of his dignified bearing and impressive eloquence. His military talents were but slender, and in fact in this department he was frequently unsuccessful. But his mind had received the highest polish which that period was capable of giving. He constantly conversed with Anaxagoras, Protagoras, Zeno, and other eminent philosophers. To oratory in particular he had devoted much attention, as an indispensable instrument for swaying the public assemblies of Athens; and he is said to have been the first who committed his speeches to writing. He was not much distinguished for private liberality; but he made amends for the popularity which he lost in this way by his lavish distribution of the public money. Such was the man who for a considerable period was to administer the affairs of Athens.

§ 9. Pericles seized the occasion presented by the ill success of Cimon, both to ruin that leader and to strike a fatal blow at the aristocratical party. The latter object he sought to accomplish by various changes in the Athenian constitution, and particularly by an attack upon the Areopagus. That venerable and time-honored assembly contained the very pith and marrow of Athenian aristocracy. Besides its high judicial functions, it exercised a kind of general censorship over the citizens. By the nature of its constitution it was composed of men of advanced years, and of high position in the state. The measure of Aristides, already mentioned, opened it, at least ostensibly, even to the lowest class of citizens; but this innovation, which was perhaps only designed to stave off those more serious changes which the rapid progress of democratical opinion seemed to threaten, was probably of little practical

effect. So long as magistracies continued to be elective, there can be little doubt that the rich would carry them, to the exclusion of the poor. A fatal blow to aristocratical power was, however, struck about this time by rendering the election to magistracies dependent upon lot; though it is uncertain whether this measure was originated by Pericles. We are also ignorant of the precise nature of the changes which he introduced into the constitution and functions of the Areopagus, though, with regard to their result, it is certain that they left that august body the mere shadow of its former influence and power. Other changes which accompanied this revolution — for such it must be called — were, the institution of paid *dicasteries* or jury-courts, and the almost entire abrogation of the judicial power of the Senate of Five Hundred. As the seal and symbol of these momentous innovations, Ephialtes, the friend of Pericles, caused the tablets containing the laws of Solon to be brought down from the Acropolis and deposited in the market-place, as if to signify that the guardianship of the laws had been transferred to the people.

§ 10. It cannot be supposed that such fundamental changes were effected without violent party strife. Even the theatre became a vehicle to express the passions and the principles of the agora. In the drama of the *Eumenides*, Æschylus in vain exerted all the powers of his genius in support of the aristocratical party and of the tottering Areopagus; his exertions on this occasion resulted only in his own flight from Athens. The same fate attended Cimon himself. In the heat of political contention, recourse was had to ostracism, the safety-valve of the Athenian constitution, and Cimon was condemned to a ten years' banishment. Nay, party violence even went the length of assassination. Ephialtes, who had taken the lead in the attacks upon the Areopagus, and whom Pericles, in conformity with his policy and character, seems to have put forward throughout as the more active and ostensible agent, fell beneath the dagger of a Boeotian hired by the conservative party to despatch him. This event took place after the banishment of Cimon, who was guiltless of all participation in so foul a deed.

§ 11. It was from this period that the long administration of Pericles may be properly said to have commenced. The effects of his accession to power soon became visible in the foreign relations of Athens. Pericles had succeeded to the political principles of Themistocles, and his aim was to render Athens the leading power of Greece. The Confederacy of Delos had already secured her maritime ascendancy; Pericles directed his policy to the extension of her influence in Continental Greece. The insult offered by Sparta to Athens in dismissing her troops had highly inflamed the Athenians against that power, whose supporters at Athens were designated with the contemptuous name of *Laconizers*. Pericles and the democratic party turned the conjuncture to account, not only by persuading the people to renounce the Spartan alliance, but to join her

bitterest enemies. Argos, the ancient rival of Sparta, claimed the headship of Greece rather from the recollections of her former mythical renown than from her present material power. But she had availed herself of the embarrassment which the revolt of the Helots occasioned to Sparta, to reduce to subjection Mycenæ, Tiryns, and some other neighboring towns. With Argos thus strengthened Athens now formed a defensive alliance against Sparta, which the Thessalians were also induced to join. Soon afterwards Athens still further extended her influence in Continental Greece by an alliance with Megara. This step, which gave signal offence both at Sparta and Corinth, greatly increased the power of the Athenians, not only by opening to them a communication with the Crissæan Gulf, but also by giving them the key to the passes of Mount Geraneia, and thus enabling them to arrest the progress of an invading army from Peloponnesus. In order to strengthen Megara the Athenians adopted a contrivance which they afterwards applied to their own city. Megara was seated on a hill, at the distance of nearly a mile from its port, Nisæa. To prevent the communication between the port and city from being cut off, the Athenians caused them to be connected together by two parallel lines of wall, and placed a permanent garrison of their own in the place.

§ 12. Whilst these things were passing in Greece, the Athenians were still actively engaged in prosecuting the war against Persia. The confederate fleet was hovering about the coasts of Cyprus and Phœnicia; and the revolt of Inaros (B. C. 460) gave them an opportunity to carry the war into Egypt. Inaros, a Libyan prince, and son of Psammetichus, was bent on expelling the Persians from Egypt and obtaining the sovereignty of that country; and with this view he solicited the assistance of the Greeks. The Athenian fleet at Cyprus, amounting to two hundred triremes, accordingly sailed to the Nile, and proceeded up that river as far as Memphis. From this city they succeeded in expelling the Persians, who, however, maintained themselves in a kind of citadel or fortification called "the White Fortress." The siege of this fortress had already lasted four or five years, when Artaxerxes sent a large army, together with a Phœnician fleet, into Egypt, under the command of Megabyzus, who compelled the Athenians to raise the siege and to retire to an island in the Nile, called Prosopitis, as the Persians had prevented their further retreat by obstructing the lower part of the river. Here the Athenians offered a long and heroic resistance, till at length Megabyzus, having diverted one of the channels which formed the island, was enabled to attack them by land. The Athenians, who had previously burnt their ships, were now obliged to capitulate. The barbarians did not, however, observe the terms of the capitulation, but perfidiously massacred the Athenians, with the exception of a small body, who succeeded in cutting their way through the enemy, and escaping to Cyrene, and thence to

Greece. Inaros himself was taken and crucified. As an aggravation of the calamity, a reinforcement of fifty Athenian vessels, whose crews were ignorant of the defeat of their countrymen, fell into the power of the enemy and were almost entirely destroyed. Thus one of the finest armaments ever sent forth from Athens was all but annihilated, and the Persians regained possession of the greater part of Egypt (B. C. 455).

§ 13. It may well excite our astonishment that, while Athens was employing so large an armament against the Persians, she was still able to maintain and extend her power in Greece by force of arms. Corinth, Epidaurus, and Ægina were watching her progress with jealousy and awe. At the time of the Megarian alliance no actual blow had yet been struck; but that important accession to the Athenian power was speedily followed by open war. The Æginetans, in conjunction with the Corinthians, Epidaurians, and other Peloponnesians, fitted out a large fleet. A battle ensued near the island of Ægina, in which the Athenians gained a decisive victory, and entirely ruined the naval power of the Æginetans. The Athenians captured seventy of their ships, and, landing a large force upon the island, laid siege to the capital.

The growth of the Athenian power was greatly promoted by the continuance of the revolt of the Helots, which was not put down till the year B. C. 455. This circumstance prevented the Lacedæmonians from opposing the Athenians as they would otherwise probably have done. All the assistance afforded by the allies to the Æginetans consisted of a miserable detachment of three hundred men; but the Corinthians attempted to divert the Athenians by making an attack upon Megara. Hereupon Myronides marched from Athens at the head of the boys and old men, and gave battle to the enemy near Megara. The affair was not very decisive, but the Corinthians retired, leaving their adversaries masters of the field. On their return home, however, the taunts which they encountered at having been defeated by so unwarlike a force incited them to try their fortune once more. The Athenians again marched out to the attack, and this time gained a decisive victory, rendered still more disastrous to the Corinthians by a large body of their troops having marched by mistake into an inclosed place, where they were all cut to pieces by the Athenians.

§ 14. It was about this time (B. C. 458–457) that the Athenians chiefly through the advice of Pericles, began to construct the long wall which connected the Peiræus and Phalerum with Athens. They were doubtless suggested by the apprehension that the Lacedæmonians, though now engaged with domestic broils, would sooner or later take part in the confederacy which had been organized against Athens. This gigantic undertaking was in conformity with the policy of Themistocles for rendering the maritime power of Athens wholly unassailable; but even the magnificent ideas of that statesman might perhaps have deemed the wor

chimerical and extravagant. The wall from Phalerum was thirty-five stadia, or about four miles long, and that from Peiræus forty stadia, or about four miles and a half, in length. The plan of these walls was probably taken from those already erected at Megara, which had been recently tried, and perhaps found to be of good service in the war which had taken place there. The measure was violently opposed by the aristocratic party, but without success.

§ 15. The progress of Athens had now awakened the serious jealousy of Sparta, and though she was still engaged in the siege of Ithomé, she resolved on taking some steps against the Athenians. Under the pretence of assisting the Dorians, whose territory had been invaded by the Phocians, fifteen hundred Spartan hoplites, supported by ten thousand allies, were despatched into Doris. The mere approach of so large a force speedily effected the ostensible object of the expedition, and compelled the Phocians to retire. The Lacedæmonians now proceeded to effect their real design, which was to prevent the Athenians from gaining such an ascendancy in Bœotia as they had gained in other places. In consequence of the part she had played during the Persian wars, Thebes had lost much of her former influence and power; and the conduct of Sparta herself in the subsequent settlement of Greece had, as before related, been conducive to the same result. The Lacedæmonians seem to have now become sensible of the mistake which they had committed; and though their general policy was adverse to the confederation of cities, yet they were now induced to adopt a different course, and to restore the power of Thebes by way of counterpoise to that of Athens. With this view the Lacedæmonian troops were marched into Bœotia, where they were employed in restoring the fortifications of Thebes, and in reducing the Bœotian cities to her obedience. The designs of Sparta were assisted by the traitorous co-operation of some of the oligarchical party at Athens. That faction, finding itself foiled in its attempt to arrest the progress of the long walls, not only invited the Lacedæmonians to assist them in this attempt, but also to overthrow the democracy itself. The Lacedæmonians listened to these proposals, and their army took up a position at Tanagra, on the very borders of Attica. The Athenians, suspecting that some treason was in progress, now considered it high time to strike a blow. With such of their troops as were not engaged at Ægina, together with a thousand Argeians, and some Thessalian horse, they marched out to oppose the Lacedæmonians at Tanagra. Here a bloody battle ensued (s.c. 457), in which the Lacedæmonians gained the advantage, chiefly through the treacherous desertion of the Thessalians in the very heat of the engagement. The victory was not sufficiently decisive to enable the Lacedæmonians to invade Attica; but it served to secure them an unmolested retreat, after partially ravaging the Megarid, through the passes of the Geraneia.

// § 16. Previously to the engagement, the ostracized Cimon, who was grievously suspected of being implicated in the treacherous correspondence of some of his party with the Lacedæmonians, presented himself before the Athenian army as soon as it had crossed the border, and earnestly entreated permission to place himself in the ranks of the hoplites. His request being refused, he left his armor with some friends, conjuring them to wipe out, by their conduct in the field, the imputation under which they labored. Stung by the unjust suspicions of their countrymen, and incited by the exhortations of their beloved and banished leader, a large band of his most devoted followers, setting up his armor in their ranks, fought side by side with desperate valor, as if he still animated them by his presence. A hundred of them fell in the engagement, and proved by their conduct that, with regard at least to the majority of Cimon's party, they were unjustly suspected of collusion with the enemy. Cimon's request had also stimulated Pericles to deeds of extraordinary valor; and thus both parties seemed to be bidding for public favor on the field of battle, as they formerly had done in the bloodless contentions of the Athenian assembly. A happy result of this generous emulation was that it produced a great change in public feeling. Cimon's ostracism was revoked, and the decree for that purpose was proposed by Pericles himself.

§ 17. The healing of domestic faction gave a new impulse to public spirit at Athens. At the beginning of the year B. C. 456, and only about two months after their defeat at Tanagra, the Athenians again marched into Bœotia. The Bœotians went out to meet them with a numerous army; but in the battle of Œenophyta, which ensued, the Athenians under Myronides gained a brilliant and decisive victory, by which Thebes itself, and consequently the other Bœotian towns, fell into their power. The Athenians now proceeded to reverse all the arrangements which had been made by the Lacedæmonians, banished all the leaders who were favorable to Spartan ascendancy, and established a democratical form of government. To these acquisitions Phocis and Locris were soon afterwards added.

From the Gulf of Corinth to the Straits of Thermopylæ Athenian influence was now predominant. In the year after the battle of Œenophyta (B. C. 455), the Athenians finished the building of the long walls and completed the reduction of Ægina, which became a subject and tributary ally. Their expedition into Egypt, and its unfortunate catastrophe in this year, has been already related. But notwithstanding their efforts and reverses in that quarter, they were strong enough at sea to scour the coasts of Greece, of which they gave a convincing proof. An Athenian fleet, under command of Tolmides, sailed round Peloponnesus, and insulted the Lacedæmonians by burning their ports of Methoné and Gythium. Naupactus, a town of the Ozolian Locrians near the mouth

of the Gulf of Corinth, was captured; and in the latter place Tolmides established the Helots and Messenians, who in the course of this year had been subdued by the Lacedæmonians, and compelled to evacuate Ithomé. During the course of the same expedition the islands of Zacynthus and Cephallenia were gained over to the Athenian alliance, and probably also some towns on the coast of Achaia.

§ 18. After the battle of Tanagra the Lacedæmonians made for a while no further attempts to oppose its progress, and quietly beheld the occupation of Boeotia and Phocis. Even after the surrender of Ithomé they still remained inactive; and three years after that event (B. C. 452), concluded a five years' truce with the Athenians. This truce was effected through the mediation of Cimon, who was anxious that no dread of hostilities at home should divert him from resuming operations against the Persians; nor perhaps was Pericles unwilling that so formidable a rival should be absent on foreign service. Cimon sailed to Cyprus with a fleet of two hundred triremes belonging to the confederacy; whence he despatched sixty vessels to Egypt, to assist the rebel prince Amyrtæus, who still held out against the Persians among the marshes of the Delta. But this expedition proved fatal to the great Athenian commander. With the remainder of the fleet, Cimon undertook the siege of Citium in Cyprus; but died during the progress of it, either from disease or from the effects of a wound. The command now devolved on Anaxicrates; who, being straitened by a want of provisions, raised the siege of Citium, and sailed for Salamis, a town in the same island, in order to engage the Phœnician and Cilician fleet. Here he gained a complete victory both on sea and land, but was deterred, either by pestilence or famine, from the further prosecution of the war; and, having been rejoined by the sixty ships from Egypt, sailed home to Athens.

§ 19. After these events a pacification was concluded with Persia, which has sometimes, but erroneously, been called "the peace of Cimon." It is stated that by this compact the Persian monarch agreed not to tax or molest the Greek colonies on the coast of Asia Minor, nor to send any vessels of war westward of Phaselis in Lycia, or within the Cyanean rocks at the junction of the Euxine with the Thracian Bosphorus; the Athenians on their side undertaking to leave the Persians in undisturbed possession of Cyprus and Egypt. Even if no treaty was actually concluded, the existence of such a state of relations between Greece and Persia at this time must be recognized as an historical fact, and the war between them considered as now brought to a conclusion.

§ 20. During the progress of these events the states which formed the Confederacy of Delos, with the exception of Chios, Lesbos, and Samos, had gradually become, instead of the active allies of Athens, her disarmed and passive tributaries. Even the custody of the fund had been transferred from Delos to Athens, but we are unable to specify the precise


time at which this change took place. This transfer marked the subjection of the confederates as complete: yet it is said to have been made with the concurrence of the Samians; and it is probable that Delos would have been an unsafe place for the deposit of so large a treasure. The purpose for which the confederacy had been originally organized disappeared with the Persian peace; yet what may now be called Imperial Athens continued, for her own ends, to exercise her prerogatives as head of the league. Her alliances, as we have seen, had likewise been extended in Continental Greece, where they embraced Megara, Bœotia, Phocis, Locris; together with Trœzen and Achaia in Peloponnesus. Of these allies some were merely bound to military service and a conformity of foreign policy, whilst others were dependent tributaries. Of the former kind were the states just mentioned, together with Chios, Lesbos, and Samos; whilst in the latter were comprehended all the remaining members of the Confederacy of Delos, as well as the recently conquered Ægina. Such was the position of Athens in the year 448 B. C., the period of her greatest power and prosperity. From this time her empire began to decline; whilst Sparta, and other watchful and jealous enemies, stood ever ready to strike a blow.

§ 21. In the following year (B. C. 447) a revolution in Bœotia deprived Athens of her ascendancy in that country. This, as we have seen, was altogether political, being founded in the democracies which she had established in the Bœotian towns after the battle of Cœnophyta. These measures had not been effected without producing a numerous and powerful class of discontented exiles, who, being joined by other malecontents from Phocis, Locris, and other places, succeeded in seizing Orchomenus, Chæronea, and a few more unimportant towns of Bœotia. With an overweening contempt of their enemies, a small band of one thousand Athenian hoplites, chiefly composed of youthful volunteers belonging to the best Athenian families, together with a few auxiliaries, marched under the command of Tolmides to put down the revolt, in direct opposition to the advice of Pericles, who adjured them to wait and collect a more numerous force. The enterprise proved disastrous in the extreme. Tolmides succeeded, indeed, in retaking Chæronea and garrisoning it with an Athenian force; but whilst his small army was retiring from the place, it was surprised by the enemy and totally defeated. Tolmides himself fell in the engagement, together with many of the hoplites, whilst a still larger number were taken prisoners. This last circumstance proved fatal to the interests of Athens in Bœotia. In order to recover these prisoners, she agreed to evacuate Bœotia, to restore the exiles, and to permit the re-establishment of the aristocracies which she had formerly overthrown. Thus all Bœotia, with the exception of Plataea, once more stood opposed, and indeed doubly hostile, to Athens.

But the Athenian reverses did not end here. The expulsion of the

partisans of Athens from the government of Phocis and Locris, and the revolt of Eubœa and Megara, were announced in quick succession ; whilst to crown all, the Spartans, who were now set free to act by the termination of the five years' truce, were preparing to invade Attica itself. The youthful Pleistoanax, king of Sparta, actually penetrated, with an army of Lacedæmonians and Peloponnesian allies, as far as the neighborhood of Eleusis ; and the capital itself, it is said, was saved only by Pericles having bribed the Spartan monarch, as well as Cleandrides, his adjutant and counsellor, to evacuate the country. The story was at least believed at Sparta ; for both Pleistoanax and Cleandrides were found guilty of corruption and sent into banishment.

§ 22. Pericles had been recalled by the Spartan invasion from an expedition which he had undertaken for the reconquest of Eubœa, and which he resumed as soon as the Spartans had departed from Attica. With an overwhelming force of fifty triremes and five thousand hoplites he soon succeeded in reducing the island to obedience, in some parts of which the land-owners were expelled and their properties given to Athenian cleruchs or colonists. But this was the only possession which Athens succeeded in recovering. Her empire on land had vanished more speedily than it had been acquired ; whilst in the distance loomed the danger of an extensive and formidable confederacy against her, realized some years afterwards by the Peloponnesian war, and not undeservedly provoked by her aggressive schemes of conquest and empire. Thus both her present position and her future prospects were well calculated to fill the Athenians, and their leader Pericles, with apprehension and alarm ; and under these feelings of despondency they were induced to conclude, at the beginning of the year B. C. 445, a thirty years' truce with Sparta and her allies, by which they consented to abandon all the acquisitions which they had made in Peloponnesus, and to leave Megara to be included among the Peloponnesian allies of Sparta.





The Acropolis restored.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM THE THIRTY YEARS' TRUCE TO THE WAR BETWEEN CORINTH AND CORCYRA.

§ 1. State of Parties at Athens. Thucydides. § 2. Opposite Political Views. § 3. Ostracism of Thucydides. Administration of Pericles. He adorns Athens. His Foreign Policy. § 4. Athenian Colonization. Cleruchisæ. Thurii and Amphipolis. § 5. Nature of the Athenian Maritime Empire. Amount of Tribute. Oppressions. § 6. Revolt of Samos. Reduction of the Island by Pericles.

§ 1. THE aristocratical party at Athens had been nearly annihilated by the measures of Pericles recorded in the preceding chapter. In order to make the final effort against the policy of that statesman, the remnant of this party had united themselves under Thucydides, the son of Melesias. Thucydides — who must not be confounded with his namesake, the great historian — was a relative of Cimon's, to whose political principles he succeeded. In ability and character he differed considerably from Cimon. He was not much distinguished as a military man; but as a statesman and orator he might even bear some comparison with his great opponent, Pericles. Thucydides, however, had not the advantage of being on the popular side; and his manner of leading the opposition soon proved the ruin both of himself and of his party. The high character and great services of Aristides and Cimon, the conciliatory manners of both, and especially the affable and generous temper of Cimon, had, in spite of their unpopular views, secured them considerable influence. Thucydides, on the contrary, does not appear to have been distinguished by any of

these qualities ; and though the steps which he took to give his party a stronger organization in the assembly at first enabled him to make head against Pericles, yet they ultimately proved the cause of his overthrow. Not only were his adherents urged to a more regular attendance in the assembly, but they were also instructed to take up a separate and distinct position on the benches ; and thus, instead of being mixed as before with the general mass of citizens, they became a regularly organized party. This arrangement seemed at first to lend them strength. Their applause or dissent, being more concentrated, produced a greater effect. At any sudden turn in a debate they were in a better position to concert their measures, and could more readily put forward their best speakers according to emergencies. But these advantages were counterbalanced by still greater drawbacks. A little knot of men, who from a particular corner of the ecclesia were constantly opposing the most popular measures, naturally incurred a great share of odium and suspicion ; but what was still worse, the paucity of their numbers — and from their position they could easily be counted — was soon remarked ; and they then began to fall into contempt, and were designated as *The Few*.

§ 2. The points of dispute between the two parties were much the same as they had been in the time of Cimon. Thucydides and his followers were for maintaining amicable relations with the rest of Greece, and were opposed to the more popular notion of extending the Athenian dominion even at the risk of incurring the hostility of the other Grecian states. They were of opinion that all their efforts should be directed against the common enemy, the Persians ; and that the advantages which Athens derived from the Confederacy of Delos should be strictly and honestly applied to the purposes for which that confederacy had been formed. With regard to this subject the administration of Pericles had produced a fresh point of contention. The vast amount of treasure accumulated at Athens from the tribute paid by the allies was more than sufficient for any apprehended necessities of defence, and Pericles applied the surplus to strengthening and beautifying the city. Thucydides complained that, by this misapplication of the common fund, Athens was disgraced in the eyes of Greece. Pericles, on the other hand, contended that, so long as he reserved sufficient to guarantee security against the Persians, he was perfectly at liberty to apply the surplus to Athenian purposes. This argument is the argument of the strongest, and, if valid in this case, might at any time be applied to justify the grossest abuses of power. The best that we can say in favor of the Athenians is, that, if they were strong enough to commit this injustice, they were also enlightened enough to apply the proceeds in producing works of art that have excited the wonder and admiration of the world. Other conquerors have often contented themselves with carrying off the works of others ; the Athenians had genius enough to produce their own. But we can hardly justify the means by pointing to the result.

§ 3. From the opposition of Thucydides, Pericles was released by ostracism; though by which party such a step was proposed cannot be determined. Thucydides went into banishment. This event, which probably took place about two years after the conclusion of the Thirty Years' Truce, completely broke up the aristocratical party; and for the remainder of his life Pericles enjoyed the sole direction of affairs. His views were of the most lofty kind. Athens was to become the capital of Greece, the centre of art and refinement, and at the same time of those democratical theories which formed the *beau idéal* of the Athenian notions of government. In her external appearance the city was to be rendered worthy of the high position to which she aspired, by the beauty and splendor of her public buildings, by her works of art in sculpture, architecture, and painting, and by the pomp and magnificence of her religious festivals. All these objects Athens was enabled to attain in an incredibly short space of time, through the genius and energy of her citizens and the vast resources at her command. No state has ever exhibited so much intellectual activity and so great a progress in art as was displayed by Athens in the period which elapsed between the Thirty Years' Truce and the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. But of the literature of this period, as well as of the great works of art produced in it, an account is given in another place,* and it will suffice to mention briefly here the more important structures with which Athens was adorned, during the administration of Pericles. On the Acropolis rose the magnificent temple of Athena, called the Parthenon, built from the plans of Ictinus and Callicrates, but under the direction of Pheidias, who adorned it with the most beautiful sculptures, and especially with a colossal statue of Athena in ivory, forty-seven feet in height. At the same time a theatre designed for musical performances, called the Odæum, was erected at the southeastern foot of the Acropolis. Both these structures appear to have been finished by 437 B. C. Somewhat later were erected the Propylæa, or magnificent entrance to the Acropolis, at the western end. Besides these vast works, others were commenced which were interrupted by the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, as the reconstruction of the Erechthæum, or ancient temple of Athena Polias; the building of a great temple of Demeter, at Eleusis, for the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries; another of Athena at Sunium, and one of Nemesis at Rhamnus. Besides these ornamental works, Pericles undertook others of a more useful kind. In order to render the communication between Athens and Peiræus still more secure, he constructed a third long wall, between the two already built, running parallel to, and at a short distance from, the one which united the city to Peiræus. At the same time Peiræus itself was improved and beautified, and a new dock and arsenal constructed, said to have cost one thousand talents. The

* See below, Chap. XXXIV., XXXV.

whole cost of these improvements was estimated at three thousand talents, or about £ 732,000 (nearly \$ 3,170,000).

In this part of his plans Pericles may be said to have been entirely successful. The beautiful works which arose under his superintendence established the empire of Athenian taste, not only for his own time but for all succeeding ages. But the other and more substantial part of his projects — the establishment of the material empire of Athens, of which these works were to be but the type and ornament — was founded on a miscalculation of the physical strength and resources of his country; and after involving Athens, as will be seen in the sequel, in a long series of suffering and misfortune, ended at last in her degradation and ruin.

§ 4. Colonization, for which the genius and inclination of the Athenians had always been suited, was another and safer method adopted by Pericles for extending the influence and empire of Athens. The settlements made under his auspices were of two kinds, *Cleruchies*,* and regular colonies. The former mode was exclusively Athenian. It consisted in the allotment of land in conquered or subject countries to certain bodies of Athenians, who continued to retain all their original rights of citizenship. This circumstance, as well as the convenience of entering upon land already in a state of cultivation, instead of having to reclaim it from the rude condition of nature, seems to have rendered such a mode of settlement much preferred by the Athenians. The earliest instance which we find of it is in the year B. C. 506, when four thousand Athenians entered upon the domains of the Chalcidian knights. But it was under Pericles that this system was most extensively adopted. During his administration one thousand Athenian citizens were settled in the Thracian Chersonese, five hundred in Naxos, and two hundred and fifty in Andros. His expeditions for this purpose even extended into the Euxine. From Sinopé, on the shores of that sea, he expelled the despot Timesilaus and his party, whose estates were confiscated, and assigned for the maintenance of six hundred Athenian citizens. The islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, as well as a large tract in the North of Eubœa, were also completely occupied by Athenian proprietors.

The most important colonies settled by Pericles were those of Thurii and Amphipolis. Since the destruction of Sybaris by the Crotoniates, in B. C. 509, the former inhabitants had lived dispersed in the adjoining territory along the Gulf of Tarentum. They had in vain requested Sparta to recolonize them, and now applied to Pericles, who granted their request. In B. C. 443 he sent out a colony to found Thurii, near the site of the ancient Sybaris. But though established under the auspices of Athens, Thurii can hardly be considered an Athenian colony, since it contained settlers from almost all parts of Greece. Among those who joined this

* Κληρουχίαι.

colony were the historian Herodotus and the orator Lysias. The colony of Amphipolis was founded some years later (B. C. 437), under the conduct of Agnon. But here also the proportion of Athenian settlers was small. Amphipolis was in fact only a new name for Ennea Hodoi, to colonize which place the Athenians, as before related, had already made some unsuccessful attempts. They now succeeded in maintaining their ground against the Edonians, and Amphipolis became an important Athenian dependency with reference to Thrace and Macedonia.

§ 5. Such were the schemes of Pericles for promoting the empire of Athens. That empire, since the conclusion of the Thirty Years' Truce, had again become exclusively maritime. Yet even among the subjects and allies united with Athens by the Confederacy of Delos, her sway was borne with growing discontent. One of the chief causes of this dissatisfaction was the amount of the tribute exacted by the Athenians, as well as their misapplication of the funds. During the administration of Pericles, the rate of contribution was raised upwards of thirty per cent., although the purpose for which the tribute was originally levied had almost entirely ceased. In the time of Aristides and Cimon, when an active war was carrying on against the Persians, the sum annually collected amounted to four hundred and sixty talents. In the time of Pericles, although that war had been brought to a close by what has been called the peace of Cimon, and though the only armament still maintained for the ostensible purposes of the confederacy was a fleet of sixty triremes, which cruised in the *Ægæan*, the tribute had nevertheless increased to the annual sum of six hundred talents. The importance of this tribute to the Athenians may be estimated from the fact that it formed considerably more than half of their whole revenue; for their income from other sources amounted only to four hundred talents. It may be said, indeed, that Greece was not even yet wholly secure from another Persian invasion; and that Athens was therefore justified in continuing to collect the tribute, out of which, it must in justice to Pericles be admitted, a large sum had been laid by, amounting, when the Peloponnesian war broke out, to six thousand talents. But that there was no longer much danger to be apprehended from the Persians is shown by subsequent events; and though it is true that Pericles saved a large sum, yet he had spent much in decorating Athens; and the surplus was ultimately applied, not for the purposes of the league, but in defending Athens from enemies which her aggressive policy had provoked.

But the tribute was not the only grievance of which the allies had to complain. Of all the members of the Confederacy of Delos, the islands of Chios, Samos, and Lesbos were the only states which now held the footing of independent allies; that is, they alone were allowed to retain their ships and fortifications, and were only called upon to furnish military and naval aid when required. The other members of the league, some of them indeed with their own consent, had been deprived of their

nary and reduced to the condition of tributaries. The deliberative synod for discussing and conducting the affairs of the league had been discontinued, probably from the time when the treasury was removed from Delos to Athens; whilst the Hellenotamiæ had been converted into a board consisting solely of Athenians. Notwithstanding, therefore, the seeming independence of the three islands just mentioned, the Athenians were in fact the sole arbiters of the affairs of the league, and the sole administrators of the fund. Another grievance was the transference to Athens of all lawsuits, at least of all public suits; for on this subject we are unable to draw the line distinctly. In criminal cases, at all events, the allies seem to have been deprived of the power to inflict capital punishment. It can scarcely be doubted that even private suits in which an Athenian was concerned were referred to Athens. In some cases, it is true, the allies may have derived benefit from a trial before the Athenian people, as the dicasteries were then constituted; but on the whole, the practice can only be regarded as a means and a badge of their subjection. Besides all these causes of complaint, the allies had often to endure the oppressions and exactions of Athenian officers both military and naval, as well as of the rich and powerful Athenian citizens settled among them.

Many of these abuses had no doubt arisen before the time of Pericles; but the excuse for them had at all events ceased to exist with the death of Cimon and the extinction of the Persian war. To expect that the Athenians should have voluntarily relinquished the advantages derived from them might be to demand too much of human nature, especially as society was then constituted; and the Athenians perhaps, on the whole, did not abuse their power to a greater extent than many other nations both in ancient and modern times. With this argument for their exculpation we must rest content; for it is the only one. They were neither better nor worse than other people. The allurements, it must be confessed, was a splendid one. By means of the league Athens had become the mistress of many scattered cities, formerly her equals; and the term of *despot* over them was applied to her not only by her enemies, but adopted in her overweening confidence and pride by herself.

§ 6. The principal event in the external history of Athens during the period comprised in the present chapter was the subjugation of the island of Samos, the most important of the three islands which still retained their independence. In B. C. 440, the Milesians, who had been defeated by the Samians in a war respecting the possession of Priêné, lodged a formal complaint in Athens against the Samians; and it was seconded by a party in Samos itself, who were adverse to the oligarchical form of government established there. As the Samians refused to submit to the arbitration of the Athenians, the latter resolved to reduce them to obedience by force; and for that purpose despatched an armament of forty

ships to Samos, under the command of Pericles, who established a democratical form of government in the island, and carried away hostages belonging to the first Samian families, whom he deposited in the isle of Lemnos. But no sooner had Pericles departed than some of the oligarchical party, supported by Pissuthnes, satrap of Sardis, passed over in the night-time to Samos, overpowered the small Athenian garrison which had been left by Pericles, and abolished the democracy. They then proceeded to Lemnos, and, having regained possession of the hostages, proclaimed an open revolt against Athens, in which they were joined by Byzantium.

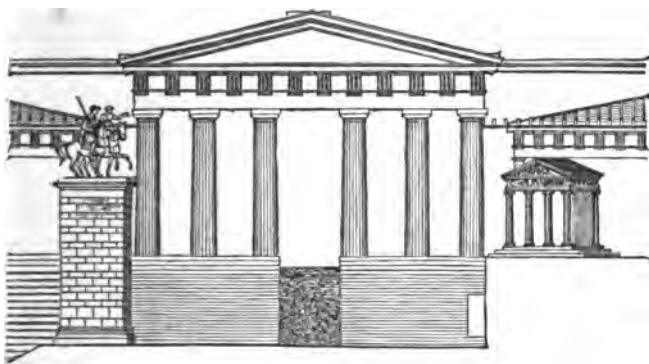
When these tidings reached Athens a fleet of sixty triremes immediately sailed for Samos. Pericles was again one of the ten *strategi* or generals in command of the expedition, and among his colleagues was Sophocles, the tragic poet. After several engagements between the hostile fleets, the Samians were obliged to abandon the sea and take refuge in their city, which, after enduring a siege of nine months, was forced to capitulate.

The Samians were compelled to raze their fortifications, to surrender their fleet, to give hostages for their future conduct, and to pay the expenses of the war, amounting to one thousand talents. The Byzantines submitted at the same time. During these operations, it was a point disputed among the states opposed to Athens whether the Samians should be assisted in their revolt; a question decided in the negative, chiefly through the influence of the Corinthians, who maintained the right of every confederacy to punish its refractory members.

The triumphs and the power of Athens were no doubt regarded with fear and jealousy by her rivals; but the conquest of Samos was not followed by any open manifestation of hostility. A general impression however prevailed, that sooner or later a war must ensue; but men looked forwards to it with fear and trembling, from a conviction of the internecine character which it must necessarily assume. It was a hollow peace, which the most trifling events might disturb. The train was already laid; and an apparently unimportant event, which occurred in B. C. 435 in a remote corner of Greece, kindled the spark which was to produce the conflagration. This was the quarrel between Corinth and Corcyra, which will be detailed in the following chapter.



Bust of the poet Sophocles.



The Propylæa of the Acropolis, restored.

CHAPTER XXV.

CAUSES OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

§ 1. Quarrel between Corinth and Corcyra. § 2. Corcyraean Embassy to Athens. Decision of the Athenians. § 3. They send a Fleet to Corcyra. Naval Engagements. Defeat of the Corinthians. § 4. Revolt of Potidæa. § 5. Congress of the Peloponnesian Allies at Sparta. The Spartans decide for War. § 6. Second Congress. The Allies resolve upon War. § 7. The Lacedæmonians require the Athenians to expel Pericles. § 8. Attacks upon Pericles, Aspasia, and Anaxagoras. Imprisonment and Death of Pheidias. § 9. Further Requisitions of the Lacedæmonians. Rejected by the Athenians. § 10. The Thebans surprise Plataea. § 11. The Athenians prepare for War. Portents. § 12. Forces of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. § 13. The Peloponnesian Army assembles at the Isthmus of Corinth.

§ 1. ON the coast of Illyria, near the site of the modern Durazzo, the Corcyraeans had founded the city of Epidamnus. Corcyra (now Corfu) was itself a colony of Corinth; and, though long at enmity with its mother country, was forced, according to the time-hallowed custom of the Greeks in such matters, to select the founder or *oekist** of Epidamnus from the Corinthians. Accordingly Corinth became the metropolis of Epidamnus also. At the time of which we speak, the Epidamnians were hard pressed by the Illyrians, led by some oligarchical exiles of their own city, whom they had expelled in consequence of a domestic sedition. In their distress they applied to Corcyra for assistance; which the Corcyraeans, being principally connected with the Epidamnian oligarchy, refused. The Epidamnians, after consulting the oracle of Delphi, then sought help from the Corinthians, who undertook to assist them, and organized an expedition

* *Oikistês*.

for that purpose, consisting partly of new settlers, and partly of a military force. The Corcyræans highly resented this interference, proceeded to restore the Epidamnian oligarchs, and with a fleet of forty ships blockaded the town and its new Corinthian garrison. Hereupon the Corinthians fitted out a still stronger expedition, for which they collected both ships and money from their allies. The Corcyræans, having made a fruitless attempt to persuade the Corinthians to refer the matter to arbitration, prepared to meet the blow. Their fleet, the best in Greece after that of Athens, completely defeated the Corinthians off Cape Actium; and on the same day Epidamnus surrendered to their blockading squadron (B. C. 435).

§ 2. Deeply humbled by this defeat, the Corinthians spent the two following years in active preparations for retrieving it. They got ready ninety well-manned ships of their own; and by active exertions among their allies, they were in a condition, in the third year after their disgrace, to put to sea with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail. The Corcyræans, who had not enrolled themselves either in the Lacedæmonian or Athenian alliance, and therefore stood alone, were greatly alarmed at these preparations. They now resolved to remedy this deficiency; and as Corinth belonged to the Lacedæmonian alliance, the Corcyræans had no option, and were obliged to apply to Athens. Ambassadors were accordingly despatched to that city, who, being introduced into the assembly, endeavored to set in a striking light the great accession of naval power which the Athenians would derive from an alliance with the Corcyræans. The Corinthians, who had also sent an embassy to Athens, replied to the arguments of the Corcyræan envoys, appealing to the terms of the Thirty Years' Truce, and reminding the Athenians that it was through the representations of the Corinthians that the Peloponnesian allies had not assisted the Samians in their late revolt. The opinions of the Athenian assembly were much divided on the subject; but the views of Pericles and other speakers at length prevailed. They urged that, whatever course might now be taken, war could not ultimately be avoided; and that therefore the more prudent course was to avail themselves of the increase of strength offered by the Corcyræan alliance, rather than to be at last driven to undertake the war at a comparative disadvantage. To avoid, however, an open infringement of the Thirty Years' Truce, a middle course was adopted. It was resolved to conclude only a defensive alliance with Corcyra; that is, to defend the Corcyræans in case their territories were actually invaded by the Corinthians, but beyond that not to lend them any active assistance.

§ 3. By entering upon this merely defensive alliance the Athenians also hoped to stand aloof and see the Corinthian and Corcyræan fleets mutually destroy one another; and it was probably in accordance with this policy that only a small squadron of ten triremes, under the command

of Lacedæmonius the son of Cimon, was despatched to the assistance of the Corcyræans. The Corinthian fleet of one hundred and fifty sail took up its station at Cape Cheimerium on the coast of Epeirus; where the Corinthians established a naval camp, and summoned to their assistance the friendly Epeirot tribes. The Corcyræan fleet of one hundred and ten sail, together with ten Athenian ships, was stationed at one of the adjoining islands called Sybota. A battle speedily ensued, which, for the number of ships engaged, was the greatest yet fought between fleets entirely Grecian. Neither side, however, had yet adopted the Athenian tactics. They had no conception of that mode of attack in which the ship itself, by the method of handling it, became a more important instrument than the crew by which it was manned. Their only idea of a naval engagement was to lay the ships alongside one another, and to leave the hoplites on deck to decide the combat after the fashion of a land fight. At first Lacedæmonius, in accordance with his instructions, took no part in the battle, though he afforded all the assistance he could to the Corcyræans by manœuvring as if he were preparing to engage. After a hard-fought day, victory finally declared in favor of the Corinthians. The Athenians now abandoned their neutrality, and did all in their power to save the flying Corcyræans from their pursuers. This action took place early in the morning; and the Corinthians, after returning to the spot where it had been fought, in order to pick up their own dead and wounded, prepared to renew the attack in the afternoon, and to effect a landing at Corcyræ. The Corcyræans made the best preparations they could to receive them, and the Athenians, who were now within the strict letter of their instructions, determined to give their new allies all the assistance in their power. The war pæan had been sounded, and the Corinthian line was in full advance, when suddenly it tacked and stood away to the coast of Epeirus. This unexpected retreat was caused by the appearance of twenty Athenian vessels in the distance, which the Corinthians believed to be the advanced guard of a still larger fleet. But though this was not the case, the succor proved sufficient to deter the Corinthians from any further hostilities. Drawing up their ships along the coast of Epeirus, they sent a few men in a small boat to remonstrate with the Athenians for having violated the truce; and finding from the parley that the Athenians did not mean to undertake offensive operations against them, they sailed homewards with their whole fleet, after erecting a trophy at Sybota. On reaching Corinth eight hundred of their prisoners were sold as slaves; but the remaining two hundred and fifty, many of whom belonged to the first families in Corcyræ, though detained in custody, were treated with peculiar kindness, in the hope that they would eventually establish in that island a party favorable to Corinth. These events took place in the year B. C. 432.

§ 4. The Corinthians were naturally incensed at the conduct of Athens,

and it is not surprising that they should have watched for an opportunity of revenge. This was soon afforded them by the enmity of the Macedonian prince Perdiccas towards the Athenians. Offended with the Athenians for having received into their alliance his two brothers Philip and Derdas, with whom he was at open variance, Perdiccas exerted all his efforts to injure Athens. He incited her tributaries among the Chalcidians and Bottiæans to revolt, including Potidæa, a town seated on the isthmus of Palléné. Potidæa, though now a tributary of Athens, was originally a colony of the Corinthians, towards whom it still owed a sort of metropolitan allegiance, and received from them certain annual magistrates called Epidemiurgi.* Aware of the hostile feeling entertained at Corinth against the Athenians, Perdiccas not only sent envoys to that city to concert measures for a revolt of Potidæa, but also to Sparta to induce the Peloponnesian league to declare war against Athens.

The Athenians were not ignorant of these proceedings. They were about to despatch an armament in the Thermaic Gulf, designed to act against Perdiccas; and they now directed the commander of this armament to require the Potidæans to level their walls on the side of the town towards the sea, to dismiss their Corinthian magistrates, and to give hostages, as a pledge of their future fidelity. Thereupon the Potidæans openly raised the standard of revolt, in the summer apparently of B. C. 482. Instead of immediately blockading Potidæa, the Athenian fleet wasted six weeks in the siege of Therma, during which interval the Corinthians were enabled to throw a reinforcement of two thousand troops into Potidæa. Thereupon a second armament was despatched from Athens, and joined the former one, which was now engaged in the siege of Pydna on the Macedonian coast. But as the town promised to hold out for some time, and as the necessity for attacking Potidæa seemed pressing, an accommodation was patched up with Perdiccas, and the whole Athenian force marched over-land against Potidæa. Aristæus, the Corinthian general, was waiting to receive them near Olynthus, and a battle ensued in which the Athenians were victorious. The Corinthians ultimately succeeded in effecting their retreat to Potidæa; and the Athenians, after receiving a further reinforcement, completely blockaded the town, both by sea and land.

§ 5. Meanwhile the Lacedæmonians, urged on all sides by the complaints of their allies, summoned a general meeting of the Peloponnesian confederacy at Sparta. Besides the Corinthians other members of it had heavy grievances to allege against Athens. Foremost among these were the Megarians, who complained that their commerce had been ruined by

* In some of the Grecian states, the executive magistrates bore the title of *Demiurgi* (*δημουργοί*.) The Epidemiurgi were governors sent by the metropolis to manage the affairs of the colony. — Ed.

a recent decree of the Athenians, which excluded them from every port within the Athenian jurisdiction. The pretexts for this severe measure were, that the Megarians had harbored runaway Athenian slaves, and had cultivated pieces of unappropriated and consecrated land upon the borders. These reasons seem frivolous; and the real cause of the decree must no doubt be ascribed to the hatred which the Athenians entertained towards Megara, since her revolt from them fourteen years before. Ægina was another, though not an open, accuser. No deputy from that island actually appeared at the congress; but the Æginetans loudly complained, through the mouths of others, that Athens withheld from them the independence to which they were entitled.

The assembly having been convened, the deputies from the various allied cities addressed it in turn, the Corinthian envoy reserving himself for the last. He depicted in glowing language the ambition, the enterprise, and the perseverance of Athens, which he contrasted with the over-cautious and inactive policy of Sparta. Addressing himself to the Spartans, he exclaimed: "The Athenians are naturally innovators, prompt both in deciding and in acting; whilst *you* only think of keeping what you have got, and do even less than what positive necessity requires. *They* are bold beyond their means, venturesome beyond their judgment, sanguine even in desperate reverses; *you* do even less than you are able to perform, distrust your own conclusions, and when in difficulties fall into utter despair. *They* never hang back, *you* never advance; *they* love to serve abroad, *you* seem chained at home; *they* believe that every new movement will procure them fresh advantage, *you* fancy that every new step will endanger what you already possess." And after telling them some more home-truths, he concluded with a threat, that, if they still delayed to perform their duty towards their confederates, the Corinthians would forthwith seek some other alliance.

An Athenian ambassador, charged with some other business, was then residing at Sparta; and when the Corinthian envoy had concluded his address, he rose to reply to it. After denying the right of Sparta to interfere in a dispute between Corinth and Athens, he entered into a general vindication of the Athenian policy. He contended that empire had not been sought by Athens, but thrust upon her, and that she could not abdicate it without endangering her very existence. He alluded to the eminent services rendered by Athens to all Greece during the Persian war; maintained that her empire was the natural result of her conduct in that conjuncture, and denied that it had been exercised with more severity than was necessary, or than would have been used by any other Grecian power, including Sparta herself. He concluded by calling upon the Lacedæmonians to pause before taking a step which would be irretrievable, and to compose all present differences by an amicable arbitration; declaring that, should Sparta begin the war, Athens was prepared to resist her,

as he now called those gods to witness who had been invoked to sanctify the truce.

After these speeches had been delivered, all strangers, including the Peloponnesian allies, were ordered to withdraw from the assembly, and the Lacedæmonians then proceeded to decide among themselves the question of peace or war. In this debate the Spartan king Archidamus spoke strongly in favor of peace; but the ephor Sthenelaïdas, who presided upon this occasion in the assembly, called upon his countrymen, in a short and vigorous speech, to declare immediate war against Athens. The Spartan assembly was accustomed to vote by acclamation, and, on the question being put, the vote for war decidedly predominated. But in order to remove all doubts upon so important a subject, Sthenelaïdas, contrary to the usual practice, ordered the assembly to divide, when a vast majority declared themselves for war.

§ 6. Before their resolution was publicly announced, the Lacedæmonians, with their characteristic caution, sent to consult the oracle of Delphi upon the subject. The god having promised them his aid, and assured them of success, provided they exerted themselves to obtain it, another congress of the allies was summoned at Sparta. In this, as in the former one, the Corinthians took the most prominent part in the debate. The majority of the congress decided for war, thus binding the whole Peloponnesian confederacy to the same policy. This important resolution was adopted towards the close of B. C. 432, or early in the following year.))

§ 7. Previously to an open declaration of war, the Lacedæmonians sent several requisitions to Athens, intended apparently to justify the step they were about to take against her, in case she refused to comply with their demands. The first of these requisitions seems to have been a political manœuvre, aimed against Pericles, their most constant and powerful enemy in the Athenian assembly. Pericles, as we have said, belonged to the Alcmaeonidæ; a family regarded as having incurred an inexpiable taint through the sacrilege committed nearly two centuries before by their ancestor Megacles, in causing the adherents of Cylon to be slaughtered at the altar of the Eumenides, whither they had fled for refuge.* The Lacedæmonians, in now demanding that Athens should expel from her borders this "abomination,"† hardly expected that she would consent to the banishment of her great statesman; but they at all events gave his opponents in the assembly an opportunity to declaim against him, and to fix upon him the odium of being, in part at least, the cause of the impending war.

§ 8. For Pericles, despite his influence and power, had still many bitter and active enemies, who not long before had indirectly assailed him

* See above, p. 88.

† Τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν, to expel the accursed thing. Thucyd. — Ed.

through his private connections, and even endeavored to wound his honor by a charge of peculation. His mistress Aspasia belonged to that class of women whom the Greeks called *Hetaerae*, literally "female companions," or, as we should designate them, courtesans.* Many of these women were distinguished, not only for their beauty, but also for their wit and accomplishments, and in this respect formed a striking contrast to the generality of Athenian ladies; who, being destined to a life of privacy and seclusion, did not receive the benefit of much mental culture. Pericles, after divorcing a wife with whom he had lived unhappily, took Aspasia to his house, and dwelt with her till his death on terms of the greatest affection. Their intimacy with Anaxagoras, the celebrated Ionic philosopher, was made a handle for wounding Pericles in his tenderest relations. Paganism, notwithstanding its license, was, with surprising inconsistency, capable of producing bigots: and even at Athens the man who ventured to dispute the existence of a hundred gods with morals and passions somewhat worse than those of ordinary human nature, did so at the risk of his life. Anaxagoras was indicted for impiety. Aspasia was included in the same charge, and dragged before the dicastery by the comic poet Hermippus. Anaxagoras prudently fled from Athens, and thus probably avoided a fate which in consequence of a similar accusation afterwards overtook Socrates. Pericles himself pleaded the cause of Aspasia. He was indeed indirectly implicated in the indictment; but he felt no concern except for his beloved Aspasia, and on this occasion the cold and somewhat haughty statesman, whom the most violent storms of the assembly could not deprive of his self-possession, was for once seen to weep. His appeal to the dicastery was successful, but another trial still awaited him. An indictment was preferred against his friend, the great sculptor Pheidias, for embezzlement of the gold intended to adorn the celebrated ivory statue of Athena; and, according to some, Pericles himself was included in the charge of peculation. Whether Pericles was ever actually tried on this accusation is uncertain; but at all events, if he was, there can be no doubt that he was honorably acquitted. The gold employed in the statue had been fixed in such a manner that it could be detached and weighed, and Pericles challenged his accusers to the proof. But Pheidias did not escape so fortunately. There were other circumstances which rendered him unpopular, and amongst them the fact that he had introduced por-

* It is not easy to define precisely the position of Aspasia. She did not belong to the common class of *Hetaerae*, since she lived, in all respects, as the wife of Pericles. As the laws at that time severely prohibited the intermarriage of a citizen with a foreign woman, the offspring of such a union were, of course, in some sense illegitimate. In the case of Pericles and Aspasia, the relation was analogous to the left-handed marriages of modern princes. The fact that Aspasia stood at the head of Athenian society, and that her house was resorted to by not only the most eminent men of her times, but by many of the most respectable Athenian ladies, shows that she was not regarded by her contemporaries as the mistress of Pericles. — Ed.

traits both of himself and Pericles in the sculptures which adorned the frieze of the Parthenon. Pheidias died in prison before the day of trial; and some even whispered that he had been poisoned by the enemies of Pericles, in order to increase the suspicions which attached to the latter. Another report, equally absurd and unfounded, was that Pericles, in order to avoid the impending accusation, kindled the Peloponnesian war.

But although these proceedings proved that Pericles had many bitter enemies at Athens, still the majority of the Athenians were in his favor, and were not prepared to sacrifice him on account of the absurd and obsolete charge which the Lacedæmonians now thought fit to bring against him. They retorted that the Spartans themselves had some accounts to settle on the score of sacrilege, and required them to clear themselves from having violated the sanctuary of Poseidon at Cape Tænarus by dragging away and slaying the Helots who had taken refuge there, as well as from their impiety in starving to death the regent Pausanias in the temple of Athena Chalciæcus.

§ 9. Having failed in this requisition, the Lacedæmonians brought forward others more pertinent to the matter in hand. They demanded that the Athenians should withdraw their troops from Potidæa, restore the independence of Ægina, and repeal their decree against the Megarians. On the last of these demands they laid particular stress, and intimated that war might be avoided by a compliance with it. But this was rejected, as well as the others. The Lacedæmonians then sent their ultimatum. They declared that they wished for peace, and that it would not be interrupted if the Athenians consented to recognize the independence of the other Grecian states.

This requisition, so different from and so much more general than the preceding demands, showed clearly enough that the Lacedæmonians were resolved upon war. The character of this requisition seems to indicate that it had been adopted as a sort of manifesto in order to enlist the sympathy of all Greece in favor of the Peloponnesian league, which now professed to stand forwards as the champion of its liberties. That this was the view taken of it by the Athenian assembly may be inferred from the debate that ensued, in which the principal topic was the Megarian decree, and the possibility of still avoiding a war by its repeal. On this point a warm discussion took place. A majority of the assembly seemed still inclined for peace. But Pericles, in a speech of surpassing eloquence and power, again contended that no concessions could ultimately avert a war, and, after passing in review the comparative forces of Athens and her opponents, concluded by persuading the Athenians to return for answer, that they were ready to give satisfaction respecting any matter which properly concerned the Thirty Years' Truce, and that they would forbear from commencing hostilities; but that at the same time they were prepared to repel force by force. This answer was accordingly adopted,

though not without much reluctance, and communicated to the Spartan envoys.

§ 10. Before any actual declaration of war, and whilst both parties stood in suspense, hostilities were begun in the spring of B. C. 431 by a treacherous attack of the Thebans upon Platæa. Though Bœotians by descent, the Platæans did not belong to the Bœotian league; but, as we have seen, had long been in alliance with the Athenians, and enjoyed in some degree a communion of their civil rights. Hence they were regarded with hatred and jealousy by the Thebans, which sentiments were also shared by a small oligarchical faction in Platæa itself. The state of affairs in Greece seemed favorable for striking a secret and unexpected blow. Naucleides, the head of the oligarchical faction at Platæa, entered into a correspondence with the Thebans, and it was agreed to surprise the town at a time when the citizens were off their guard. During a religious festival, and in a rainy night, a body of more than three hundred Thebans presented themselves before one of the gates of Platæa, and were admitted by Naucleides and his partisans. The latter wished to conduct the Thebans at once to the houses of their chief political opponents, in order that they might be secured or made away with. The Thebans, however, hesitated to commit so gross a piece of violence. They expected to be reinforced the next day by the larger part of the Theban army, when they should be able to dictate their own terms without having recourse to the invidious act which had been proposed to them. They accordingly took up a position in the agora, or market-place, and directed their herald to summon all the inhabitants whose political views coincided with their own, to come and join their ranks. The first feeling of the Platæans was one of surprise and alarm on being roused from their sleep with the astounding intelligence that their ancient enemies were in possession of their town. But when the small number of the Thebans began to be ascertained, they took heart, established communications with one another by breaking through the walls of their houses, and, having barricaded the streets with wagons, fell upon the enemy a little before daybreak. The Thebans formed in close order, and defended themselves as well as they could. But they were exhausted by their midnight march through a soaking rain; they were unacquainted with the narrow, crooked streets of the town, now choked with mud and obstructed by barricades; whilst the women hurling the tiles from the housetops, with loud yells and execrations, completed their confusion and dismay. A very few succeeded in escaping over the walls. The great majority, mistaking the folding-doors of a large granary for the city gates, rushed in and were made prisoners. The march of the reinforcement had been delayed by the rain, which had rendered the river Asopus scarcely fordable; and when they at last arrived, they found all their countrymen either slain or captured.

The Thebans without the walls now proceeded to lay hands on all the

persons and property they could find, as pledges for the restoration of the prisoners. Hereupon the Plataeans despatched a herald to remonstrate against this flagrant breach of the existing peace, promising at the same time, that, if they retired, the prisoners should be given up, but if not, that they would be immediately put to death. The Thebans withdrew on this understanding. But no sooner were they gone than the Plataeans, instead of observing the conditions, removed all their movable property from the country into the town, and then massacred all the prisoners, to the number of one hundred and eighty.

§ 11. At the first entrance of the Thebans into Plataea a messenger had been despatched to Athens with the news, and a second one after their capture. The Athenians immediately sent a herald to enjoin the Plataeans to take no steps without their concurrence; but he arrived too late, and the prisoners were already slain. So striking an incident as this attempt on the part of the Thebans could not fail to produce an immediate war, and the Athenians concerted their measures accordingly. They immediately issued orders for seizing all Boeotians who might happen to be in Attica, placed an Athenian garrison in Plataea, and removed thence all the women and other inhabitants incapable of taking a part in its defence. War was now fairly kindled. All Greece looked on in suspense as its two leading cities were about to engage in a strife of which no man could foresee the end; but the youth, with which both Athens and Peloponnesus then abounded, having had no experience in the bitter calamities of war, rushed into it with ardor. Every city, nay, almost every individual, seemed desirous of taking a part in it; most of them, however, from a feeling of hatred against Athens, and with a desire either of avoiding or of being relieved from her yoke. The predictions of soothsayers and oracles were heard on all sides, whilst natural portents were eagerly inquired after and interpreted. A recent earthquake in Delos, which had never before experienced such a calamity, seemed to foreshadow the approaching struggle, and to form a fitting introduction to a period which was to be marked, not only by the usual horrors of war, but by the calamities of earthquakes, drought, famine, and pestilence.

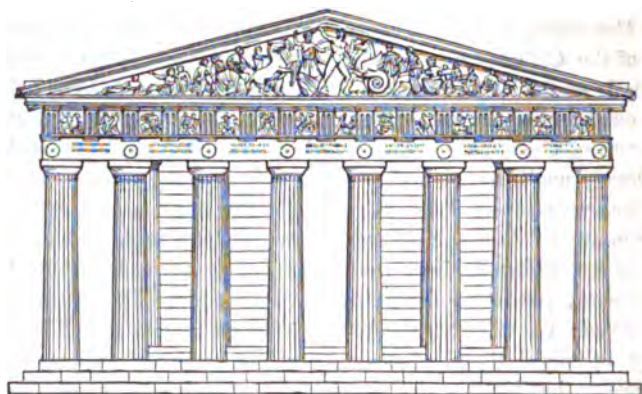
§ 12. The nature of the preparations and the amount of forces on both sides were well calculated to excite these apprehensions. On the side of Sparta was ranged the whole of Peloponnesus,—except Argos and Achaia,—together with the Megarians, Boeotians, Phocians, Opuntian Locrians, Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactorians. The force collected from these tribes consisted chiefly of hoplites, or heavy-armed foot-soldiers; but Boeotia, Phocis, and Locris also supplied some excellent cavalry. A good navy was the great deficiency on the side of the Peloponnesians, though Corinth and several other cities furnished ships. Yet, with the assistance of the Dorian cities in Italy and Sicily, they hoped to collect a fleet of five hundred triremes; and they even designed to apply to the Persian king, and thus bring a Phoenician fleet again to act against Athens.

The allies of Athens, with the exception of the Thessalians, Acarnanians, Messenians at Naupactus, and Plataeans, were all insular, and consisted of the Chians, Lesbians, Corcyraeans, and Zacynthians, and shortly afterwards of the Cephallenians. To these must be added her tributary towns on the coast of Thrace and Asia Minor, together with all the islands north of Crete, except Melos and Thera. The resources at Athens immediately available were very great. They consisted of 800 triremes ready for active service, 1,200 cavalry, 1,600 bowmen, and 29,000 hoplites, for the most part Athenian citizens. Of these, 13,000 formed the flower of the army, whilst the rest were employed in garrison duty in Athens and the ports, and in the defence of the long walls. In the treasury of the Acropolis was the large sum of 6,000 talents, or about £ 1,400,000 sterling, in coined silver. This reserve had at one time amounted to 9,700 talents, but had been reduced to the sum stated by the architectural improvements in Athens, and by the siege of Potidæa. The plate and votive offerings in the temples, available in case of urgent need, were estimated at nearly 1,000 talents of silver. Besides these resources, Athens had also the annual tribute of her subjects.

§ 13. Such were the forces of the two contending cities. Immediately after the attempted surprise of Plataea, the Lacedæmonians issued orders to their allies to send two thirds of their disposable troops at once to the isthmus of Corinth, where they were to assemble by a day named, for the purpose of invading Attica. At the appointed time, the Spartan king Archidamus, the commander-in-chief of the expedition, reviewed the assembled host, and addressed a few words of advice and exhortation to the principal officers. Archidamus still cherished hopes that the Athenians would yield, when they saw the hostile army ready to enter Attica, and accordingly he sent forwards Melesippus to announce the impending invasion. But, at the instance of Pericles, the assembly had adopted a resolution to receive neither envoy nor herald; and Melesippus was escorted back without having been permitted to enter the city. As he parted from his escort at the Attic border, he could not help exclaiming, "This day will be the beginning of many calamities to the Greeks."



Bust of the historian Thucydides.



The Parthenon, restored.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PELOPONNESIAN WAR. — FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR TO THE CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION OF PLATÆA.

§ 1. The Peloponnesians invade Attica. § 2. Athenian naval Expeditions to Peloponnesus and Locris. § 3. The Athenians invade the Megarid. § 4. Second Invasion of Attica. Plague at Athens. § 5. Unpopularity of Pericles. He is accused of Malversation. § 6. His domestic Misfortunes. Death. Character. § 7. The Lacedæmonians ravage Attica. Their naval Operations. § 8. Surrender of Potidæa. § 9. The Lacedæmonians besiege Platæa. § 10. Part of the Garrison escape. § 11. Surrender of the Town. Trial and Execution of the Garrison.

§ 1. ARCHIDAMUS had entered upon the war with reluctance, and he now prosecuted it without vigor. He still clung to the idea that the Athenians would ultimately incline to peace, and he did all he could to promote so desirable a result. The enormous force which he was leading against them was, indeed, well calculated to test their firmness. It consisted, according to the lowest estimate, of 60,000 men, whilst some writers raise the number to 100,000; and the greater part of them were animated with a bitter hatred of Athens, and with a lively desire of revenge. Archidamus, having lingered as long as he could at the isthmus, marched slowly forwards after the return of Melesippus, and, taking a circuitous road, crossed the Attic border. Having wasted several days in an unsuccessful attack upon the frontier fortress of CENOÉ, and not having received, as he expected, any message from the Athenians, he proceeded towards Eleusis and the Thriasian plain, where he arrived about the middle of June in B. C. 431.

Meanwhile, Pericles had instructed the inhabitants of Attica to secure themselves and their property within the walls of Athens. They obeyed his injunctions with reluctance, for the Attic population had from the earliest times been strongly attached to a rural life. But the circumstances admitted of no alternative. From all quarters they might be seen hurrying towards the capital with their families and goods; whilst the cattle were for the most part conveyed to Eubœa, or some other of the adjoining islands. Every vacant spot in the city or in Peiræus, even those which belonged to the temples, were occupied by the encampments of the fugitives. The Acropolis, indeed, was preserved from this profane invasion; but the ground immediately under it, called the *Pelasgicon*, which, in obedience to an ancient oracle, had hitherto been suffered to remain unoccupied, was now brought into use. The towers and recesses of the city walls were converted into dwellings, whilst huts, tents, and even casks were placed under the long walls to answer the same purpose.

Archidamus, after ravaging the fertile Thriasian plain, in which he was but feebly opposed by a body of Athenian cavalry, proceeded to Acharnæ, one of the largest and most flourishing of the Attic boroughs, situated only about seven miles from Athens. Here he encamped on a rising ground within sight of the metropolis, and began to lay waste the country around, expecting probably by that means to provoke the Athenians to battle. But in this he was disappointed. The Athenians, indeed, and especially the Acharnians now within the walls, who had contributed no fewer than three thousand hoplites to the army, were excited to the highest pitch of exasperation at beholding their houses, their ripening crops, their fruitful vineyards and orchards, destroyed before their very eyes. Little groups might be seen gathered together in the streets angrily discussing the question of an attack, quoting oracles and prophecies which assured them of success, and indignantly denouncing Pericles as a traitor and a coward for not leading them out to battle. Among the leaders of these attacks upon Pericles, Cleon, the future demagogue, now first rising into public notice, was conspicuous. It required all the firmness of Pericles to stem the torrent of public indignation. He had resolved not to venture an engagement in the open field, and steadily refused, in the present excited state of the public mind, to call an assembly of the people, in which, no doubt, some desperate resolution would have been adopted. In order, however, to divert in some degree the popular clamor, he permitted the Athenian and Thessalian cavalry to make sallies for the purpose of harassing the plundering parties of the enemy, and of protecting as much as possible the lands adjacent to the city.

§ 2. But whilst Pericles thus abandoned the Attic territory to the enemy, he was taking active measures to retaliate on the Peloponnesus itself the sufferings inflicted on the Athenians. For this purpose an Athenian

fleet of one hundred triremes, strengthened by fifty Corcyraean ships, as well as by some from the other allies, sailed round Peloponnesus, and, disembarking troops at various points, caused considerable damage. This expedition penetrated as far northwards as the coast of Acarnania, where the Corinthian settlement of Sollium and the town of Astacus were taken, whilst the island of Cephallenia, which voluntarily submitted, was enrolled among the allies of Athens.

Meanwhile a smaller fleet of thirty triremes had been despatched to the coast of Locris, where the towns of Thronium and Alopé were taken and sacked, and a naval station established at the small uninhabited island of Atalanta, in order to coerce the Locrian privateers who infested Eubœa. The naval operations of the year were concluded by the total expulsion of the Æginetans from their island. The situation of Ægina rendered it of the highest importance as a maritime station; and the Athenians were, moreover, incensed against the inhabitants for the part they had taken in exciting the war. The whole of the population was transported to the coast of Peloponnesus, where the Spartans allowed them to occupy the town and district of Thyrea; and their island was portioned out among a body of Athenian cleruchs.

§ 3. Archidamus evacuated Attica towards the end of July, by the route of Oropus and Bœotia; after which his army was disbanded. The Athenians availed themselves of his departure to wreak their vengeance on the Megarians. Towards the end of September, Pericles, at the head of thirteen thousand hoplites, and a large force of light-armed troops, marched into the Megarid, which he ravaged up to the very gates of the city. The Athenians repeated the same ravages once, and sometimes twice, every year whilst the war lasted. In the course of this year the Athenians also formed an alliance with Sitalces, king of the Odrysian Thracians, whose assistance promised to be of use to them in reducing Potidæa and the revolted Chalcidian towns.

Such were the results of the first campaign. From the method in which the war was conducted it had become pretty evident that it would prove of long duration; and the Athenians now proceeded to provide for this contingency. It was agreed that a reserved fund of one thousand talents should be set apart, which was not to be touched in any other case than an attack upon Athens by sea. Any citizen who proposed to make a different use of the fund incurred thereby the punishment of death. With the same view, it was resolved to reserve every year one hundred of their best triremes, fully manned and equipped.

Towards the winter Pericles delivered, from a lofty platform erected in the Cerameicus, the funeral oration of those who had fallen in the war. This speech, or at all events the substance of it, has been preserved by Thucydides, who may possibly have heard it pronounced. It is a valuable monument of eloquence and patriotism, and particularly interesting for the

sketch which it contains of Athenian manners, as well as of the Athenian constitution.* ~~XX~~

§ 4. Another year had elapsed, and in the spring of B. C. 430 the Peloponnesians, under Archidamus, again invaded Attica. At the same time the Athenians were attacked by a more insidious and more formidable enemy. The plague broke out in the crowded city. This terrible disorder, which was supposed to have originated in Æthiopia, had already desolated Asia and many of the countries around the Mediterranean. At Athens it first appeared in the Peiræus; and the numbers of people now congregated in a narrow space caused it to spread with fearful rapidity. A great proportion of those who were seized perished in from seven to nine days. Even in those who recovered, it generally left behind some dreadful and incurable distemper. It frequently attacked the mental faculties, and left those who recovered from it so entirely deprived of memory, that they could neither recognize themselves nor others. The disorder being new, the physicians could find no remedy in the resources of their art, nor, as may be well supposed, did the charms and incantations to which the superstitious resorted prove more effectual. Despair now began to take possession of the Athenians. Some suspected that the Peloponnesians had poisoned the wells; others attributed the pestilence to the anger of Apollo. A dreadful state of moral dissolution followed. The sick were seized with unconquerable despondency; whilst a great part of the population who had hitherto escaped the disorder, expecting soon to be attacked in turn, abandoned themselves to all manner of excess, debauchery, and crime. The dread of contagion produced an all-pervading selfishness. Men abstained from tending and alleviating the sufferings even of their

* A slight sketch of this masterly discourse will not be out of place here. It is not only a eulogy on the dead, but an elaborate and very able exhibition of the merits of the Athenian constitution, and the social life and genius of Athens for the civilizing arts. Such a country, he argues, is entitled to the love of her citizens, and must be defended at the hazard of life itself. "We enjoy," said he, "a form of government, not emulating the laws of neighboring states, being ourselves rather a model to others than copying from them. It has been called by the name of Democracy, because the power resides not with the few, but with the majority." He then shows in what manner the Athenian institutions secured not only equality of rights before the law, but a liberal and generous confidence in private life: how they cherished obedience to the magistrate, and a fine sense of honor, which submitted to the unwritten laws of noble conduct, both from the self-respect of gentlemen and from a sensibility to the shame attached to their violation by public opinion. He appeals to their patriotic pride in the great achievements of their ancestors, and their own. "Having displayed our power in noble manifestations, and most assuredly not without witnesses, we shall be the admiration of the present age, and of those who are to come after us. We have forced every sea and every land to be accessible to our enterprise:—for such a country, the heroes of past ages laid down their lives, receiving a most distinguished sepulchre, not so much that in which their bodies lie buried as that in which their glory, on every occasion of word or deed, shall be held in everlasting remembrance. For of illustrious men the whole earth is the sepulchre, signalized not alone by the inscription of the column in their native land, but, in lands not their own, by the unwritten memory which dwells with every man, of the spirit more than the deed." — ED.

nearest relatives and friends during their sickness, as well as from administering the sacred rites of sepulture to their remains after death. These pious offices of duty and friendship either remained unperformed, or were left to be discharged by strangers, who, having recovered from the disease, enjoyed an immunity from its further attacks. Often would a struggle arise for the possession of a funeral pile, and many a body was burnt on the pile destined for another. But for the most part the dead and the dying lay unheeded in the streets and temples, but more particularly around the wells, whither they had crowded to quench the burning and insatiable thirst excited by the disorder. The very dogs died that preyed upon the corpses, whilst by a peculiar instinct the vultures and other birds of prey abstained from feeding on them.*

The numbers carried off by the pestilence can hardly be estimated at less than a fourth of the whole population. Such at least was about the ascertained proportion among the knights and hoplites forming the upper classes. The number of victims among the poorer part of the population was never ascertained, but there can be no doubt that the ratio among these was much higher.

§ 5. Oppressed at once by war and pestilence, their lands desolated, their homes filled with mourning, it is not surprising that the Athenians were seized with rage and despair, or that they vented their anger on Pericles, whom they deemed the author of their misfortunes. But that statesman still adhered to his plans with unshaken firmness. Though the Lacedæmonians were in Attica, though the plague had already seized on Athens, he was vigorously pushing his plans of offensive operations. A foreign expedition might not only divert the popular mind, but would prove beneficial by relieving the crowded city of part of its population; and accordingly a fleet was fitted out, of which Pericles himself took the command, and which committed devastations upon various parts of the Peloponnesian coast. But, upon returning from this expedition, Pericles found the public feeling more exasperated than before. Envoys had even been despatched to Sparta to sue for peace, but had been dismissed without a hearing; a disappointment which had rendered the populace still more furious. Pericles now found it necessary to call a public assembly in order to vindicate his conduct, and to encourage the desponding citizens to persevere. But though he succeeded in persuading them to prosecute the war with vigor, they still continued to nourish their feelings of hatred against the great statesman. His political enemies, of whom Cleon was the chief, took advantage of this state of the public mind to bring against him a charge of peculation. The main object of this accusation was to incapacitate him for the office of strategus, or general. He was brought before the dicastery

* The description of the plague of Athens (Thucyd. B. II. cc. 47-54) is one of the most masterly delineations in historical literature. — ED.

on this charge, and sentenced to pay a considerable fine; but eventually a strong reaction occurred in his favor. He was re-elected general, and apparently regained all the influence he had ever possessed.

§ 6. But he was not destined long to enjoy this return of popularity. His life was now closing in, and its end was clouded by a long train of domestic misfortunes. The epidemic deprived him not only of many personal and political friends, but also of several near relations, amongst whom were his sister and his two legitimate sons, Xanthippus and Paralus. The death of the latter was a severe blow to him. During the funeral ceremonies, as he placed a garland on the body of this his favorite son, he was completely overpowered by his feelings, and wept aloud. His ancient house was now left without an heir. By Aspasia, however, he had an illegitimate son who bore his own name, and whom the Athenians now legitimized, and thus alleviated, as far as lay in their power, the misfortunes of their great leader: a proceeding all the more striking, since Pericles himself had proposed the law which deprived of citizenship all those who were not Athenians on the mother's side, as well as on the father's.

After this period it was with difficulty that Pericles was persuaded by his friends to take any active part in public affairs; nor did he survive more than a twelvemonth. An attack of the prevailing epidemic was succeeded by a low and lingering fever, which undermined both his strength of body and vigor of intellect. As he lay apparently unconscious on his death-bed, the friends who stood around it were engaged in recalling his exploits. The dying man interrupted them by remarking, "What you praise in me is partly the result of good fortune, and at all events common to me with many other commanders. What I chiefly pride myself upon, you have not noticed, — no Athenian ever wore mourning through me."

The character of Pericles has been very variously estimated. Those who reflect upon the enormous influence which, for so long a period, and especially during the last fifteen years of his life, he exercised over an ingenious but fickle people like the Athenians, will hardly be disposed to question his intellectual superiority. This hold on the public affection was not, as in the case of Cimon, the result of any popularity of manner, for, as we have said, the demeanor of Pericles was characterized by a reserve bordering upon haughtiness. To what then are we to attribute it? Doubtless, in the first place, to his extraordinary eloquence. Cicero regards him as the first example of an almost perfect orator, at once delighting the Athenians with his copiousness and grace, and overawing them by the force and cogency of his diction and arguments. He seems, indeed, on the testimony of two comic poets who will not be suspected of exaggeration in his favor, to have singularly combined the power of persuasion with that more rapid and abrupt style of oratory which takes an audience by storm and defies all resistance. According to Eupolis, persuasion itself

sat upon his lips, and he was the only orator who left a sting behind; whilst Aristophanes characterizes his eloquence as producing the same effects upon the social elements as a storm of thunder and lightning exerts upon the natural atmosphere. His reserved manners may have contributed, and were perhaps designed, to preserve his authority from falling into that contempt which proverbially springs from familiarity; whilst the popularity which he enjoyed in spite of them may probably be traced to the equivocal benefits which he had conferred on the Athenians, by not only making the humblest citizen a partaker in all the judicial and legislative functions of the state, but even paying him for the performance of them. These innovations are condemned by the two greatest philosophers, though of opposite schools, that Greece ever saw, by Plato and Aristotle, and not only by them, but by the unanimous voice of antiquity. Pericles, indeed, by the unlimited authority which he possessed over the people, was able to counteract the evil effects of these changes, which, however, soon became apparent after his death, and made the city a prey to the artifices of demagogues and rhetors. But if Pericles as a politician may not be deserving of unqualified praise, Pericles as the accomplished man of genius and the liberal patron of literature and art is worthy of the highest admiration. By these qualities he has justly given name to the most brilliant intellectual epoch that the world has ever seen. But we have already touched on this point, and shall have occasion to refer to the subject hereafter.*

§ 7. Whilst the Athenians were suffering from the pestilence, the Lacedæmonians were prosecuting their second invasion even more extensively than in the previous year. Instead of confining their ravages to the Thriasian plain, and the country in the immediate neighborhood of Athens, they now extended them to the more southern portions of Attica, and even as far as the mines of Laurium. The Athenians still kept within their walls; and the Lacedæmonians, after remaining forty days in their territory, again evacuated it as before. This year, however, the operations of the latter by sea formed a new feature in the war. Their fleet of a hundred

* The character of Pericles is thus summed up by Thucydides: — "During the whole time that he stood at the head of the state in peace, he governed it with moderation, and watched over its safety, and under him it rose to the highest pitch of greatness. After the war broke out it was seen that he had a true conception of its power: and after his death, his foresight in relation to the war was still more clearly recognized. The cause of his influence was, that, powerful in dignity of character and wisdom, and having conspicuously shown himself the most incorruptible of men, he curbed the people freely, and led them instead of being led by them. For he did not speak to their present favor, endeavoring to gain power by unbecoming means, but dared to brave their anger while holding fast to his own dignity and honor. The constitution was a democracy in word; but in fact, it was the government of the most distinguished citizen. Those, however, who came after him, being more on an equality with one another, and each eager to stand foremost, made the gratification of the people their aim, and sacrificed to this the public interest." — ED.

triremes, under the command of Cnemus, attacked and devastated the island of Zacynthus, but did not succeed in effecting a permanent conquest. They were too inferior in naval strength to cope with the Athenians on the open sea; but the Peloponnesian privateers, especially those from the Megarian port of Nisæa, inflicted considerable loss on the Athenian fisheries and commerce. Some of these privateers even ventured as far as the coasts of Asia Minor, and molested the Athenian trade, for the protection of which the Athenians were obliged to despatch a squadron of six triremes, under Melesander. A revolting feature in this predatory warfare was the cruelty with which the Lacedæmonians treated their prisoners, who were mercilessly slain, and their bodies cast into clefts and ravines. This produced retaliation on the part of the Athenians. Some Peloponnesian envoys, on their way to the court of Persia to solicit aid against Athens, were joined by the Corinthian general Aristeus, who persuaded them to visit the court of the Thracian king, Sitalces, in order if possible to detach him from the Athenian alliance. But this was a fatal miscalculation. Not only was Sitalces firmly attached to the Athenians, but his son Sadocus had been admitted as a citizen of Athens; and the Athenian residents at the court of Sitalces induced him, in testimony of zeal and gratitude for his newly conferred rights, to procure the arrest of the Peloponnesian envoys. The whole party were accordingly seized and conducted to Athens, where they were put to death without even the form of a trial, and their bodies cast out among the rocks, by way of reprisal for the murders committed by the Lacedæmonians.

§ 8. By this act the Athenians got rid of Aristeus, who had proved himself an active and able commander, and who was the chief instigator of the revolt of Potidæa, as well as the principal cause of its successful resistance. In the following winter that town capitulated, after a blockade of two years, during which it suffered such extremity of famine, that even the bodies of the dead were converted into food. Although the garrison was reduced to such distress, and though the siege had cost Athens two thousand talents, the Athenian generals, Xenophon, the son of Euripides, and his two colleagues, granted the Potidæans favorable terms. For this they were reprimanded by the Athenians, who had expected to defray the expenses of the siege by selling the prisoners as slaves, and perhaps also to gratify their vengeance by putting the intrepid garrison to death. Potidæa and its territory was now occupied by a body of a thousand colonists from Athens.

§ 9. The third year of the war (B. C. 429) was now opening, and nothing decisive had been performed on either side. After two invasions, but little mischief, probably, was capable of being inflicted on the Attic territory, or at all events not sufficient to induce the Peloponnesians to incur the risk of infection from the plague. Archidamus, therefore, now directed his whole force against the ill-fated town of Plataea. As he approached

their city, the Plateans despatched a herald to Archidamus to remonstrate against this invasion, and to remind him of the solemn oath which Pausanias had sworn, when, after the defeat of the Persians, he offered sacrifice to Zeus Eleutherios in the great square of Platea, and there, in the presence of the assembled allies, bound himself and them to respect and guarantee their independence. Archidamus replied, that by their oaths they were bound to assist him in the liberation of the rest of Greece; but, if they would not agree to do this, their independence should be respected if they only consented to remain neutral. After this summons had been twice repeated, the Plateans returned for answer, that they could do nothing without the consent of the Athenians, in whose custody their wives and families now were; adding, that a profession of neutrality might again induce the Thebans to surprise their city. Hereupon Archidamus proposed to them to hand over their town and territory to the Lacedæmonians, together with a schedule of all the property which they contained, engaging to hold them in trust and to cultivate the land till the war was terminated, when everything should be safely restored. In the mean time, the Plateans might retire whithersoever they chose, and receive an allowance sufficient for their support.

The offer seemed fair and tempting, and the majority of the Plateans were for accepting it, but it was resolved first of all to obtain the sanction of the Athenians: who, however, exhorted them to hold out, and promised to assist them to the last. The Plateans, afraid to send a herald to the Spartan camp, now proclaimed from the walls their refusal of the proffered terms; when Archidamus invoked the gods and heroes of the soil to witness, that it was not until the Plateans had renounced the oaths which bound them, that he had invaded their territory. The Peloponnesians, indeed, seem to have been really unwilling to undertake the siege. They were driven into it by the ancient grudge of the Thebans against Platea.

The siege that ensued is one of the most memorable in the annals of Grecian warfare. Platea was but a small city, and its garrison consisted of only 400 citizens and 80 Athenians, together with 110 women to manage their household affairs. Yet this small force set at defiance the whole army of the Peloponnesians. The first operation of Archidamus was to surround the town with a strong palisade formed of the fruit-trees which had been cut down, and thus to deprive the Plateans of all egress. He then began to erect a mound of timber, earth, and stones against the wall, forming an inclined plane up which his troops might march, and thus take the place by escalade. The whole army labored at this mound seventy days and nights; but whilst it was gradually attaining the requisite height, the Plateans on their side were engaged in raising their walls with a superstructure of wood and brickwork, protected in front with hides. They also formed a subterranean passage under their walls, and undermined the mound, which thus fell in and required constant additions. And

as even these precautions seemed in danger of being ultimately defeated, they built a new interior wall, in the shape of a crescent, whose two horns joined the old one at points beyond the extent of the mound; so that if the besiegers succeeded in carrying the first rampart, they would be in no better position than before. So energetic was the defence, that the Lacedæmonians, after spending three months in these fruitless attempts, resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and reduce the place by famine.

§ 10. They now proceeded to surround the city with a double wall of circumvallation, the interior space between the two of sixteen feet in breadth being roofed in, and the whole structure protected by a ditch on each side, one towards the town and the other towards the country. The interior was occupied by the troops left on guard, half of which consisted of Boeotians and the other half of Peloponnesians. In this manner the Platæans endured a blockade of two years, during which the Athenians attempted nothing for their relief. In the second year, however, about half the garrison effected their escape in the following bold and successful manner. Provisions were beginning to run short, and the Platæan commander exhorted the garrison to scale the wall by which they were blockaded. Only 212 men, however, were found bold enough to attempt this hazardous feat. Choosing a wet and stormy December night, they issued from their gates, lightly armed and carrying with them ladders accurately adapted to the height of the wall. These were fixed against it in the space between two towers occupied by the guard, and the first company, having mounted, slew, without creating alarm, the sentinels on duty. Already a great part of the Platæans had gained the summit, when the noise of a tile loosened by one of the party, and falling down, betrayed what was passing. The whole guard immediately turned out, but in the darkness and confusion knew not whither to direct their blows, whilst the lighted torches which they carried rendered them a conspicuous aim for the arrows and javelins of those Platæans who had gained the other side of the walls. In this manner the little band succeeded in effecting their escape, with the exception of one man who was captured, and of a few who lost their courage and returned to Platæa.

§ 11. But though the provisions of the garrison were husbanded by this diminution in their number, all the means of subsistence were at length exhausted, and starvation began to stare them in the face. The Lacedæmonian commander had long been in a condition to take the town by storm, but he had been directed by express orders from home to reduce it to a voluntary capitulation, in order that, at the conclusion of a peace, Sparta might not be forced to give it up, as she would be in case of a forcible capture. Knowing the distressed state of the garrison, the Lacedæmonians sent in a herald with a summons to surrender and submit themselves to their disposal, at the same time promising that only the guilty should be punished. The besieged had no alternative, and submitted. This took place in B. C. 427, after the blockade had lasted two years.

The whole garrison, consisting of 200 Plataeans and 25 Athenians, were now arraigned before five judges sent from Sparta. Their indictment was framed in a way which precluded the possibility of escape. They were simply asked, "Whether during the present war they had rendered any assistance to the Lacedæmonians or their allies?" So preposterous a question at once revealed to the prisoners that they could expect neither justice nor mercy. Nevertheless, they asked and obtained permission to plead their cause. Their orators, by recalling the services which Plataea had rendered to Greece in general in the Persian war, and to Sparta in particular, by aiding to suppress the revolt of the Helots, seemed to have produced such an impression on their judges that the Thebans present found it necessary to reply. Their speech does not appear to have contained any very cogent arguments, but it was successful. The Plataeans were mercilessly sacrificed for reasons of state policy. Each man, including the twenty-five Athenians, was called up separately before the judgment-seat, and the same question having been put to him, and of course answered in the negative, he was immediately led away to execution. The town of Plataea, together with its territory, was transferred to the Thebans, who, a few months afterwards, levelled all the private houses to the ground, and with the materials erected a sort of vast barrack around the Heræum, or temple of Hera, both for the accommodation of visitors, and to serve as an abode for those to whom they let out the land. Thus was Plataea blotted out from the map of Greece.



Statue of Theseus, from the Pediment of the Parthenon, in the British Museum.

CHAPTER XXVII.

PELOPONNESIAN WAR CONTINUED.—FROM THE SIEGE OF PLATÆA TO THE SEDITION AT CORCYRA.

§ 1. General Character of the War. § 2. Military and Naval Operations of the Third Year. Attempt of Peloponnesians to surprise Peiræus. § 3. Fourth Year. Revolt of Mytilenæ. § 4. Fifth Year. Surrender of Mytilenæ. § 5. Debates of the Athenian Assembly respecting the Mytilenæans. Cleon and the Athenian Demagogues. § 6. Bloody Decree against the Mytilenæans. § 7. Second Debate. Reversal of the Decree. Lesbos colonized by Athenians. § 8. Civil Dissensions at Corcyra. § 9. Picture of the Times by Thucydides.

§ 1. In recording the fall of Plataea, we have anticipated the order of chronology. The investment of that town formed, as we have related, the first incident in the third year of the Peloponnesian war. The subsequent operations of that war down to the eleventh year of it, or the year B. C. 421,—when a short and hollow peace, or rather truce, called the peace of Nicias, was patched up between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians,—were not of a decisive character. There was, indeed, much mutual injury inflicted, but none of those great events which bring a war to a close by disabling either one or both parties from continuing it. The towns captured were, moreover, restored at the peace; by which, consequently, Athens and Sparta were placed much in the same state as when the war broke out. It would be tedious to detail at length all the little engagements which occurred,

and which the reader could with difficulty remember; and we shall therefore content ourselves with a sketch of the more important events, especially those which display the general character of the period, the actions of the more remarkable men who flourished in it, and the motives, views, and dispositions of the contending parties.

§ 2. Except the siege of Plataea, the operations by land in the third year of the war were unimportant. The Athenians failed in an attempt to reduce the town of Spartolus in Chalcidicé; nor were the efforts of their new ally, Sitalces, more successful in that quarter. According to the ancient myth of Tereus, Sitalces considered himself a kinsman of the Athenians; but some well-applied bribes were probably a more efficacious inducement for him to undertake the reduction of Chalcidicé, and the dethronement of Perdiccas, king of Macedonia. The sway of Sitalces over the barbarous tribes of Thrace was very extensive. He was able to collect an army estimated at 150,000 men, one third of which was cavalry. With this multitudinous, but wild and disorderly host, he penetrated far into the dominions of Perdiccas, and compelled the Macedonians, who did not venture to meet him in the open field, to shut themselves up in their fortresses. He also detached a force to reduce the Chalcidians and Bottiæans. But his expedition was undertaken at too late a period of the year, seemingly about the end of November, or beginning of December; and as the winter proved very severe, and the Athenians neglected to send any armament to his assistance, Sitalces was compelled to relinquish his conquests after a campaign, or rather foray, of thirty days.

In the same year the naval superiority of the Athenians was strikingly exhibited by the victories of Phormio in the Corinthian Gulf. The Lacedæmonians had planned an expedition against Acarnania, and had sent a fleet of forty-seven sail, under the command of Cnemus, to carry this project into effect. Phormio was stationed at Naupactus with only twenty Athenian ships; but notwithstanding his numerical inferiority, he gained a brilliant victory over the Peloponnesian fleet. But this was not all. The Spartans lost no time in collecting another fleet, amounting to seventy-seven sail. Meantime Phormio had received no reinforcements; but such was his confidence in the skill of his seamen, that he ventured to meet even these overpowering numbers, and though this victory was not so decisive as the previous one, the Peloponnesians relinquished all further operations and sailed back to Corinth. The Peloponnesian commanders tried to compensate for these losses by surprising the harbor of Peiræus, which was unprotected by a guard, or even by a chain. Having marched overland from Corinth to the Megarian port of Nisæa, they embarked their men in forty old triremes, which, however, were in a sufficient state of repair for so short an expedition. But either their courage failed them at the very moment of executing their project, or else, as they gave out, the wind proved adverse. Instead of attempting Peiræus, they proceeded to

the opposite island of Salamis. Here they landed in the night, captured three guard-ships, ravaged the island, and succeeded in retreating with their booty before the alarmed and enraged Athenians could come up with them. The Athenians, however, took warning from this insult, and were more careful in future in guarding their harbors.

§ 3. The fourth year of the war (B. C. 428) was marked by the usual invasion of Attica on the part of the Peloponnesians. It was accompanied by the alarming news of the revolt of Mytilené, the capital of Lesbos, and of the greater part of that island. This revolt had been long meditated; but though the Athenians had before received some intimation of it, their reduced condition from the war and from the plague had prevented them from taking any measures to arrest it. An embassy which they now sent to the Mytilenæans, to persuade them to remain in their duty, having failed, the Athenian commander, Cleippides, who was on the point of sailing to the Peloponnesus with a fleet of forty triremes, was ordered to proceed directly to Mytilené.

It was one of the disadvantages of the Athenian constitution, so far at least as the foreign relations of Athens were concerned, that the executive power lay with the people, and that thus, all their debates and resolutions being public, it was impossible to keep them concealed from those who were the subjects of them. The Mytilenæans, having received information of the intended expedition through a spy, postponed the festival of Apollo, during which the Athenians had expected to surprise them, and made every preparation to receive the hostile fleet. But being still inferior in strength, they pretended to enter into negotiations with Cleippides, who fell into the snare; and in the mean time secretly despatched envoys to Sparta to implore immediate assistance. The embassy which the Mytilenæans had sent to Athens with the ostensible purpose of negotiating, having, as might be expected, failed, Cleippides, who had been reinforced by several vessels from the allied islands, as well as by one thousand Athenian hoplites under Paches, commenced hostilities, and by the beginning of October succeeded in blockading Mytilené both by sea and land.

The Mytilenæan envoys despatched to Sparta arrived during the celebration of the Olympic festival, where most of the members of the Peloponnesian alliance were present. After the festival was concluded they set forth the grounds of their complaints against Athens, which were chiefly two; namely, their fear of being reduced to the condition of the other subject allies of Athens, and their repugnance to assist that state in her ambitious policy, which was generally offensive to the states of Greece. Their application was of course favorably received by their Peloponnesian auditors. They were promised assistance, and were formally received into the Peloponnesian alliance. Not only was a second invasion of Attica ordered, but it was also proposed to transport on trucks, across the isthmus, from the harbor of Lechæum into the Saronic Gulf, the ships which had fought against Phormio, and to employ them against Athens.

A very general impression seems at this time to have prevailed among the allies, that the plague and war combined had nearly exhausted the resources of the Athenians. Nor was this opinion altogether without foundation. The fund which they possessed at the beginning of the war was now exhausted, with the exception of the reserve of one thousand talents put by to meet a naval invasion. The numbers of their soldiers, and especially of their able seamen, had also no doubt been considerably reduced by the war and pestilence. But there were still ample means, and above all an indomitable spirit, among the Athenians, to supply the deficiencies thus created. A higher class both of citizens and metics * than those who had hitherto engaged in the naval service was ordered on board the fleet, from which duty only the two highest classes, namely, the Pentacosimedimni, and the Hippeis, or Knights, were now exempted. And in order to replenish the public treasury the Athenians were for the first time subjected to a direct contribution or income tax, by which a sum of two hundred talents was raised.

By these efforts the Athenians manned a fleet of one hundred triremes, which suddenly and unexpectedly appeared off the isthmus, and made descents at various points. At the same time the Lacedæmonians assembled there were surprised by the news that another Athenian fleet of thirty triremes, which had been previously despatched under Asopius, the son of Phormio, was committing devastations on the coast of Laconia. These energetic proceedings arrested the projected enterprise of the Lacedæmonians, especially as their allies were engaged in gathering the harvest, and had therefore assembled only in small numbers. Accordingly they returned home, and contented themselves with preparing a fleet of forty triremes for the relief of Mytilenê.

§ 4. This armament, however, could not be got ready till the spring of the following year (B. C. 427). Meanwhile Salæthus, a Lacedæmonian envoy, proceeded to Lesbos, and, having contrived to enter Mytilenê, encouraged the citizens to hold out till the arrival of the promised succors. In the course of April the Peloponnesian fleet, consisting of forty-two triremes under Alcidas, actually sailed, and at the same time, in order to create a diversion, the allied army again invaded Attica.

But week after week passed away, and Alcidas did not appear before Mytilenê. The provisions of the town were exhausted, the populace was growing impatient, and even Salæthus himself began to despair of the arrival of the fleet. It was therefore resolved, as a last desperate expedient, to make a sally, and endeavor to raise the blockade. With this view even the men of the lower classes were armed with the full armor of the hoplites. But this step produced a very different result from what

* The *μέτοικοι*, *metics*, were resident aliens, of whom a large number were found at Athens, on account of the liberal treatment extended to strangers in that city. — Ed.

Salæthus had expected or intended. The great mass of the Mytilenæans were not adverse to the Athenian dominion; but they regarded their own oligarchical government with suspicion, accused it of starving the citizens whilst it possessed stores of concealed provisions for the use of the higher classes; and being now strengthened by the arms which had been distributed to them, threatened that, unless their demands were complied with, they would surrender the city to the Athenians. In this desperate emergency the Mytilenæan government perceived that their only chance of safety lay in anticipating the people in this step. They accordingly opened a negotiation with Paches, and a capitulation was agreed upon by which the city was to be surrendered, and the fate of its inhabitants to be decided by the Athenian Assembly. It was stipulated, however, that they were to be permitted to send envoys to Athens to plead their cause; and Paches engaged that meanwhile nobody should be imprisoned or sold into slavery. When Paches entered the city, those Mytilenæans who had been the chief instigators of the revolt took refuge at the altars; but he induced them by his assurances to quit their places of refuge, and placed them in Tenedos.

Scarcely had this capitulation been concluded, when, to the surprise of the Mytilenæans, the Peloponnesian fleet appeared off the coast of Ionia. Alcidas, overawed by the maritime reputation of Athens, had neglected to discharge his duty with the energy required by the crisis; and, finding that he had arrived too late to save Mytilenê, he sailed back to Peloponnesus, without attempting anything further.

§ 5. Paches, being now undisputed master of Lesbos, despatched to Athens those Mytilenæans who had been deposited at Tenedos, together with others implicated in the late revolt, and likewise Salæthus, the Lacedæmonian envoy, who had been detected in a place of concealment in the city. The Athenians assembled to decide on the fate of these prisoners, amounting in number to more than a thousand. Salæthus was at once put to death. The disposal of the other prisoners caused some debate. It was on this occasion that the demagogue Cleon, whom we have already noticed as an opponent of Pericles, first comes prominently forwards in Athenian affairs. The effects of the extensive commerce of Athens, and more particularly of the political changes introduced by Pericles, were now beginning to show themselves. Down to the time of that statesman, the democracy of Athens had been governed by aristocratic leaders alone. The personal qualities of Pericles, in spite of the growing feeling of democracy, secured his ascendancy in the assembly; but even during his lifetime men of a much lower rank than those who had formerly pretended to govern the people were beginning to step forward, and to claim a share of power. Such were Eucrates, the rope-maker, Lysicles, the sheep-dealer, and Hyperbolus, the lamp-maker. The humblest mechanic, if an Athenian citizen, was at liberty to address the assembly; there was

nothing to prevent him but disfranchisement for debt or crime. If he succeeded, his fortune was made; for the influence thus acquired might be converted, in various, but not over-reputable ways, into a source of profit. Success, however, demanded some peculiar qualifications. An Athenian audience was somewhat fastidious; but more especially the vastness of their assemblies, and the noise and clamor with which they frequently abounded, demanded not only a considerable share of nerve, but also physical powers, especially a loud voice, which are not always found combined with the higher mental requisites of an orator. Hence those who possessed even a moderate share of ability, if endowed with audacity and a stentorian voice, stood a much better chance in the assembly than men of far higher talent, but deficient in those indispensable qualifications. If we may trust the picture drawn by Aristophanes, Cleon, the leather-seller, was a perfect model of that new class of low-born orators just alluded to; a noisy brawler, loud in his criminations, insolent in his gestures, corrupt and venal in his principles; extorting money by threats of accusations, a persecutor of rank and merit, a base flatterer and sycophant of the populace. In this portrait much allowance must no doubt be made, not only for comic license and exaggeration, but also for party feeling and personal pique. Aristophanes was on the aristocratic side in politics, and was moreover engaged in a private quarrel with Cleon, caused by the latter having complained to the Senate of his comedy of the *Babylonians*. Thucydides, indeed, in his account of Cleon, goes very far to confirm the description of Aristophanes. But here too we must be somewhat on our guard respecting the testimony of an historian otherwise remarkable for his impartiality; for it was to Cleon that Thucydides owed his banishment. Still, after making all due allowance for the operation of these causes, we cannot refrain from thinking that the character of Cleon conveyed to us by these two writers is, in its main features, correct. Even a caricature must have some grounds of truth for its basis; nor would Aristophanes, out of mere regard for his poetical reputation, have ventured to produce before an Athenian audience a character of their well-known demagogue so unlike the truth as not to be easily recognized. The actions of Cleon, which are undisputed, show him cruel and cowardly; characteristics which may lead us to infer any degree of baseness in a man. Along with his impudence and other bad qualities he must, however, no doubt have possessed a certain share of ability, since, at the period of which we are now speaking, he possessed more influence than any other orator in the Athenian Assembly. It was he who took the lead in the debate respecting the disposal of the Mytileneans, and made the savage and horrible proposal to put to death not only the prisoners who had been sent to Athens, but the *whole* male population of Mytilenê of military age,—including therefore those who had not participated in, or were even opposed to, the revolt,—and to sell the women and children into slavery. This motion

he succeeded in carrying, notwithstanding the opposition of Diodotus and others; and in order seemingly that no room might be left for cooler reflection, a trireme was immediately despatched to Mytilenê, conveying orders to Paches to put the bloody decree into execution.

§ 6. The barbarous laws of ancient warfare justified atrocities which in modern times would be regarded with horror and detestation; and we have already described the Lacedæmonians as exercising those laws with the most revolting severity in the case of the garrison of Platæa; — an event, however, which took place a little after the time of which we are now speaking. The conduct of the Lacedæmonians on that occasion admits of no excuse. But this decree of the Athenians was infinitely worse, not only on account of the much greater number of persons whom it devoted to death, but also and principally because it made no discrimination between the innocent and the guilty. One night's reflection convinced the better part of the Athenians of the enormity which they had sanctioned. Ordinary experience shows that bodies of men will perpetrate acts which the individuals composing them would shrink from with horror: and this tendency was one of the worst evils springing from the multitudinous and purely democratical composition of the Athenian assemblies. On the morrow so general a feeling prevailed of the horrible injustice that had been committed, that the Strategi acceded to the prayer of the Mytilenæan envoys, and called a fresh assembly; though by so doing they committed an illegal act and exposed themselves to impeachment.

§ 7. Cleon, however, had not changed his opinion. In the second assembly he repeated his arguments against the Mytilenæans, and clamored for what he called "justice" against them. He denounced the folly and mischief of reversing on one day what had been done on the preceding; and, though himself the very type and model of a demagogue, had the impudence to characterize his opponents as guilty and ambitious orators, who sacrificed the good of the republic either to their interests or their vanity! His opponent, Diodotus, very wisely abstained from appealing to the *humanity* of an assembly which had passed the decree of the previous day. He confined himself entirely to the policy of the question, and concluded by recommending that the Mytilenæans already in custody should be put upon their trial, but that the remainder of the population should be spared. This amendment having been carried by a small majority, a second trireme was immediately despatched to Mytilenê, with orders to Paches to arrest the execution. The utmost diligence was needful. The former trireme had a start of four-and-twenty hours, and nothing but exertions almost superhuman would enable the second to reach Mytilenê early enough to avert the tragical catastrophe. The oarsmen were allowed by turns only short intervals of rest, and took their food, consisting of barley-meal steeped in wine and oil, as they sat at the oar. Happily

the weather proved favorable; and the crew, who had been promised large rewards in case they arrived in time, exerted themselves to deliver the reprieve, whilst the crew of the preceding vessel had conveyed the order for execution with slowness and reluctance. Yet even so the countermand came only just in time. The mandate was already in the hands of Paches, who was taking measures for its execution. With regard to the prisoners at Athens, the motion of Cleon to put them to death was carried, and they were slain to the number of more than a thousand. The fortifications of Mytilenê were razed, and her fleet delivered up to the Athenians. The whole island, with the exception of Methymna, which had remained faithful, was divided into three thousand lots, three hundred of which were set apart for the gods, and the remainder assigned to Athenian cleruchs.

The fate of Paches, the Athenian commander at Mytilenê, must not be passed over in silence. On his return to Athens, he was arraigned before the dicastery for the dishonor of two Mytilenæan women, whose husbands he had slain; and such was the feeling of indignation excited by this case among the susceptible Athenians, that Paches, without waiting for his sentence, killed himself with his sword in open court.

§ 8. The fate of the Plateans and Mytilenæans affords a fearful illustration of the manners of the age; but these horrors soon found a parallel in Corcyra. It has been already related, that, after the sea-fight off that island, the Corinthians carried home many of the principal Corcyræans as prisoners. These men were treated with the greatest indulgence; and while Mytilenê was under blockade, were sent back to Corcyra, nominally under the heavy ransom of eight hundred talents, but in reality with the view of withdrawing the island from the Athenian alliance. Being joined by the rest of the oligarchical citizens on their return, they assassinated the leaders of the democratical party in the senate-house, and then carried a resolution in the assembly of the people, that the Corcyræans should for the future observe a strict neutrality between the contending parties. But they did not stop here. They determined on putting down the democratical party by force, and with this view seized the principal harbor, together with the arsenal and market-place. The people, however, got possession of the higher parts of the town, together with the Acropolis; and having been reinforced by slaves from the interior, whom they promised to emancipate, they renewed the combat on the following day. The oligarchs, driven to extremity, adopted the desperate expedient of setting fire to the town, and thus destroyed a great deal of property near the docks; but an adverse wind fortunately prevented it from extending to the remainder of the city.

The Athenians had been informed of the state of things at Corcyra, and at this juncture an Athenian squadron of twelve triremes, under the command of Nicostratus, arrived from Naupactus. Nicostratus behaved with

great moderation, and did his best to restore peace between the parties. He had apparently succeeded in this object, when the position of affairs was suddenly changed by the arrival of a Peloponnesian fleet of fifty-three galleys under the command of Alcidas. Nicostratus succeeded, by skilful manœuvres, in keeping the enemy at bay with his small fleet, but was obliged at last to retreat, which he did in good order, and without losing any of his vessels. Alcidas, however, with his usual slowness, neglected to make use of the opportunity, and attack the capital at once, though Brasidas strongly advised him to do so. He lost a day in ravaging the country, and in the following night fire-signals upon the island of Leucas telegraphed the approach of an Athenian fleet of sixty triremes under Eurymedon. Alcidas now only thought of making his escape, which he effected before daybreak, leaving the Corcyraean oligarchs to their fate.

Another vicissitude thus rendered the popular party in Corcyra again triumphant. The vengeance which they took on their opponents was fearful. The most sacred sanctuaries afforded no protection; the nearest ties of blood and kindred were sacrificed to civil hatred. In one case a father slew even his own son. These scenes of horror lasted for seven days, during which death in every conceivable form was busily at work. Yet the Athenian admiral did not once interpose to put a stop to these atrocities. About five hundred of the oligarchical party, however, effected their escape, and fortified themselves on Mount Istoné, not far from the capital.

§ 9. Thucydides, in drawing this bloody picture of domestic dissensions, traces the causes of it to the war. In peace and prosperity, when men are not overmastered by an irresistible necessity, the feelings both of states and individuals are mild and humane. But a war under the auspices of Sparta and Athens — one the representative of the aristocratic, the other of the democratic principle — became a war of opinion, and embittered the feelings of political parties, by offering to each the means and opportunity of enforcing its views through an alliance with one or the other of the two leading cities. The example of Corcyra was soon followed in other Hellenic states. Not only were the dispositions of men altered by these causes, but even the very names of things were changed. Daring rashness was honored with the name of bravery, whilst considerate delay was denounced as the mere pretext of timidity. Wisdom was regarded as equivalent to cowardice, and the weighing of everything as a pretence for attempting nothing. The simplicity which generally characterizes virtue was ridiculed as dulness and stupidity; whilst he was regarded as the cleverest who excelled in cunning and treachery, and especially if he employed his arts to the destruction of his nearest, and therefore unsuspecting, friends and relatives.*

* It will be worth while to give the substance of this remarkable description, in a literal translation of the words of Thucydides. The profound wisdom of the passage is of univer

sal application; but nowhere so directly applicable as to a confederated republic, like the United States of America.

"Afterwards the whole Hellenic world was thrown into commotion. The leaders of the popular party called in the Athenians, the oligarchical party, the Lacedæmonians, feuds existing everywhere. In peace they would have had no pretext or preparation for summoning them; but being at war, and each party forming an alliance for the damage of their antagonists, and their own security, occasions of invoking foreign aid were easily furnished to those who aimed to effect political changes. And many heavy calamities befell the states through these feuds, which happen and always will happen so long as the nature of man remains the same: greater, or milder, and varying in their aspects, as variations of condition in each age arise. For in peace and prosperity both communities and individuals are better disposed, because they are not driven to intolerable necessities. But war, withdrawing the supplies of daily life, is a hard teacher, and subdues the passions of the many to the quality of present circumstances. Discord then reigned throughout the states. . . . And they changed the customary meaning of words applied to things, according to the caprices of the moment; for reckless audacity was considered manly fidelity to party; prudent delay, fair-seeming cowardice; moderation, the screen for feebleness. Headlong frenzy was set down on the side of manhood. The unrelenting was trusted; whoever argued against him was suspected. He who plotted, if successful, was thought sagacious; who counterplotted, still abler. He who forecasted the means, whereby he should not need these resorts, was charged with ruining the party and fearing their opponents. In a word, he was applauded who got the start of another when intending to do an injury, and who induced one to do a wrong, that had no thought of doing it himself. And what was worse, kin became more alien than party, because party was prompter for unscrupulous daring. For such combinations aim not for the benefit of the established institutions, but in their grasping spirit run counter to the lawful authorities. Their pledges to one another were sanctioned, not by divine law, but by their having together violated law. The cause of this state of things was the lust of power, for purposes of rapacity and ambition, and the hot temper of those who were engaged in the conflict. Thus neither party held to sacred honor; but those were more highly spoken of who, under cover of plausible pretences, succeeded in effecting some purpose of hatred. The citizens who stood between the extremes, and belonged to neither, both parties endeavored to destroy. So every species of wickedness became established by these feuds over the Hellenic world. Simplicity of character, wherein nobleness of nature most largely shares, being scoffed at, disappeared; and mutual opposition of feeling, with universal distrust, prevailed. For there was neither binding word nor fearful oath to compose the strife. And for the most part, those who were meaner in understanding were the more successful; for fearing their own deficiency, and the ability of their adversaries, apprehensive that they should be worsted in argument and eloquence, and outwitted by the intellectual adroitness on the other side, they went audaciously on to deeds of violence; but their opponents, contemptuous in the presumption of foreknowledge, and not feeling the need of securing by action what could be compassed by genius, the more easily perished undefended." — Ed.



From the Frieze of the Parthenon. Panathenaic Procession.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PELOPONNESIAN WAR CONTINUED.—FROM THE SEDITION AT CORCYRA TO THE PEACE OF NICIAS.

§ 1. Sixth Year of the War. Return of the Plague. Purification of Delos. § 2. Seventh Year. Fortification of Pylos. § 3. Attempts of the Lacedæmonians to recover Pylos. § 4. Arrival and Victory of the Athenian Fleet. Blockade of Sphacteria. § 5. The Lacedæmonians sue for Peace at Athens. Extravagant Demands of Cleon. § 6. Renewal of Hostilities. § 7. Debates in the Assembly. Cleon elected General. § 8. Capture of Sphacteria. § 9. Advantages of the Victory. § 10. Proceedings at Corcyra. Slaughter of the Oligarchs. § 11. Eighth Year of the War. Capture of Cythera. § 12. Invasion of the Megarid and Bœotia by the Athenians. Capture of Nisæa, the Port of Megara. Defeat of the Athenians at the Battle of Delium. § 13. Brasidas in Thrace. Takes Amphipolis. Banishment of Thucydides. § 14. Ninth Year of the War. A Truce between Sparta and Athens. The War continued in Thrace. § 15. Tenth Year of the War. Cleon proceeds to Amphipolis. His Defeat and Death. Death of Brasidas. § 16. Eleventh Year of the War. Fifty Years' Peace between Athens and Sparta.

§ 1. THE beginning of the sixth year of the war (B. C. 426) was marked by natural calamities which seemed to present a counterpart to the moral disturbances which were agitating Greece. Floods and earthquakes of unusual violence and frequency occurred in various parts; and the Lacedæmonians, alarmed at these portents, abstained from their intended invasion of Attica. The military operations of the Athenians were unimportant. The plague, which had reappeared at Athens towards the close of the preceding year, was now making fearful ravages. This scourge was attributed to the anger of Apollo; and in order, as it seems, to propitiate that deity, a complete purification of Delos was performed in the autumn. All the bodies interred there were exhumed and reburied in the neighboring island of Rhenæa; whilst for the future it was ordered that no deaths or births should be suffered to take place on the sacred

island. At the same time the celebration of the Delian festival, to be renewed every fourth year, was revived with extraordinary splendor; and thus in some measure compensated the Athenians for their exclusion, through the war, from the Olympic and Pythian games.

§ 2. In the seventh year of the war (B. C. 425) the Lacedæmonian army under Agis, after a stay of only fifteen days in the Attic territory, was recalled by the news that the Athenians had established a military post at Pylos in Messenia. In consequence of circumstances to which we shall have occasion to allude hereafter, the Athenians had sent a fleet of forty ships to Sicily, under the command of Eurymedon and Sophocles; but on their way thither these officers were directed to stop at Corcyra, and to assist the people against the oligarchs, who, as already related, had fortified themselves at Mount Istoné, and were annoying the capital. Demosthenes, who had acquired great glory by a campaign against the Ambracians, had also embarked in the same fleet, with a kind of roving commission to make descents on the Peloponnesian coasts. Pylos, on the modern bay of Navarino, struck him as an eligible spot on which to establish some of the Messenians from Naupactus, since it was a strong position, from which they might annoy the Lacedæmonians, and excite revolt among their Helot kinsmen. As the Peloponnesian fleet, however, was announced to have arrived at Corcyra, Eurymedon and Sophocles were averse to the delay which the scheme of Demosthenes would occasion. But an accident caused its accomplishment. The fleet had scarcely passed Pylos, when it was driven back to that spot by a violent storm; and as the bad weather continued for some time, the soldiers on board amused themselves, under the directions of Demosthenes, in constructing a sort of rude fortification. The nature of the ground was favorable for the work, and in five or six days a wall was thrown up sufficient for the purposes of defence. Demosthenes undertook to garrison the place. Five ships and two hundred Hoplites were left behind with him; and, being afterwards joined by some Messenian privateers, he appears altogether to have possessed a force of about one thousand men.

§ 3. This insult to the Lacedæmonian territory caused great alarm and indignation at Sparta. The Peloponnesian fleet, under Thrasymelidas, was ordered from Corcyra to Pylos; and at the same time Agis evacuated Attica, and marched towards the same place. So vast a force, both naval and military, seemed to threaten destruction to the little garrison. Thrasymelidas, on arriving with the fleet, immediately occupied the small uninhabited and densely wooded island of Sphacteria, which, with the exception of two narrow channels on the north and south, almost blocked up the entrance of the bay. Between the island and the mainland was a spacious basin, in which Thrasymelidas stationed his ships.

It was on this side that Demosthenes anticipated the most dangerous attack. The Lacedæmonians were notoriously unskilful in besieging walls,

and on the land side a few imperfectly armed troops would suffice to keep their whole army at bay. But towards the sea was a small open space which remained unfortified. Here, therefore Demosthenes, after hauling his three remaining triremes ashore, — for on the approach of the enemy he had despatched two to Eurymedon, to solicit assistance, — took post himself, with sixty chosen hoplites.

The assault from the sea was led by Brasidas, one of the bravest and most distinguished commanders that Sparta ever produced. The narrowness of the landing-place admitted only a few triremes to approach at once. Brasidas stood on the prow of the foremost, animating his men by his words and gestures; but he was soon disabled by numerous wounds, and fell backwards into his vessel, fainting with loss of blood. After repeated attempts on this and the following day, the Lacedæmonians were unable to effect a landing; whilst the Athenians considered their success decisive enough to justify the erection of a trophy, the chief ornament of which was the shield of Brasidas, which had dropped into the water.



Bay of Pylos.

A. Island of Sphacteria.

B. Pylos.

C. The modern Navarino.

D D. Bay of Pylos.

E. Promontory of Coryphasium.

§ 4. Whilst the Lacedæmonians were preparing for another assault, they were surprised by the appearance of the Athenian fleet. They had

strangely neglected to secure the entrances into the bay: and although the Athenian admiral spent the first day in reconnoitring, they were still either so inconceivably slow, or so paralyzed by surprise and terror, that, when on the morrow the Athenian ships came sailing through both the undefended channels, many of their triremes were still moored, and part of their crews ashore. The battle which ensued was desperate. Both sides fought with extraordinary valor; but victory at length declared for the Athenians. Five Peloponnesian ships were captured; the rest were saved only by running them ashore, where they were protected by the Lacedæmonian army.

The Athenians, thus masters of the sea, were enabled to blockade the island of Sphacteria, in which the flower of the Lacedæmonian army was shut up, many of them native Spartans of the highest families. In so grave an emergency messengers were sent to Sparta for advice. The Ephors themselves immediately repaired to the spot; and so desponding was their view of the matter, that they saw no issue from it but a peace. They therefore proposed and obtained an armistice for the purpose of opening negotiations at Athens. They agreed to surrender their whole fleet, and to abstain from all attacks upon Pylos till the return of the envoys, when their ships were to be restored. Meanwhile, the Athenians were to continue the blockade of Sphacteria, but not to commit any acts of hostility against it; whilst the Lacedæmonians were to be allowed to supply the besieged with provisions enough for their subsistence during the armistice.

§ 5. Great was the sensation excited at Athens by beholding the pride of Sparta thus humbled and her envoys suing for peace. Cleon availed himself of the elation of the moment to insist on extravagant demands. Nothing less would satisfy him than the restoration of those places which Athens had ceded fourteen years before, when the thirty years' truce was concluded; namely, Nisæa, Pegæ, Trœzen, and Achaia; and his influence in the assembly induced it to adopt his views. The Lacedæmonian envoys, perceiving that nothing could be hoped from the assembly, proposed a private negotiation with a few chosen individuals. But Cleon would not hear of this arrangement, and when the envoys attempted to remonstrate, he completely bullied and silenced them by his violence, and caused them to be sent back to Pylos, as they had come, in an Athenian trireme.

§ 6. When the envoys returned, the Lacedæmonians demanded the restoration of their fleet, according to agreement; but Eurymedon refused to comply, under the, apparently, false pretext that the Lacedæmonians had violated the armistice by an attempt to surprise Pylos. Hostilities were now resumed, but without any decisive result. The blockade of Sphacteria began to grow tedious and harassing. The force upon it continually received supplies of provisions, either from swimmers, who

towed skins filled with linseed and poppy-seed mixed with honey, or from Helots, who, induced by the promise of emancipation and large rewards, eluded the blockading squadron during dark and stormy nights, and landed cargoes on the back of the island. The summer, moreover, was fast wearing away, and the storms of winter might probably necessitate the raising of the blockade altogether. Under these circumstances, Demosthenes began to contemplate a descent upon the island; with which view he collected reinforcements from Zacynthus and Naupactus, and also sent a message to Athens to explain the unfavorable state of the blockade, and to request further assistance.

§ 7. These tidings were very distasteful to the Athenians, who had looked upon Sphacteria as their certain prey. They began to regret having let slip the favorable opportunity for making a peace, and to vent their displeasure upon Cleon, the director of their conduct on that occasion. But Cleon put on a face of brass. He charged the messengers from Pylos with having misrepresented the facts of the case; and when that position proved untenable, began to abuse the strategi. His political opponent, Nicias, was then one of those officers, a man of quiet disposition and moderate abilities, but—a peculiar distinction in those days—thoroughly honest and incorruptible, pure in his morals and sincerely religious. Him Cleon now singled out for his vituperation, and, pointing at him with his finger, exclaimed, “It would be easy enough to take the island if our generals were *men*. If *I* were Strategus, I would do it at once!” This burst of the tanner made the assembly laugh. He was saluted with cries of “Why don’t you go then?” and Nicias, thinking probably to catch his opponent in his own trap, seconded the voice of the assembly, by offering to place at his disposal whatever force he might deem necessary for the enterprise. Cleon at first endeavored to avoid the dangerous honor thus thrust upon him. But the more he drew back, the louder were the assembly in calling upon him to accept the office; and as Nicias seriously repeated his proposition, he adopted with a good grace what there was no longer any possibility of evading. Nay, he even declined the assistance of the regular Athenian hoplites, and engaged, with some heavy-armed Lemnian and Imbrian troops, together with some Thracian peltasts and four hundred bowmen, in addition to the soldiers already at Pylos, to take Sphacteria within twenty days, and either kill all the Lacedæmonians upon it, or bring them prisoners to Athens.

§ 8. Never did general set out upon an enterprise under circumstances more singular; but, what was still more extraordinary, fortune enabled him to make his promise good. In fact, as we have seen, Demosthenes had already resolved on attacking the island. Cleon procured that general to be named his second in command, and thus stepped in, with a nominal authority, to intercept the honors which were in reality due to another. On the other hand, Nicias is not free from blame on this occasion. He

seems to have given the command to Cleon, whom he deemed totally incompetent for it, merely with the view of ruining a political opponent, and to have left the interests of Athens wholly out of sight.*

When Cleon arrived at Pylos he found everything prepared for the attack. Accident favored the enterprise. A fire kindled by some Athenian sailors, who had landed for the purpose of cooking their dinner, caught and destroyed the woods with which the island was overgrown, and thus deprived the Lacedæmonians of one of their principal defences. Nevertheless, such was the awe inspired by the reputation of the Spartan arms, that Demosthenes considered it necessary to land about 10,000 soldiers of different descriptions, among whom were 800 Athenian hoplites, although the Lacedæmonian force consisted of only about 420 men. Their commander, Epitadas, was posted with the main body in the centre of the island. An outpost of thirty hoplites defended the extremity farthest from Pylos. The end of the island facing that place, steep and rugged by nature, was rendered still stronger by a circuit of rude stones, of ancient and unknown origin, which answered the purpose of a fort. The Athenians, having landed before daybreak, surprised and cut to pieces the advanced guard of thirty hoplites. Then Demosthenes, having divided his light-armed troops into bodies of about 200 men each, which were to hover round and annoy the enemy, drew up his 800 hoplites in battle array near the spot where he had landed. Epitadas had therefore to advance against him with his main body, about 360 in number, over ground obstructed by the ashes and stumps of the burnt wood, and amidst a shower of missiles from the light troops on his flanks and rear. At length, distressed by a species of warfare which he had no means of repelling, and almost blinded by the dust and ashes, Epitadas ordered his men to retreat to the stone fort at the extremity of the island, whither they were followed by the Athenian hoplites. Here, however, having the advantage of the ground, and being able to use their spears and swords in close combat, the Lacedæmonians for a long while kept their assailants at bay; till some Messenians, stealing round by the sea-shore, over crags and cliffs which the Lacedæmonians had deemed impracticable, suddenly appeared on the high ground which overhung their rear. They now began to give way, and would soon have been all slain; but Cleon and Demosthenes, being anxious to carry them prisoners to Athens, called off their men from the pursuit, and sent a herald to summon the Lacedæmonians to surrender.

The latter, in token of compliance, dropped their shields and waved their hands above their heads. They requested, however, permission to communicate with their countrymen on the mainland; who, after two or

* It is more probable that Nicias proposed the appointment of Cleon, merely to show up the cowardice and boastfulness of the demagogue, without anticipating the possibility of his actually being forced to accept the command by the populace, ever ready to sacrifice a serious interest for the sake of enjoying a joke. — ED.

three communications, sent them a final message, — “to take counsel for themselves, but to do nothing disgraceful.” The survivors then surrendered. They were 292 in number, 120 of whom were native Spartans, belonging to the first families. By this surrender the prestige of the Spartan arms was in a great degree destroyed. The Spartans were not, indeed, deemed invincible; but their previous feats, especially at Thermopylæ, had inspired the notion that they would rather die than yield; an opinion which could now no longer be entertained.

§ 9. Cleon had thus performed his promise. On the day after the victory, he and Demosthenes started with the prisoners for Athens, where they arrived within twenty days from the time of Cleon's departure. Altogether, this affair was one of the most favorable for the Athenians that had occurred during the war. The prisoners would serve not only for a guaranty against future invasions, which might be averted by threatening to put them to death, but also as a means for extorting advantageous conditions whenever a peace should be concluded. Nay, the victory itself was of considerable importance, since it enabled the Athenians to place Pylos in a better posture of defence, and, by garrisoning it with Messenians from Naupactus, to create a stronghold whence Laconia might be overrun and ravaged at pleasure. The Lacedæmonians themselves were so sensible of these things, that they sent repeated messages to Athens to propose a peace, but which the Athenians altogether disregarded.

§ 10. Meanwhile, after the victory at Sphacteria, Eurymedon and Sophocles proceeded with the Athenian fleet to Corcyra, where, in conjunction with the people, they took by storm the post of the oligarchs on Mount Istoné. The latter at first retired to an inaccessible peak, but subsequently surrendered themselves on condition of being sent to Athens to be judged by the Athenian assembly. Eurymedon, the same man, it will be observed, who had before abandoned the Corcyreans to all the fury of civil discord, assented to these conditions, and caused the prisoners to be secured in the small adjoining island of Ptychia. But he took not the slightest pains to carry out the agreement; nay, he even connived at the artifices of the Corcyrean democracy to entrap the prisoners into a breach of the capitulation, and thus procure a pretext for their destruction. For this purpose emissaries in the guise of friends were sent over to Ptychia to persuade the prisoners that Eurymedon intended to hand them over to their enemies, and thus succeeded in inducing some of them to escape in a boat provided for that purpose. The boat was seized in the act, and Eurymedon now delivered up the prisoners to the democratical party. They were at first confined in a large building, whence, chained two and two together, they were led out to execution in companies of twenty. They advanced through a road lined with armed men, who singled out their private enemies, and struck and wounded them till they perished. “These scenes,” says a great historian, “are real prototypes of the September massacres at Paris: all

the prisoners, just as at Paris, were led from the prison between two rows of armed men, and cut to pieces." * What, however, renders this scene still more disgusting than the Parisian massacres, is, that a third party — Eurymedon, with his Athenians — looked on in cold blood, and saw these atrocities perpetrated without making the slightest attempt to prevent them. After three companies had been destroyed the remaining prisoners refused to quit the building, or to allow any one to enter it; at the same time piteously imploring the Athenians to kill them, rather than abandon them to the cruelties of their countrymen. But Eurymedon was inexorable. The people now unroofed part of the building, and assailed the prisoners with showers of tiles and arrows, till, in order to escape this lingering fate, they were driven to commit suicide. The work of death proceeded through the night. At daybreak the people entered the building with carts, and piling upon them the dead bodies, in number about three hundred, carried them out of the city.

§ 11. The eighth year of the war (B. C. 424) opened with brilliant prospects for the Athenians. But their good fortune had now reached its culminating point; and before the year closed, their defeat at the battle of Delium and the loss of their empire in Thrace more than counterbalanced all the advantages they had previously gained. At first, however, success still attended their arms. Nicias reduced the important island of Cythera, at the southern extremity of Laconia, and placed garrisons in the towns of Cythera and Scandeia. He then proceeded to the coasts of Laconia, which he ravaged in various places. Among his conquests here was the town of Thyrea, where the Lacedæmonians had allowed the Æginetans to settle after their expulsion from their own island. Thyrea was destroyed, and the surviving Æginetans carried to Athens and put to death. Among the horrors which the great historian of the Peloponnesian war has noted as characterizing the times, the murder of two thousand Helots by the Lacedæmonians stands conspicuous. Alarmed for their own safety since the establishment of an Athenian and Messenian force at Pylos, the Lacedæmonians about this time proclaimed that those Helots who had distinguished themselves by their services during the war should come forward and claim their liberty. A large body appeared, out of whom two thousand were selected as worthy of emancipation. Crowned with garlands, and honored with all the imposing ceremonies of religion, the unhappy Helots paid with their lives for the liberty thus solemnly acquired. In a short time they all disappeared, no man knew how, by secret orders from the Ephors, who took this perfidious and detestable method to rid themselves of formidable enemies. *HH*

§ 12. Elate with their continued good fortune, the Athenians aimed at nothing less than the recovery of all the possessions which they had held be-

* Niebuhr, "Lectures on Ancient History," Vol. II. p. 69.

fore the thirty years' truce. For this purpose they planned two important expeditions, one against Megara and the other against Bœotia. In the former they were partially successful. They seized Nisæa, the port of Megara, which they permanently occupied with an Athenian garrison; but they were prevented from obtaining possession of Megara itself by the energy of Brasidas, who was at that time in the neighborhood of Corinth, collecting troops for his Thracian expedition. Receiving intelligence of the danger of Megara, he immediately marched to the assistance of the city with a considerable force, which the Athenians did not venture to attack.

The expedition against Bœotia was attended with the most disastrous results. Some Bœotian exiles, and other malecontent citizens, had formed a plan to betray Siphæ, on the Gulf of Corinth, and Chæronœa, on the borders of Phocis, into the hands of the Athenians, who were on the same day to invade Bœotia from the south, and to seize the temple of Apollo at Delium, a place about five miles from Tanagra, strongly situated upon the cliffs on the eastern coast. It was anticipated that these simultaneous attacks at various points would divide the Bœotian forces, and render the enterprise easy of execution. But the scheme was betrayed, and miscarried. Demosthenes, who was to attack Siphæ and Chæronœa, found those places preoccupied by a formidable Bœotian force, which rendered vain all hopes of surprising them. Hippocrates, who commanded the army of invasion from the south, proceeded to execute his part in the arrangement, and marched to Delium with the large force of seven thousand Athenian hoplites, together with twenty-five thousand light-armed troops and several hundred cavalry. A day's march brought him to Delium, where he immediately fortified the sanctuary of Apollo with a rampart and ditch, besides other works. When these were completed, a garrison was left in the place, and the army commenced its homeward march. On arriving at the heights between Delium and the plain of Oropus, they were encountered by the Bœotians, who had assembled in great force at Tanagra. Their army consisted of about seven thousand Bœotian hoplites, some of whom were the very flower of the Theban warriors, ten thousand light-armed troops, five hundred peltasts, and one thousand horse. They were led by the eleven Bœotarchs then at the head of the Bœotian confederacy, though the supreme command seems to have been vested, probably alternately, in the two Bœotarchs of Thebes, Pagondas and Aranthides. All the Bœotarchs, with the exception of Pagondas, were of opinion that, as the Athenians seemed to be in full retreat, they should be suffered to retire unmolested. But that commander, disregarding the opinion of his colleagues, appealed to the patriotic and religious feelings of the soldiers. He painted in strong colors the danger of suffering this insult to their territory to pass unpunished, and pointed out that the sacrifices were favorable for an attack, whilst, on

the other hand, the Athenians had incurred the anger of Apollo by violating his temple. Having by these representations persuaded the Bœotians to hazard an engagement, he drew up the army in order of battle under the brow of a hill which concealed them from the Athenians. Hippocrates, on his side, hastened to prepare his troops for the battle. His hoplites were drawn up in a line of eight deep, having the light-armed troops and cavalry on the flanks. The heavy Bœotian phalanx, on the contrary, was twenty-five deep; the Theban hoplites occupying the right, with the other heavy-armed Bœotians on the left and in the centre. The light-armed troops and cavalry were ranged, as in the Athenian line, upon the flanks. The Bœotians, ascending the hill in this array, as soon as they came in sight of the Athenians, raised the war-about and charged, before Hippocrates had finished addressing his men. Ravines at both extremities of the line prevented the light troops from engaging; but the serried ranks of the hoplites met in desperate conflict. The left wing of the Bœotians was repulsed; but on the right the skill and valor of the chosen Theban warriors who led the van, as well as the superior weight of the deep and densely compacted phalanx, bore down all resistance. At the same time Pagondas, having sent round his cavalry to attack the Athenian right, restored the fortune of the day on that side also. The rout of the Athenians was now complete. Some fled back to Delium, some to Oropus, others to the heights of Parnes. Hippocrates himself fell in the engagement, together with one thousand hoplites; a loss about double that of the Bœotians. Fortunately for the Athenians, the battle had commenced late in the day, and they were thus rescued by the friendly shades of night from the pursuit and massacre which would otherwise have overtaken them.

When on the morrow an Athenian herald asked the customary permission to bury the slain, the Bœotians reproached the Athenians with the violation of Apollo's sanctuary, and refused the sacred rites of sepulture till the sacrilege should be expiated, and Delium evacuated. They immediately invested that place, which surrendered after a siege of seventeen days. The greater part of the garrison, however, succeeded in escaping by sea, but about two hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the Bœotians. Altogether the battle of Delium was the greatest and most decisive fought during the first period of the war. An interesting feature of the battle is that both Socrates and his pupil Alcibiades were engaged in it, the former among the hoplites, the latter in the cavalry. Socrates distinguished himself by his bravery, and was one of those who, instead of throwing down their arms, kept together in a compact body, and repulsed the attacks of the pursuing horse. His retreat was also protected by Alcibiades.

§ 13. This disastrous battle was speedily followed by the overthrow of the Athenian empire in Thrace. At the request of Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, and of the Chalcidian towns, who had sued for help against the Athenians, Brasidas was sent by the Lacedæmonian government into

Thrace, at the head of seven hundred Helot hoplites and such others as he could succeed in raising in Greece. While engaged in levying troops in the neighborhood of Corinth, he saved Megara from falling into the hands of the Athenians, as has been already related. Having obtained one thousand Peloponnesian hoplites, in addition to the seven hundred mentioned above, he succeeded, by a rapid and dexterous march through the hostile country of Thessaly, in effecting a junction with Perdiccas, with whom he marched into Thrace. Here he proclaimed that he was come to deliver the Grecian cities from the tyrannous yoke of Athens. His bravery, his kind and conciliating demeanor, his probity, moderation, and good faith, soon gained him the respect and love of the allies of Athens in that quarter; whose defection was likewise promoted by the news of the Athenian reverses. Acanthus and Stagirus hastened to open their gates to him; and early in the ensuing winter, by means of forced marches, he suddenly and unexpectedly appeared before the important Athenian colony of Amphipolis on the Strymon. In that town the Athenian party was the stronger, and sent a message for assistance to Thucydides, the historian, who, in conjunction with Eucles, was then general in those parts. Thucydides hastened with seven ships from Thasos, and succeeded in securing Eion at the mouth of the Strymon; but Amphipolis, which lay a little higher up the river, allured by the favorable terms offered, had



Plan of the neighborhood of Amphipolis.

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| 1. Site of Amphipolis. | 6. Lake Cercinitis. |
| 2. Site of Eion. | 7. Mount Cerdyllum. |
| 3. Ridge connecting Amphipolis with Mount Pangæus. | 8. Mount Pangæus. |

already surrendered to Brasidas. For his want of vigilance on this occasion, Thucydides was, on the motion of Cleon, sentenced to banishment, and spent the following twenty years of his life in exile. From Amphipolis Brasidas proceeded to the easternmost peninsula of Chalcidicé, where

most of the towns hastened to surrender. At Toroné, on the Sithonian peninsula, the gates were opened by an anti-Athenian party. The Athenian garrison fled to a neighboring fort; but Brasidas took the place by storm, and put all the prisoners to the sword.

§ 14. The Athenians were so much depressed by their defeat at Delium, that they neglected to take vigorous measures for arresting the progress of Brasidas. They now began to think seriously of peace, and to entertain the proposals of the Lacedæmonians, who were on their side solicitous about their prisoners still in custody at Athens. Early in B. C. 423, the ninth year of the war, a truce was concluded for a year, with a view to the subsequent adjustment of a definitive and permanent peace. The negotiations for that purpose were, however, suddenly interrupted by the news that Scioné had revolted to Brasidas. This revolt appears to have taken place two days after the conclusion of the truce; and as one of the conditions was that everything should remain *in statu quo* till peace was definitively concluded, the Athenians demanded that the town should be restored. With this demand Brasidas refused to comply. Excited by the speeches of Cleon, the Athenians would not listen to any proposals for arbitration, and sent an armament against Scioné, with orders that every man in the place should be put to death.

The war was thus revived in those distant regions, but nearer home the truce was observed. Brasidas, who had been deserted by the faithless Perdiccas, threw himself into Toroné on the approach of the Athenians. Nicias and Nicostratus, who had arrived in Chalcidicé with fifty triremes and a large body of troops, commenced operations against Mendé, which had also revolted. The town was surrendered by a party among the citizens: the Lacedæmonian garrison contrived to escape to Scioné, which town the Athenians proceeded to invest; and when Nicias had completely blockaded it, he returned to Athens.

§ 15. Things remained in this state till the beginning of the year B. C. 422, when the truce expired. Early in August, Cleon, having been appointed to the command, proceeded against Scioné, with a fleet of thirty triremes, carrying twelve hundred hoplites, three hundred cavalry, and a large force of subsidiary troops. In the absence of Brasidas he succeeded in taking Toroné and Galepsus, but failed in an attempt upon Stagīrus. He then lay for some time inactive at Eion, till the murmurs of his troops compelled him to proceed against Amphipolis. Thither Brasidas had also directed his march, with an army of two thousand hoplites, three hundred Greek cavalry, and a large body of light-armed Thracians. He encamped on the heights of Cerdylum, on the western bank of the river, whence he could survey all the movements of the enemy; but on the approach of Cleon, he threw all his troops into the town. That general encamped on a rising ground on the eastern side of Amphipolis. Having deserted the peaceful art of dressing hides for the more hazardous trade

of war, in which he was almost totally inexperienced, and having now no Demosthenes to direct his movements, Cleon was thrown completely off his guard by a very ordinary stratagem on the part of Brasidas, who contrived to give the town quite a deserted and peaceful appearance. Cleon suffered his troops to fall into disorder, till he was suddenly surprised by the astounding news that Brasidas was preparing for a sally. Cleon at once resolved to retreat. But his skill was equal to his valor. He had no conception that he could be attacked till Brasidas had drawn out his men and formed them, as if they were on parade, in regular order. He therefore conducted his retreat in the most disorderly manner. His left wing had already filed off, and his centre with straggling ranks was in the act of following, when Brasidas ordered the gates of the town to be flung open, and, rushing out at the head of only one hundred and fifty chosen soldiers, charged the retreating columns in flank. They were immediately routed; but as Brasidas was hastening to attack the Athenian right, which was only just breaking ground, and where Cleon himself was posted, he received a mortal wound and was carried off the field. Though his men were forming on the hill, Cleon fled as fast as he could on the approach of the enemy, but was pursued and slain by a Thracian peltast. In spite, however, of the disgraceful flight of their general, the right wing maintained their ground for a considerable time, till some cavalry and peltasts issuing from Amphipolis attacked them in flank and rear, and compelled them to fly. On assembling again at Eion, it was found that half the Athenian hoplites had been slain. Brasidas was carried into Amphipolis, and lived long enough to receive the tidings of his victory. He was interred within the walls with great military pomp, in the centre of what thenceforth became the chief agora; he was proclaimed ægist, or founder of the town; and was worshipped as a hero with annual games and sacrifices.

§ 16. By the death of Brasidas and Cleon, the two chief obstacles to a peace were removed; for the former loved war for the sake of its glory, the latter for the handle which it afforded for agitation and for attacking his political opponents. The Athenian Nicias, and the Spartan king Pleistoanax, zealously forwarded the negotiations, and in the spring of the year B. C. 421, a peace for fifty years, commonly called the peace of Nicias, was concluded on the basis of a mutual restitution of prisoners and places captured during the war. The Thebans, however, retained Platea, on the plea that it had been voluntarily surrendered, and on the same grounds Athens was allowed to hold Nisæa, Anactorium, and Sollium. Neutral towns were to remain independent, and pay only the assessment of Aristides. By this treaty Sparta sacrificed the interests of her allies in favor of her own. Her confederates viewed it with jealousy and distrust, and four of them, namely, the Bœotians, Corinthians, Eleans, and Megarians, positively refused to ratify it. Alarmed at this circumstance, as well

as at the expiration of her thirty years' truce with Argos, Sparta soon afterwards concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Athens, with the stipulation that each might increase or diminish at pleasure the number of its allies and subjects.



Coin of Amphipolis.



Centaur from the Metopes of the Parthenon.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PELOPONNESIAN WAR CONTINUED. FROM THE PEACE OF NICIAS TO
THE EXPEDITION OF THE ATHENIANS TO SICILY.

§ 1. League of Argos, Corinth, Elea, Mantinea, and Chalcidicé. § 2. Transactions between Sparta and Athens. § 3. Policy and Character of Alcibiades. § 4. He advocates a League with Argos. Resorts to a Stratagem to procure it. § 5. Alcibiades Victor at Olympia. His Magnificence. § 6. He proceeds to Peloponnesus. § 7. Proceedings of the Lacedæmonians. Battle of Mantinea. § 8. Revolutions at Argos. A Democracy established. § 9. Conquest of Melos by the Athenians. § 10. Intervention of the Athenians in Sicily. § 11. Embassy of the Egestæans. They deceive the Athenians respecting their Wealth. § 12. The Athenians resolve on an Expedition to Sicily. § 13. Preparations at Athens. Popular Delusion. § 14. Mutilation of the Hermæ. Accusation of Alcibiades. § 15. Departure of the Athenian Fleet for Sicily.

§ 1. It has been mentioned, that several of the allies of Sparta were dissatisfied with the peace which she had concluded; and soon afterwards some of them determined to revive the ancient pretensions of Argos, and to make her the head of a new confederacy, which should include all Greece, with the exception of Sparta and Athens. The movement was begun by the Corinthians, who felt themselves aggrieved because the Lacedæmonians had allowed Athens to retain Sollium and Anactorium. The league was soon joined by the Eleans, the Mantineans, and the Chalcidians. But they in vain endeavored to persuade the powerful city of Tegea to unite with them; whilst the oligarchical governments of Bœotia and Megara also stood aloof.

§ 2. Between Sparta and Athens themselves matters were far from being on a satisfactory footing. Sparta confessed her inability to compel the Bœotians and Corinthians to accede to the peace, or even to restore the town of Amphipolis. After the death of Brasidas, Clearchus had succeeded to the command of Amphipolis; and he now pretended that he was not strong enough to surrender it against the will of the inhabitants. However, he withdrew with his garrison from the place; and the Athenians do not appear to have made any attempt to take possession of it. All that they effected in that quarter was to reduce Scione, when the bloody decree of Cleon was carried into execution. Athens consequently refused to evacuate Pylos, though she removed the Helots and Messenians from it.

§ 3. In the negotiations which ensued respecting the surrender of Pylos, Alcibiades took a prominent part. This extraordinary man had already obtained immense influence at Athens. Young, rich, handsome, profligate, and clever, Alcibiades was the very model of an Athenian man of fashion. In lineage he was a striking contrast to the plebeian orators of the day. The Athenian public, in spite of its excessive democracy, was anything but insensible to the prestige of high birth; and Alcibiades traced his paternal descent from the Æacid heroes Eurysaces and Aias (Ajax), whilst on his mother's side he claimed relationship with the Alcmaeonidæ, and consequently with Pericles. On the death of his father, Cleinias, Pericles had become his guardian. From early youth the conduct of Alcibiades was marked by violence, recklessness, and vanity. He delighted in astonishing the more sober portion of the citizens by his capricious and extravagant feats. Nothing, not even the sacredness of the laws, was secure from his petulance. Sometimes we find him beating a schoolmaster for not having a copy of Homer in his school, or interrupting the performances of the theatre by striking his fellow choregus; and on one occasion he effaces with his own hand an indictment published against a Thasian poet, and defies both prosecutor and magistrate to proceed with it. His beauty, his wit, and his escapades had made him the darling of all the Athenian ladies, nor did the men regard him with less admiration. But he was utterly destitute of morality, whether public or private. The "lion's whelp," as he is termed by Aristophanes, was even suspected, in his boundless ambition, of a design to enslave his fellow-citizens. His vices, however, were partly redeemed by some brilliant qualities. He possessed both boldness of design and vigor of action; and though scarcely more than thirty at the time of which we are now speaking, he had already on several occasions distinguished himself by his bravery. His more serious studies were made subservient to the purposes of his ambition, for which some skill as an orator was necessary. In order to obtain it he frequented the schools of the sophists, and exercised himself in the dialectics of Prodicus, Protagoras, and above all of Socrates. As an orator he seems to

have attained a respectable, but not a first, rank. He had not the rapid and spontaneous flow of ideas and words which characterized the eloquence of Pericles. He would frequently hesitate in order to cull the most choice and elegant phrase; and a lisp, whether natural or affected, which turned all the *r*'s into *l*'s, must have been a serious drawback to his oratory.

§ 4. Such was the man who now opposed the application of the Lacedæmonian ambassadors. It is characteristic of him that personal pique was the motive of his opposition. The politics of his ancestors had been democratic, and his grandfather was a violent opponent of the Peisistratidæ. But he himself on his first entrance into public life, a little before the peace of Nicias, had manifested oligarchical sentiments, and even endeavored to renew an ancient tie of hospitality which had formerly connected his family with Sparta. With the view of becoming the Spartan proxenos at Athens, he had been assiduous in his attentions towards the Spartan prisoners, and had taken an active part in forwarding the peace. But the Spartan government rejected his advances, and even sneered at the idea of intrusting their political interests to a youth known only by his insolence and profligacy. The petulant Alcibiades was not the man to brook such an affront. He immediately threw himself, with all the restless energy of his character, into the party opposed to Sparta, now deprived of its most conspicuous leader by the death of Cleon. He began to advocate a league with Argos, in which city the democratic party at that time predominated, and sent a private message to his friends there, advising them to despatch ambassadors to negotiate the admission of Argos among the allies of Athens. A joint embassy was accordingly sent from Argos, Elis, and Mantinea. The Lacedæmonians endeavored to defeat this negotiation by sending three of their most popular citizens to Athens, to make another attempt to procure the cession of Pylos. Their reception was so favorable, that Alcibiades, alarmed at the prospect of their success, resorted to a trick in order to defeat it. He called upon the Lacedæmonian envoys, one of whom happened to be his personal friend; and, pretending to have resumed his predilections for Sparta, he advised them not to tell the assembly that they were furnished with full powers, as in that case the people would bully them into extravagant concessions, but rather to say that they were merely come to discuss and report; promising, if they did so, to speak in their favor, and induce the assembly to grant the restitution of Pylos, to which he himself had hitherto been the chief obstacle. Accordingly, on the next day, when the ambassadors were introduced into the assembly, Alcibiades, assuming his blandest tone and most winning smile, asked them on what footing they came, and what were their powers? In reply to these questions, the ambassadors, who only a day or two before had told Nicias and the Senate that they were come as plenipotentiaries, now publicly declared, in the face of the assembly, that they were not authorized to conclude, but only to negotiate and discuss. At this announcement, those

who had heard their previous declaration could scarcely believe their ears. A universal burst of indignation broke forth at this exhibition of Spartan duplicity; whilst, to wind up the scene, Alcibiades, affecting to be more surprised than any, distinguished himself by being the loudest and bitterest in his invectives against the perfidy of the Lacedæmonians. Taking advantage of the moment, he proposed that the Argive ambassadors should be called in, and an alliance instantly concluded with Argos. The motion, however, was defeated for the present by an earthquake which occurred, and which caused the assembly to be adjourned. This delay procured Nicias the opportunity of proceeding to Sparta, and making another attempt at adjustment. It proved, however, unsuccessful. Nicias was obliged to make the mortifying confession of his failure before the assembly; and Alcibiades thereupon procured the completion of a treaty of alliance for one hundred years with Argos, Elis, and Mantinea. This took place in the year 420 B. C. Thus were the Grecian states involved in a complication of separate, and often apparently opposite alliances. It was evident that allies so heterogeneous could not long hold together; nevertheless, nominally at least, peace was at first observed.

§ 5. In the July which followed the treaty with Argos, the Olympic games, which recurred every fourth year, were to be celebrated. The Athenians had been shut out by the war from the two previous celebrations; but now Elean heralds came with the usual forms to invite their attendance. Curiosity was excited throughout Greece to see what figure Athens would make at this great Pan-Hellenic festival. War, it was surmised, must have exhausted her resources, and would thus prevent her from appearing with becoming splendor. But from this reproach she was rescued by the wealth and vanity, if not by the patriotism, of Alcibiades. By his care, the Athenian deputies exhibited the richest display of golden ewers, censers, and other plate, to be used in the public sacrifice and procession; whilst for the games he entered in his own name no fewer than the unheard of number of seven four-horsed chariots, of which one gained the first, and another the second prize. Alcibiades was consequently twice crowned with the olive, and twice proclaimed victor by the herald. In his private tent his victory was celebrated by a magnificent banquet. It is not improbable, however, that on this occasion he was assisted by the Athenian allies; for the whole Ionic race was interested in appearing with due honor at this grand national festival.

§ 6. The growing ambition and success of Alcibiades prompted him to carry his schemes against Sparta into the very heart of Peloponnesus, without, however, openly violating the peace. For the first time an Athenian general was beheld traversing the peninsula, and busying himself with the domestic affairs of several of its states. He persuaded the citizens of Patræ in Achaia to ally themselves with Athens; and proceeded with the few troops he had brought with him to assist the Argives in an attack upon

Epidaurus, a city conveniently situated for facilitating the intercourse between Argos and Athens. The territory of Epidaurus was ravaged; and late in the autumn, the Lacedæmonians sent three hundred men by sea to the assistance of that city; but nothing decisive took place.

§ 7. The Lacedæmonians now found it necessary to act with more vigor; and accordingly, in B. C. 418, they assembled a very large army, consisting both of their allies and of their own troops, and invaded the territory of Argos in three divisions. Their operations were judiciously planned. The Spartan king, Agis, succeeded in surrounding the Argive army in such a manner that he might easily have cut it to pieces; but at the moment when an engagement was on the point of commencing, two of the Argive leaders proceeded to Agis, and, by undertaking to procure a satisfactory alliance between Argos and Sparta, induced him to grant a truce of four months. Shortly after this truce had been concluded the Athenians came to the assistance of the Argives with a force of one thousand hoplites and four hundred cavalry. They were accompanied by Alcibiades, who seems, however, to have come in a civil capacity. He now persuaded the Argives to march with these troops and other allies, against the town of Orchomenos in Arcadia. Having reduced Orchomenos, they proceeded against Tegea, hoping to become masters of it through the treachery of a party among the citizens. These proceedings, however, roused the Lacedæmonians, who entered the territory of Mantinea with a large force. Agis, who had incurred the just indignation of his countrymen by the improvident truce before mentioned, was nevertheless intrusted with the command of this army; but only in consideration of his having promised to wipe out his former disgrace by performing some great exploit. He marched into the territory of Mantinea, and took up a position near the Heraclæum, or temple of Hercules, whence he laid waste the surrounding country. The Argives and their allies marched forth from Mantinea, and, posting themselves on very rugged and advantageous ground, offered the Lacedæmonians battle. Anxious to retrieve his honor, Agis was hastening to attack them even at this disadvantage, and had already arrived within javelin-throw, when an aged warrior exclaimed that he was now about "to heal one mischief by another." Struck by this remark, Agis drew off his men, and, with the view of enticing the Argives from their position, commenced a retrograde march over the plain; intending also to block up a water-course situated at some distance, and annoy the Mantineans by flooding their lands. Finding, however, this project to be impracticable, he returned upon his steps the following day, when his columns suddenly found themselves in presence of the enemy, drawn up in order of battle upon the plain. But though taken somewhat by surprise, the admirable discipline of the Lacedæmonians, insured by a continuous subordination of officers, as well as by constant drill, enabled Agis to form his line speedily and without confusion in the face of the enemy. Instead of charging be-

fore his troops were formed, the Argive generals were wasting the time in haranguing their men. The Spartans, who were soldiers by profession, needed no such encouragement, and trusted rather to discipline and valor than to fine speeches. Instead of these, the inspiring war-song resounded through their ranks; whilst the slow and steady regularity of their march was governed by the musical time of their pipers. Their opponents, on the contrary, came rushing on at a furious pace. From the natural tendency of Greek armies to advance somewhat towards the right, in order to keep their left or shielded side as much as possible towards the enemy, the left wing of Agis was outflanked by the right of the allies, in which fought a chosen body of one thousand Argive hoplites, formed of the flower and aristocracy of the city, and maintained and drilled at the public expense. On this side the Lacedæmonians were routed; but Agis, nevertheless, pushed on with his centre and right, and gained a complete victory. The loss of the allies was computed at eleven hundred, among whom were two hundred Athenians and both their generals, Laches and Nicostratus. Of the Lacedæmonians about three hundred were slain. This battle, called the battle of Mantinea, which was fought in June, 418 B. C., had great effect in restoring the somewhat tarnished lustre of the Spartan arms. From the renown of the nations engaged in it, though not in point of numbers, it was a more important battle even than that of Delium.

§ 8. This defeat strengthened the oligarchical party at Argos, which now entered into a conspiracy to bring about an alliance with Sparta. To assist their views, the Lacedæmonians marched in great force to Tegea, and offered Argos the alternative of an alliance or war; and in spite of all the efforts of Alcibiades to counteract it, a treaty was eventually concluded between the two states. This was followed by a revolution at Argos. The democratical leaders were slain, and an oligarchical government established by means of their thousand chosen hoplites. But the oligarchs abused their power, and the brutal tyranny of Bryas, the commander of the chosen Thousand, produced a counter-revolution. A bride of the humbler class, whom he had ravished from the very midst of a wedding procession, and carried to his house, put out the eyes of the tyrant during the night with the pin of her brooch, and having thus effected her escape, roused by her tale of woe the indignation of the people. The latter, taking advantage of the Lacedæmonians being engaged in the festival of the Gymnopædia, rose against the aristocrats, obtained possession of the city, and renewed the alliance with Athens. An attempt to construct long walls from Argos to the sea, a distance of four or five miles, was defeated by the Lacedæmonians; but in the spring of B. C. 416 Alcibiades arrived to support the Argive democracy with an Athenian armament and twenty triremes. Nevertheless, the peace between Sparta and Athens continued to be nominally observed, although the garrison of Pylos were committing

ravages in Laconia, and the Lacedæmonians, by way of reprisal, infested the Athenian commerce with their privateers.

§ 9. It was in the same year that the Athenians attacked and conquered Melos, which island and Thera were the only islands in the Ægean not subject to the Athenian supremacy. Their armament consisted of thirty-eight triremes and a considerable force of hoplites. The Melians having rejected all the Athenian overtures for a voluntary submission, their capital was blockaded by sea and land, and after a siege of some months surrendered. On the proposal, as it appears, of Alcibiades, all the adult males were put to death, the women and children sold into slavery, and the island colonized afresh by five hundred Athenians. This horrible proceeding was the more indefensible, as the Athenians, having attacked the Melians in full peace, could not pretend that they were justified by the custom of war in slaying the prisoners. It was the crowning act of insolence and cruelty displayed during their empire, which from this period began rapidly to decline.

§ 10. The event destined to produce that catastrophe—the intervention of the Athenians in the affairs of Sicily—was already in progress. The feuds of race had been kindled in that island, as in the rest of Greece, by the Peloponnesian war. Eleven or twelve years before the period of which we are now speaking, the Dorian cities of Sicily (with the exception of Camarina), together with the Locrians of Italy, had, under the headship of Syracuse, joined the Peloponnesian confederacy, and declared war against Leontini, Camarina, and their ally, the city of Rhegium in Italy.

In the year 427 B. C., the Leontines sent an embassy to Athens, to crave the assistance of the Athenians. At the head of it was the rhetorician, Gorgias, the novelty of whose brilliant eloquence took the Athenians by surprise, and is said to have chiefly contributed to the success of the application. However that may be, an Athenian squadron of twenty ships was despatched to the assistance of the Leontines, and also with a view to ascertain the possibility of reducing all Sicily, of whose size the Athenians seem to have had very vague and imperfect notions, to the obedience of Athens. A subsequent expedition in 425 B. C., consisting of forty triremes, under the command of Eurymedon and Sophocles, has been already mentioned.* The selfish and ambitious designs of Athens had however become so evident, that in the spring of the following year a congress of the Sicilian cities met at Gela; where the Syracusan, Hermocrates, in an able and patriotic speech, succeeded in persuading them to lay aside their dissensions, and to unite in defeating the schemes of Athens. The Athenians were so disappointed at this failure, that when Eurymedon and his colleagues, Sophocles and Pythodorus, returned, they were indicted and

* See above, p. 288.

convicted of having taken bribes to accede to the peace. Eurymedon was sentenced to pay a fine, and his fellow-commanders were banished.

§ 11. In the year 422 B. C., another application for assistance was made to the Athenians by the Leontine democracy, who had been expelled by the aristocrats; but the Athenians, then smarting under their recent losses, and having just concluded a truce with Sparta, could not be persuaded to grant any effectual succor. In the spring of 416 B. C., however, an embassy from the Sicilian town of Egesta was more successful. A quarrel had broken out between Egesta and Selinus, both of which cities were seated near the western extremity of Sicily; and Selinus, having obtained the aid of Syracuse, was pressing very hard upon the Egestæans. The latter appealed to the interests of the Athenians rather than to their sympathies. They represented how great a blow it would be to Athens if the Dorians became predominant in Sicily, and joined the Peloponnesian confederacy; and they undertook, if the Athenians would send an armament to their assistance, to provide the necessary funds for the prosecution of the war. Their application was supported by the Leontine exiles still resident at Athens. But their most powerful advocate was Alcibiades, whose ambitious views are said to have extended even to the conquest of Carthage. In these distant expeditions he beheld a means of gratifying his passion for adventure and glory, and at the same time of retrieving his fortune, which had been dilapidated by his profligate expenditure. The quieter and more prudent Nicias and his party threw their weight into the opposite scale; and at their instance it was resolved, before an expedition was undertaken, to ascertain whether the Egestæans were really able to perform the promises they had made. For this purpose commissioners were despatched to Egesta, whom, however, the cunning Egestæans completely deceived. In the splendid temple of Aphrodité on Mount Eryx, a magnificent display of offerings was set out, consisting of vessels which the Egestæans passed off for solid gold, though only silver gilt. In the private houses, where they were invited to banquet after banquet, the Athenian envoys were astonished at the profusion of plate under which the sideboards groaned, but which was slyly transferred for the occasion from one house to another. Sixty talents of silver, placed in their hands as earnest-money, completed the delusion; and the commissioners, who were, perhaps, not unwilling to be deceived, returned to Athens with magnificent accounts of the wealth of Egesta.

§ 12. Dazzled by the idea of so splendid an enterprise, the means for accomplishing which seemed ready provided, the Athenian assembly at once decided on despatching a fleet of sixty triremes, under Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus, with the design of assisting Egesta, of restoring the Leontine democracy, and lastly of establishing the influence of Athens throughout Sicily, by whatever means might be found practicable. Nicias, though named as one of the commanders of the expedition, entirely disap-

proved of it, and denounced it in the assembly as springing from the vain-glory and ambition of Alcibiades. The latter repelled these not unmerited attacks in a violent speech, and persuaded the assembly to ratify their former decision. Another attempt of Nicias to deter the Athenians from the enterprise by representing the enormous force which it would require, had an effect exactly contrary to what he had intended; for the assembly, taking him at his word, decreed a fleet of one hundred instead of sixty triremes, together with a proportionate increase in the land forces.

§ 13. For the next three months the preparations for the undertaking were pressed on with the greatest ardor. Young and old, rich and poor, all vied with one another to obtain a share in the expedition. Oracles and prophecies predicting success were circulated through the city, and greedily listened to. So great was the throng of volunteers, that the care of the generals was restricted to the task of selection. The trierarchs contended which should produce his vessel, not only in the most efficient, but in the most ornamental, state of equipment. Five years of comparative peace had accumulated a fresh supply both of men and money; and the merchants of Athens embarked in the enterprise as in a trading expedition. It was only a few of the wisest heads that escaped the general fever of excitement. Meton, the astronomer, and Socrates, the philosopher, are said not to have shared in the universal enthusiasm; the latter warned, perhaps, by that familiar demon to whose whispered wisdom his ears were ever open.

§ 14. And now the magnificent armament is on the point of sailing. The brilliant city is alive with hope, and pride, and expectation, when a sudden and mysterious event converts all these exulting feelings into gloomy foreboding.

At every door in Athens, at the corners of streets, in the market-place, before temples, gymnasia, and other public places, stood Hermæ, or statues of the god Hermes, consisting of a bust of that deity surmounting a quadrangular pillar of marble about the height of the human figure. When the Athenians rose one morning towards the end of May, 415 B. C., it was found that all these figures had been mutilated during the night, and reduced by unknown hands to a shapeless mass. We may partly realize the feelings excited by this occurrence, by picturing to ourselves some Roman Catholic town, in which all the statues of the Virgin should have been suddenly defaced. But the act inspired political, as well as religious, alarm. It seemed to indicate a wide-spread conspiracy, for so sudden and general a mutilation must have been the work of many hands. Athens, like other Grecian states, abounded with clubs, which, like our societies of freemasons, offered facilities for secret and extensive combinations. This will probably afford the most natural explanation of the fear which now pervaded Athens; for the sacrilege might only be a preliminary attempt of some powerful citizen to seize the despotism, and suspi-

cion pointed its finger at Alcibiades. Active measures were taken and large rewards offered for the discovery of the perpetrators. A public board was appointed to examine witnesses, which did not, indeed, succeed in eliciting any facts bearing on the actual subject of inquiry, but which obtained evidence respecting similar acts of impiety committed at previous times in drunken frolics. In these Alcibiades himself was implicated; and though the fleet was on the very eve of departure, Pythonicus rose in the assembly and accused him of having profaned the Eleusinian mysteries by giving a representation of them in a private house, producing in evidence the testimony of a slave. Pythonicus also charged him with being privy to the mutilation of the Hermæ, but without bringing forward the slightest proof. Alcibiades denied the accusation, and implored the people to have it investigated at once. His enemies, however, had sufficient influence to get the inquiry postponed till his return; thus keeping the charge hanging over his head, and gaining time to poison the public mind against him.

§ 15. The day had arrived for the sailing of the fleet. Corcyra was appointed for the rendezvous of the allies; but even the departure of the Athenian armament was a spectacle imposing in the extreme. Of the hundred triremes, sixty were equipped as men-of-war, the rest as transports. Fifteen hundred chosen Athenian hoplites, seven hundred of the class of Thetes to act as marines, together with five hundred Argive and two hundred and fifty Mantinean hoplites, marched at daybreak to embark at the Peiræus, accompanied by nearly the whole of the population. As the ships were preparing to slip their moorings, the sound of the trumpet enjoined silence, and the voice of the herald, accompanied by that of the people, was lifted up in prayer. Then followed the chanting of the pæan, whilst the officers on the decks of their respective vessels made libations of wine to the gods from gold and silver goblets. At length, at a given signal, the whole fleet started from Peiræus, each crew striving, as in a nautical contest, to arrive first at the island of Ægina. The people who lined the beach watched the vessels till they were out of sight, and then returned to the city with heavy hearts and ominous misgivings.



Bust of Alcibiades.

CHAPTER XXX.

PELOPONNESIAN WAR CONTINUED. THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION.

§ 1. Armament mustered at Corcyra. § 2. Its Reception in Italy. Proceedings at Syracuse. § 3. Plans of the Athenian Generals. § 4. The Advice of Alcibiades adopted. He gains over Naxos and Catana. § 5. Proceedings at Athens respecting the Mutilation of the Hermæ, and the Profanation of the Mysteries. § 6. Alcibiades accused, and ordered to return to Athens. § 7. Proceedings of Nicias in Sicily. § 8. Preparations of the Sicilians for Defence. § 9. Nicias lays Siege to Syracuse. § 10. He seizes Epipolæ and constructs a Fort at Syké. Attempt of the Syracusans against it. § 11. Arrival of the Spartan General Gylippus. Change in the Athenian Prospects. § 12. Invasion of Attica by the Lacedæmonians. They fortify Deceleia. § 13. The Syracusans defeat the Athenians at Sea. § 14. Demosthenes and Eurymedon arrive in Sicily with Reinforcements. Reverses. The Athenians resolve to retreat. § 15. Naval Engagement in the Great Harbor. Victory of the Syracusans. § 16. Its Effects. Disastrous Retreat of the Athenians. Surrender of Demosthenes. § 17. Surrender of Nicias. Treatment of the Prisoners. Death of Nicias and Demosthenes. § 18. Their Characters.

§ 1. THE Athenian fleet destined for Sicily was joined at Corcyra by the other allies in the month of July, 415 B. C. The whole armament when mustered consisted of one hundred and thirty-four triremes and two Rhodian penteconters, and had on board five thousand one hundred hoplites, four hundred and eighty bowmen, of whom eighty were Cretans, seven hundred Rhodian slingers, and one hundred and twenty Megarian exiles, who served as light-armed troops. The fleet was accompanied by no fewer than five hundred transports, carrying provisions, warlike stores, and artificers, as well as by a great many private trading-vessels. Three fast-sailing triremes were sent in advance to ascertain the disposition of the

Italian and Sicilian towns, and to notify to the Egestæans the approach of assistance. The fleet then made for the Iapygian promontory, in three divisions, commanded by Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus.

§ 2. Their reception in Italy was far from encouraging. The utmost they could obtain was permission to take in water, and even this was refused by the Tarentines, and by the Epizephyrian Locrians. At Rhegium, however, they were allowed to land and to purchase provisions; but they were not permitted to enter the town, and the citizens refused to join or assist them. Here, therefore, they awaited the return of the three exploring vessels.

Rumors of the intended expedition prevailed at Syracuse, but were treated as incredible. Hermocrates, however, was better informed than his fellow-citizens. He urged them to summon their allies and to prepare for defence, and even exhorted them to sail at once to the friendly harbor of Tarentum, and from thence to offer battle to the Athenian fleet in the Ionian Gulf. But the demagogue Athenagoras treated the whole matter as a fiction invented to serve the interests of the oligarchical party. At last one of the generals put an end to the debate by undertaking to place the city in a posture of defence.

§ 3. Meantime the three vessels which had been sent to Egesta returned to Rhegium, with the discouraging news that the accounts respecting the wealth of Egesta were entirely fictitious, and that the sum of thirty talents was all the assistance that could be hoped for from that quarter. A council of war was now held. It appears that the Athenian generals had proceeded thus far without having formed any definite plan, and each now proposed a different one. Nicias was of opinion, that, since no effectual help could be expected from the Egestæans, the objects of the expedition should be confined to the narrowest possible limits, and, with that view, that they should sail at once against the Selinuntines, obtain from them the best terms possible, and then return home. Alcibiades, whose hopes of glory and profit would have been ruined by this plan, proposed to gain as many allies as they could among the Greek cities in Sicily, and, having thus ascertained what assistance they could rely upon, to attack Syracuse and Selinus. Lamachus was for bolder measures. He recommended an immediate attack upon Syracuse, whilst it was yet unprepared for defence. The terror of the Syracusans would probably cause them to surrender, and the capture of their city would determine the conduct of the rest of Sicily; but if they lingered, negotiated, and did nothing, they would first be regarded with indifference and then with contempt.

§ 4. The advice of Lamachus was the most soldierlike, and, though seemingly the boldest, would undoubtedly have been the safest and most prudent in the end. But neither of his colleagues approved of it, and as Lamachus was poor, and possessed no great political interest, he was

obliged to give way. The counsel of Alcibiades was adopted as a mean between the other two. Messana refused his solicitations, but Naxos cordially joined the Athenians. Alcibiades then sailed southwards with a considerable portion of the fleet, and, passing Syracuse, despatched ten triremes into the Great Harbor, for the purpose of surveying its docks and fortifications. Nothing further was attempted; but as they sailed back, the Athenians obtained possession by surprise of the important city of Catana, which was now made the head-quarters of the armament.

§ 5. An unwelcome message greeted Alcibiades at Catana. After his departure from Athens fresh inquiries were instituted respecting the mutilation of the Hermæ, and the offer of large rewards brought forward additional evidence. The public agitation and anxiety were kept alive by the demagogues Peisander and Charicles, two of the commissioners of inquiry, who denounced the affair not only as a sacrilege, but also as a conspiracy for putting down the democracy and establishing a tyranny. Numerous arrests were made, and citizens of the highest character were thrown into prison on the testimony of hireling wretches. Terror reigned in the city, and the fear of being informed against rose to such a pitch, that the convocation of the Senate by the herald was a signal to the crowd which filled the market-place to disperse. Among the persons arrested was Andocides, the orator, who was induced by his fellow-prisoners to come forward and state what he knew of the affair. He was a young man of rank, and his evidence was implicitly believed, especially as it was confirmed by his slaves, who were put to the torture. Those whom he denounced were executed. He saved his own life by turning informer, but the hatred he incurred was such that he was obliged to leave the city. His evidence was most probably false, and the whole affair has ever remained involved in mystery.

§ 6. The execution of the supposed criminals had the effect of tranquilizing the city respecting the mutilation of the Hermæ; but the profanation of the Eleusinian mysteries, a rite regarded with the deepest reverence at Athens, still remained unexpiated. The Eumolpidae, and other great families who held hereditary offices in the celebration of the mysteries, looked upon themselves as personally insulted. The public excitement was increased by the appearance of a Lacedæmonian force on the frontier, which, it was suspected, might be connected with some internal conspiracy. Both oligarchs and democrats were loud in demanding the arrest of Alcibiades; and Thessalus, the son of Cimon, who belonged to the former party, preferred an indictment against him. In pursuance of this step the public trireme, called the Salaminia, was despatched to Sicily, carrying the decree of the assembly for Alcibiades to come home and take his trial, and which met him, as before related, on his arrival at Catana. The commander of the Salaminia was, however, instructed not to seize his person, but to allow him to sail in his own trireme. Alcibiades availed

himself of this privilege to effect his escape. When the ships arrived at Thurii in Italy, he absconded, and contrived to elude the search that was made after him. Nevertheless, though absent, he was arraigned at Athens, and condemned to death; his property was confiscated, and the Eumolpidæ pronounced upon him the curses of the gods. On hearing of his sentence Alcibiades is said to have exclaimed, "I will show them that I am still alive."

§ 7. Three months had now been frittered away in Sicily, during which the Athenians had done little or nothing, if we except the acquisition of Naxos and Catana. The Syracusans began to look upon them with contempt. They even meditated an attack upon the Athenians at Catana; and Syracusan horsemen rode up and insulted them in their camp. Nicias was thus absolutely shamed into undertaking something, and resolved to make an attempt upon Syracuse. By a false message that the Catanæans were ready to assist in expelling the Athenians, he induced the Syracusans to proceed thither in great force, and he availed himself of their absence to sail with his whole fleet into the Great Harbor of Syracuse, where he landed near the mouth of the Anapus, in the neighborhood of the temple of the Olympian Zeus. Here he intrenched himself in a strong position, on the right bank of the Anapus, breaking down the bridge over the river. The Syracusans, when they found that they had been deceived at Catana, marched back and offered Nicias battle in his new position. The latter accepted it, and gained the victory; after which he retired to Catana, and subsequently to Naxos into winter-quarters. He then sent messages to Athens for fresh supplies of cavalry and money, and to his Sicilian allies for reinforcements.

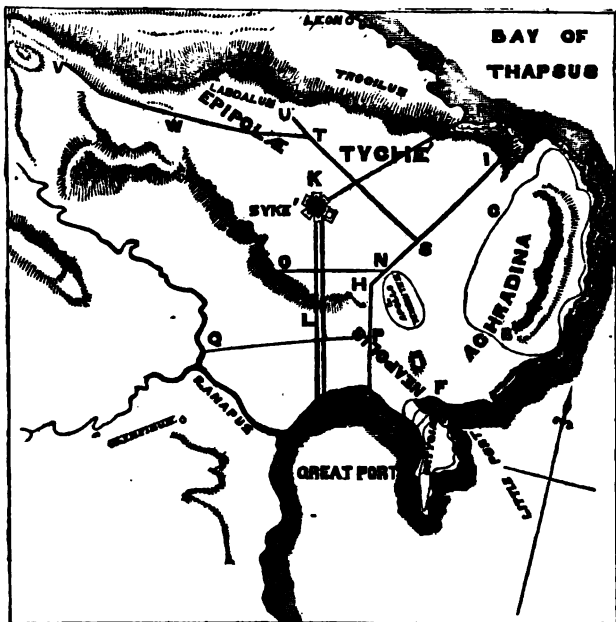
§ 8. The Syracusans employed the winter in preparations for defence. They built a new wall, covering both their inner and outer town to the westward (see Plan, G, H, I), and rendering any attempt at circumvallation more difficult. They fortified and garrisoned the temple and grove of the Olympian Zeus, in the neighborhood of the city. They despatched envoys to Corinth and Sparta to solicit assistance, in the latter of which towns they found an unexpected advocate. Alcibiades, having crossed from Thurii to Cyllenê in Peloponnesus, received a special invitation to proceed to Sparta. Here he revealed all the plans of Athens, and exhorted the Lacedæmonians to frustrate them. For this purpose he advised them to send an army into Sicily, under the command of a Spartan general, and, by way of causing a diversion, to establish a fortified post at Decelæa in the Attic territories. The Spartans fell in with these views, and resolved to send a force to the assistance of Syracuse in the spring, under the command of Gylippus.

§ 9. Nicias, having received a reinforcement of cavalry from Athens, as well as three hundred talents in money, recommenced hostilities as soon as the season allowed of it, and resolved on besieging Syracuse. That town

consisted of two parts, the inner and the outer city. The former of these — the original settlement — was comprised in the island of Ortygia; the latter, afterwards known by the name of Achradina, covered the high ground of the peninsula north of Ortygia, and was completely separate from the inner city. The island of Ortygia, to which the modern city is now confined, is of an oblong shape, about two miles in circumference, lying between the Great Harbor on the west and the Little Harbor on the east, and separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. The Great Harbor is a splendid bay, about five miles in circumference, the entrance of which is protected on the left hand by the promontory Plemmyrium, and on the right hand by a projecting cape of the island of Ortygia. The little port, also called Laccius, which lay between Ortygia and the outer city, was spacious enough to receive a large fleet of ships of war. The outer city was surrounded on the north and east by the sea, and by sea-walls, which rendered an assault on that side almost impracticable. On the land side it was defended by a wall, and partly also by the nature of the ground, which in some parts was very steep. The low ground between the outer city and Ortygia seems not to have been included in the fortifications of either, but was employed partly as a burial-ground, partly for games and religious processions. West and northwest of the wall of the outer city stood two unfortified suburbs, which were at a later time included within the walls of Syracuse under the names of Tyché and Neapolis. At the time of which we are speaking, the latter was called Temenites, from having within it the statue and consecrated ground of Apollo Temenites. Between these two suburbs the ground rose in a gentle acclivity to the summit of the ranges of hills called Epipolæ.

§ 10. It was from the high ground of Epipolæ that Syracuse was most exposed to attack. The Syracusan generals had hitherto neglected this important position, and were on the point of occupying it, when they were anticipated by Nicias. Landing at Leon, a place upon the Bay of Thapsus, at the distance of only six or seven stadia from Epipolæ, the Athenian troops reached the summit just as the Syracusans were marching towards the heights. They made, however, an attempt to dislodge the Athenians, which was repulsed; and on the following morning, Nicias and Lamachus marched their troops down the ridge and offered battle, which was declined by the Syracusans. On the summit of Epipolæ, Nicias constructed a fort called Labdulum; and then, coming farther down the hill towards Syracuse, he built another fort of a circular form and of considerable size at a place called Syké. From the latter point he commenced his line of circumvallation, one wall extending southwards from Syké to the Great Harbor, and the other wall running northwards from the same fortress to the outer sea at Trogilus. (See Plan, K, L, M.) While the Athenians were busy upon their lines towards the north, the Syracusans ran a counter-wall from their own lines up the slope of the Epipolæ (see Plan, N, O),

but after a sharp conflict it was taken by the Athenians and destroyed. Not disheartened by this failure, the Syracusans commenced a second counter-work, and succeeded in constructing a ditch and stockade, which extended again from their own lines across the marsh to the Anapus. (See Plan, P, Q.) From this new position they were also dislodged by the



Plan of Syracuse. (From Grote's Greece.)

- A, B, C, D. Wall of the Outer City of Syracuse at the time of the arrival of Nicias in Sicily.
- E, F. Wall of Ortygia, or the Inner City of Syracuse, at the same time.
- G, H, I. Additional fortification built by the Syracusans in the winter of 415 - 414 B. C.
- K. Athenian fortification at Syké.
- K, L, M. Southern portion of the Athenian circumvallation from Syké to the Great Harbor.
- N, O. First counter-work erected by the Syracusans.
- P, Q. Second counter-work constructed by the Syracusans.
- K, R. Intended, but unfinished, circumvallation of the Athenians from the northern side of Syké to the outer sea at Trogilius.
- S, T, U. Third Syracusan counter-wall.
- V. Outer fort constructed by Gylippus.
- V, W, T. Wall of junction between this outer fort and the third Syracusan counter-work.

Athenians; but in the assault, which was led by Lamachus, this gallant officer was slain. At the same time the Athenian fleet entered the Great Harbor, where it was henceforth permanently established.

The Syracusans offered no further opposition to the progress of the circumvallation, which was at length completed towards the south. It consisted of two distinct walls, with a space between them, which was perhaps partly roofed over, in order to afford shelter for the troops. The

northern wall towards Trogilus was never completed, and through the passage thus left open, the besieged continued to obtain provisions.

Nicias, who, by the death of Lamachus, had become sole commander, seemed now on the point of succeeding. The Syracusans were so sensible of their inferiority in the field, that they no longer ventured to show themselves outside the walls. They began to contemplate surrender, and even sent messages to Nicias to treat of the terms. This caused the Athenian commander to indulge in a false confidence of success, and consequent apathy; and the army having lost the active and energetic Lamachus, operations were no longer carried on with the requisite activity.

§ 11. It was in this state of affairs that the Spartan commander Gylippus passed over into Italy with a little squadron of four ships, two Lacedæmonian and two Corinthian, with the view merely of preserving the Greek cities in that country, supposing that Syracuse, and, with her, the other Greek cities in Sicily, were irretrievably lost. As he proceeded southwards along the Italian coast, a violent storm drove him into Tarentum. Nicias, though informed of his arrival, regarded his little squadron with contempt, and took no measures to interrupt his progress. From the Epizephyrian Locrians Gylippus learned, to his great surprise and satisfaction, that the Athenian wall of circumvallation at Syracuse had not yet been completed on the northern side. He now sailed through the Straits of Messana, which were left completely unguarded, and arrived safely at Himera on the north coast of Sicily. Here he announced himself as the forerunner of larger succors, and began to levy an army, which the magic of the Spartan name soon enabled him to effect; and in a few days he was in a condition to march towards Syracuse with about three thousand men. His approach had been already announced by Gongylus, a Corinthian, who had been sent forwards from the Corinthian fleet then assembled at Leucas. The Syracusans now dismissed all thoughts of surrender, and went out boldly to meet Gylippus, who marched into Syracuse over the heights of Epipolæ, which the supineness of Nicias had left unguarded. Upon arriving in the city, Gylippus sent a message to the Athenians allowing them a five days' truce to collect their effects and evacuate the island. Nicias returned no answer to this insulting proposal; but the operations of Gylippus soon showed that the tide of affairs was really turned. His first exploit was to capture the Athenian fort at Labalum, which made him master of Epipolæ. He next commenced constructing a counter-wall to intersect the Athenian lines on the northern side. This third counter-work of the Syracusans extended from their city wall to the northern cliff of Epipolæ, and was brought to a successful completion. (See Plan, S, U.) Gylippus subsequently built a fort (V) upon Epipolæ; and from this fort carried another wall which joined at right angles the counter-work already erected. (See Plan, V, W, U.) This turn of affairs induced those Sicilian

cities, which had hitherto hesitated, to embrace the side of Syracuse. Gylippus was also reinforced by the arrival of thirty triremes from Corinth, Leucas, and Ambracia. Nicias now felt that the attempt to blockade Syracuse with his present force was hopeless. He therefore resolved to occupy the headland of Plemmyrium, the southernmost point of the entrance to the Great Harbor, which would be a convenient station for watching the enemy, as well as for facilitating the introduction of supplies. Here he accordingly erected three forts and formed a naval station. Some slight affairs occurred, in which the balance of advantage was in favor of the Syracusans. By their change of station the Athenians were now a besieged rather than a besieging force. Their triremes were becoming leaky, and their soldiers and sailors were constantly deserting. Nicias himself had fallen into a bad state of health; and in this discouraging posture of affairs he wrote to Athens requesting to be recalled, and insisting strongly on the necessity of sending reinforcements.

§ 12. The Athenians refused to recall Nicias, but they determined on sending a large reinforcement to Sicily, under the joint command of Demosthenes and Eurymedon. The news of these fresh and extensive preparations incited the Lacedæmonians to more vigorous action. The peace, if such it can be called, had been violated in the year 414 B. C., when the Lacedæmonians invaded and ravaged the Argive territories, whilst the Athenians assisted the Argives with a fleet of thirty triremes, and laid waste Epidaurus, and some neighboring places. But in the spring of 413 B. C., the Lacedæmonians, under King Agis, invaded Attica itself, and, following the advice of Alcibiades, established themselves permanently at Decelæa, a place situated on the ridge of Mount Parnes, about fourteen miles north of Athens, and commanding the Athenian plain. The city was thus placed in a state of siege. Scarcity began to be felt within the walls; the revenues were falling off, whilst, on the other hand, expenses were increasing. Yet even under these circumstances the Athenians had no thoughts of abandoning their ambitious enterprises. It was resolved not only to send reinforcements to Sicily, but also to insult the coasts of Laconia. For this purpose Charicles was sent thither with a fleet of thirty triremes; and being assisted by Demosthenes with the armament which he was conducting to Sicily, Charicles succeeded in establishing himself on the coast of Laconia, at a spot opposite to the island of Cythera, in a manner somewhat similar to the Athenian fort at Pylos.

§ 13. Meanwhile in Sicily the Syracusans had gained such confidence that they even ventured on a naval engagement with the Athenians. A battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Harbor, in which the Athenians were, indeed, victorious; but when they sailed back to their station at Plemmyrium, they found that Gylippus had taken advantage of this diversion to attack and take their forts there, and that a great quantity of stores and provisions had fallen into his hands. Moreover, the

Syracusans were not discouraged by their defeat from venturing on another naval engagement. They had greatly improved the construction of their vessels by strengthening their bows, and had learnt how to meet or evade the nautical manœuvres of the Athenians, which were also considerably impeded by the narrow limits of the Great Harbor, now the scene of conflict. The second battle lasted two days, and ended in the defeat of the Athenians, who were now obliged to haul up their ships in the innermost part of the Great Harbor, under the lines of their fortified camp. A still more serious disaster than the loss of the battle was the loss of their naval reputation. It was evident that the Athenians had ceased to be invincible on the sea; and the Syracusans no longer despaired of overcoming them on their own element. *H*

§ 14. Such was the state of affairs when, to the astonishment of the Syracusans, a fresh Athenian fleet of seventy-five triremes, under Demosthenes and Eurymedon, entered the Great Harbor with all the pomp and circumstance of war. It had on board a force of five thousand hoplites, of whom about a quarter were Athenians, and a great number of light-armed troops. The active and enterprising character of Demosthenes led him to adopt more vigorous measures than those which had been hitherto pursued. He saw at once that whilst Epipolæ remained in the possession of the Syracusans there was no hope of taking their city, and he therefore directed all his efforts to the recapture of that position. But all his attempts were unavailing. He was defeated, not only in an open assault upon the Syracusan wall, but in a nocturnal attempt to carry it by surprise. These reverses were aggravated by the breaking out of sickness among the troops. Demosthenes now proposed to return home and assist in expelling the Lacedæmonians from Attica, instead of pursuing an enterprise which seemed to be hopeless. But Nicias, who feared to return to Athens with the stigma of failure, refused to give his consent to this step. Demosthenes then urged Nicias at least to sail immediately out of the Great Harbor, and take up their position either at Thapsus or Catana, where they could obtain abundant supplies of provisions, and would have an open sea for the manœuvres of their fleet. But even to this proposal Nicias would not consent; and the army and navy remained in their former position. Soon afterwards, however, Gylippus received such large reinforcements, that Nicias found it necessary to adopt the advice of his colleague. Preparations were secretly made for their departure; the enemy appear to have had no suspicion of their intention, and they were on the point of quitting their ill-fated quarters on the following morning, when on the very night before (27 Aug. 413 B. C.) an eclipse of the moon took place. The soothsayers who were consulted said that the army must wait thrice nine days, a full circle of the moon, before it could quit its present position; and the devout and superstitious Nicias forthwith resolved to abide by this decision.

Meanwhile the intention of the Athenians became known to the Syracusans, who determined to strike a blow before their enemy escaped. They accordingly attacked the Athenian station both by sea and land. On land the attack of Gylippus was repulsed; but at sea the Athenian fleet was completely defeated, and Eurymedon, who commanded the right division, was slain.

The spirits of the Syracusans rose with their victories, and though they would formerly have been content with the mere retreat of the Athenians, they now resolved on effecting their utter destruction. With this view they blocked up the entrance of the Great Harbor with a line of vessels moored across it. All hope seemed now to be cut off from the Athenians, unless they could succeed in forcing this line, and thus effecting their escape. The Athenian fleet still numbered one hundred and ten triremes, which Nicias furnished with grappling-irons, in order to bring the enemy to close quarters, and then caused a large proportion of his land force to embark. Before they set off, Nicias addressed the most earnest and touching appeals both to the crews and to the individual commanders to fight with bravery, since not only their own fate, but that of Athens itself, depended on the issue of that day's combat. He himself remained on shore, where the army was drawn up to witness the conflict.

§ 15. Never perhaps was a battle fought under circumstances of such intense interest, or witnessed by so many spectators vitally concerned in the result. The basin of the Great Harbor, about five miles in circumference, in which nearly two hundred ships, each with crews of more than two hundred men, were about to engage, was lined with spectators; whilst the walls of Ortygia, overhanging the water, were crowded with old men, women, and children, anxious to behold a conflict which was to decide the fate of their enemies, if not their own. The surface of the water swarmed with Syracusan small craft, many of them manned by youthful volunteers of the best families, ready to direct their services wherever they might be wanted. The whole scene, except in its terrible reality and the momentous interests depending on it, resembled on a large scale the *naumachiae* exhibited by the Roman emperors for the amusement of their subjects. The Syracusan fleet, consisting of seventy-six triremes, was the first to leave the shore. A considerable portion was detached to guard the barrier at the mouth of the harbor. Hither was directed the first and most impetuous attack of the Athenians, who sought to break through the narrow opening which had been left for the passage of merchant-vessels. Their onset was repulsed, and the battle then became general. The shouts of the combatants, and the crash of the iron heads of the vessels as they were driven together, resounded over the water, and were answered on shore by the cheers or wailings of the spectators, as their friends were victorious or vanquished. For a long time the battle was maintained with heroic courage and dubious result. At length, as the Athe-

nian vessels began to yield and make back towards the shore, a universal shriek of horror and despair arose from the Athenian army, whilst shouts of joy and victory were raised from the pursuing vessels, and were echoed back from the Syracusans on land. As the Athenian vessels neared the shore their crews leaped out, and made for the camp, whilst the boldest of the land army rushed forward to protect the ships from being seized by the enemy. The Athenians succeeded in saving only sixty ships, or about half their fleet. The Syracusan fleet, however, had been reduced to fifty ships; and on the same afternoon, Nicias and Demosthenes, as a last hope of escape, exhorted their men to make another attempt to break the enemy's line, and force their way out of the harbor. But the courage of the crews was so completely damped, that they positively refused to re-embark.

§ 16. The Athenian army still numbered forty thousand men; and as all chance of escape by sea was now hopeless, it was resolved to retreat by land to some friendly city, and there defend themselves against the attacks of the Syracusans. This Hermocrates was determined to prevent. The day on which the battle was fought happened to be sacred to Hercules, and a festival among the Syracusans. This circumstance, in addition to the joy and elation naturally resulting from so great a victory, had thrown the city into a state of feasting and intoxication; and had the Athenians taken their departure that night, nobody would have been found to oppose them. Hermocrates, therefore, when darkness had set in, sent down some men to the Athenian wall, who, pretending to come from the secret correspondents of Nicias in Syracuse, warned him not to decamp that night, as all the roads were beset by the Syracusans. Nicias fell into the snare, and thus, by another fatal mistake, really afforded the Syracusans an opportunity for obstructing his retreat.

It was not till the next day but one after the battle that the Athenian army began to move. Never were men in so complete a state of prostration. Their vessels were abandoned to the enemy, without an attempt to save them. As the soldiers turned to quit that fatal encampment, the sense of their own woes was for a moment suspended by the sight of their unburied comrades, who seemed to reproach them with the neglect of a sacred duty; but still more by the wailings and entreaties of the wounded, who clung around their knees, and implored not to be abandoned to certain destruction. Amid this scene of universal woe and dejection, a fresh and unwonted spirit of energy and heroism seemed to be infused into Nicias. Though suffering under an incurable complaint, he was everywhere seen marshalling his troops, and encouraging them by his exhortations. The march was directed towards the territory of the Sicels in the interior of the island. The army was formed into a hollow square, with the baggage in the middle; Nicias leading the van, and Demosthenes bringing up the rear. Having forced the passage of the river Anapus, they marched on

the first day about five miles to the westward, on the second day about half that distance, and encamped on a cultivated plain. From this place the road ascended by a sort of ravine over a steep hill called the Acræan cliff, on which the Syracusans had fortified themselves. After spending two days in vain attempts to force this position, Nicias and Demosthenes resolved during the night to strike off to the left towards the sea. Nicias, with the van, succeeded in reaching the coast; but Demosthenes, who had lost his way, was overtaken by the Syracusans at noon on the following day, and surrounded in a narrow pass. Many of his troops had disbanded during the night march, and many fell in the conflict which now ensued, till, being reduced to the number of six thousand, they surrendered, on condition of their lives being spared.

§ 17. Meanwhile Nicias, with the van, had pursued his march, and crossed the river Erineus. On the following day, however, Gylippus overtook him, and, having informed him of the fate of his colleague, summoned him to surrender. But Nicias was incredulous, and pursued his march amidst the harassing attacks of the Syracusans. The attempt to cross the river Asinarus decided the fate of his army. The men rushed into the water in the greatest disorder, partly to escape the enemy, but chiefly from a desire to quench the burning thirst with which they were tormented. Hundreds were pressed forwards down the steep banks of the river, and were either trodden under foot, or impaled on the spears of those below, or carried away by the stream. Yet others from behind still kept pressing on, anxious to partake of the now turbid and bloody water. The troops thus became so completely disorganized, that all further resistance was hopeless, and Nicias surrendered at discretion.

Out of the forty thousand who started from the camp, only ten thousand at the utmost were left at the end of the sixth day's march; the rest had either deserted or been slain. The prisoners were sent to work in the stone-quarries of Achradina and Epipolæ. Here they were crowded together without any shelter, and with scarcely provisions enough to sustain life. The numerous bodies of those who died were left to putrefy where they had fallen, till at length the place became such an intolerable centre of stench and infection, that, at the end of seventy days, the Syracusans, for their own comfort and safety, were obliged to remove the survivors. All but the Athenians and the Italian and Sicilian Greeks were sold into slavery. What became of the Athenians we are not informed, but they were probably employed as slaves by the richer Syracusans, since the story runs that many succeeded in winning the affection and pity of their masters by reciting portions of the dramas of Euripides. Nicias and Demosthenes were condemned to death, in spite of all the efforts of Gylippus and Hermocrates to save them. The latter contrived to spare them the humiliation of a public execution, by providing them with the means of committing suicide.

§ 18. Such was the end of two of the largest and best appointed armaments that had ever gone forth from Athens. Nicias, as we have seen, was from the first opposed to the expedition in which they were employed, as pregnant with the most dangerous consequences to Athens; and though it must be admitted that in this respect his views were sound, it cannot at the same time be concealed, that his own want of energy, and his incompetence as a general, were the chief causes of the failure of the undertaking. Possessing much fortitude but little enterprise, respectable in private life, punctual in the performance of his religious duties, not deficient in a certain kind of political wisdom, which, however, derived its color rather from timidity and over-caution than from that happy mixture of boldness and prudence which characterizes the true statesman, Nicias had by these qualities obtained far more than his just share of political reputation and influence, and had thus been named to the command of an expedition for which he was qualified neither by military skill nor by that enthusiasm and confidence of success which it so peculiarly demanded. His mistakes involved the fall of Demosthenes, an officer of far greater resolution and ability than himself, and who, had his counsels been followed, would in all probability have conducted the enterprise to a safe termination, though there was no longer room to hope for success. The career of Demosthenes marks him as one of the first generals of the age, but unfortunately he held only a subordinate rank in Sicily. The Athenians became sensible when too late of the difference between the two commanders. On the pillar erected to the memory of the warriors who fell in Sicily, the name of Demosthenes found a place, whilst that of Nicias was omitted.



Street of the Tripods at Athens, from a bas-relief.

CHAPTER XXXI.

FROM THE END OF THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE FOUR HUNDRED AT ATHENS.

§ 1. Consternation and Hardships at Athens. § 2. Measures for Defence. § 3. Revolt of Chios, Erythræ, and Clazomenæ. § 4. Spread of the Revolt. Defection of Teos, Lesbos, and Miletus. Revolution at Samos, which becomes the Head-quarters of the Athenian Fleet. § 5. Recovery of Lesbos by the Athenians. Dissatisfaction of the Lacedæmonians with Tissaphernes. § 6. Schemes of Alcibiades. § 7. He proposes a League between the Athenians and Persians, and the Establishment of an Oligarchy at Athens. § 8. Agitation for an Oligarchy at Athens. § 9. Conference of Peisander with Alcibiades. Artifices of the Latter. Fresh Treaty between Tissaphernes and the Lacedæmonians. § 10. Progress of the Oligarchical Conspiracy at Athens and Samos. § 11. Establishment of the Four Hundred. § 12. Their Proceedings. § 13. Proceedings at Samos. Alcibiades joins the Democracy there. § 14. The Athenian Envoys at Samos. § 15. Dissensions among the Four Hundred. They negotiate with Sparta. § 16. Counter Revolution at Athens. Defeat of the Athenian Fleet and Capture of Eubœa by the Lacedæmonians. § 17. The Four Hundred deposed and Democracy re-established at Athens.

§ 1. The first intelligence of the destruction of the Sicilian armament is said to have been communicated by a stranger, in a barber's shop in the Peiræus. Big with the eventful news, the unfortunate barber hastened up to Athens to communicate it to the archons and the public; but he was treated as a talebearer and impostor; and being unable to corroborate his story, in consequence of the disappearance of his informant, he was put to the torture. The tidings were, however, soon confirmed by the arrival of fugitives who had managed to escape from the disastrous scene. Athens was now filled with affliction and dismay. To private grief for the loss of friends was added despair of the public safety. There seemed to be no means of preventing the city from falling into the hands of the

Lacedæmonians. The popular fury vented itself in abusing the orators who had recommended the expedition, and the soothsayers who had foretold its success.

The affairs of the Athenians were indeed a most threatening aspect. The Lacedæmonian post at Decelæa was a constant source of annoyance. No part of Attica escaped the forays which were made from thence. All the cattle were destroyed, and the most valuable slaves began to desert in great numbers to the enemy. Athens was almost in a state of siege. The fatigue of guarding the large extent of wall became very onerous on the reduced number of citizens. The knights or horsemen were on constant duty in order to repress the enemy's marauders; but their horses were soon lamed and rendered inefficient by the hard and stony nature of the soil. But what chiefly excited the despondency of the Athenians was the visible decline of their naval superiority. An engagement with the Corinthian fleet near Naupactus, in the summer of 413 B. C., had ended with neither side gaining the advantage, though the forces were nearly equal; but to the Athenians the moral effects were equivalent to a defeat.

§ 2. Yet that cheerfulness and energy under misfortune which form such striking and excellent traits in the character of the Athenians, did not long desert them. After the first movements of rage and despair, they began to contemplate their condition more calmly, and to take the necessary measures for defence. A board of elders was appointed, under the name of *Probûli*,* to watch over the public safety. The splendor of the public ceremonies was curtailed in order to raise funds for the necessities of the state; the garrison recently established on the coast of Laconia was recalled; the building of a new fleet was commenced; and Cape Sunium was fortified in order to insure an uninterrupted communication between Peiræus and Eubœa, from which island the Athenians principally drew their provisions.

§ 3. Whilst the imperial city was thus driven to consult for her very existence, it seemed a chimerical hope that she could retain her widely scattered dependencies. Her situation inspired her enemies with new vigor; states hitherto neutral declared against her; her subject allies prepared to throw off the yoke; even the Persian satraps and the court of Susa bestirred themselves against her. The first blow to the Athenian empire was struck by the wealthy and populous island of Chios. This again was the work of Alcibiades, the implacable enemy of his native land. In the winter following the overthrow of the Athenian armament in Sicily, several of the most powerful allies of Athens, among whom were the Eubœans, Chians, and Lesbians, had solicited Sparta to assist them in throwing off the Athenian yoke. At the same time envoys appeared at

* *Πρόβουλοι*.

Sparta from Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap of Ionia, Caria, and the adjacent coasts, and from Pharnabazus, whose satrapy extended from the Euxine to the Gulf of Elæa, inviting the Lacedæmonians to co-operate with them in destroying the Athenian empire in Asia, and promising to provide the necessary funds.

By the advice of Alcibiades, the Lacedæmonians resolved that the Chians should have the preference, and that a fleet should be sent to their assistance. Impatient of delay, Alcibiades shortly afterwards crossed over to Chios with a Lacedæmonian squadron of five ships, under the command of Chalcideus. The oligarchical party at Chios had matured all their plans for the revolt, and the arrival of Alcibiades caused them to be put into execution. The people were taken by surprise, and were reluctantly induced to renounce their alliance with Athens. Their example was almost immediately followed by Erythræ and Clazomenæ.

§ 4. The reserve of one thousand talents, set apart by Pericles to meet the contingency of an actual invasion, still remained untouched; but now by a unanimous vote the penalty of death, which forbade its appropriation to any other purpose, was abolished, and the fund applied in fitting out a fleet against Chios. Meantime, Alcibiades was indefatigable in fanning the flames of revolt, which now spread rapidly through the Athenian allies. Teos, Lesbos, and Miletus proclaimed their independence of Athens. At Miletus, Chalcideus, on the part of Sparta, concluded an infamous treaty with Tissaphernes, stipulating that the Greek cities and territory formerly belonging to Persia should be restored to her; that the Athenians should not be permitted to derive any revenue from them; and that Persia and the Lacedæmonians should jointly carry on the war against Athens. To conclude the bargain, Miletus was handed over to Tissaphernes.

Samos still remained faithful to the Athenians, and, amidst the general defection of their Asiatic allies, had become of the last importance to them. This island, like Chios, was governed by an oligarchy; but, warned by the revolution in that island, the Samians rose against the oligarchs, slew two hundred of them, and banished four hundred more. The Athenians at once recognized the newly established democracy, and secured the adhesion of the Samians by putting them on the footing of equal and independent allies. Samos became the head-quarters of the Athenian fleet, and the base of their operations during the remainder of the war.

§ 5. The tide of success at length began to turn in favor of the Athenians. They had succeeded in collecting a considerable fleet at Samos, with which they recovered Lesbos and Clazomenæ, defeated the Chians, and laid waste their territory. They also gained a victory over the Peloponnesians at Miletus, but this powerful city still remained in the hands of Tissaphernes and the Peloponnesians.

Towards the close of the year, Astyochus, the Lacedæmonian com-

mander, received large reinforcements from Peloponnesus, and was now at the head of so imposing an armament that he was enabled to modify the former treaty with Tissaphernes, of which the Lacedæmonians were heartily ashamed. The new treaty, however, differed from the previous one rather in terms than substance, and appears to have been far from giving satisfaction at Sparta. The conduct of Tissaphernes afforded another reason for discontent. He had given notice that he could no longer continue the high rate of payment of a drachma per day for the seamen's wages, the sum agreed upon in the first treaty, without express instructions from the court of Susa; and though he had reduced that sum by one half, it was very irregularly paid; whilst his whole behavior displayed a great want of hearty co-operation with the Lacedæmonians. Another Peloponnesian squadron was therefore despatched to the coast of Asia, having on board Lichas and ten other Spartans, for the purpose of remonstrating with Tissaphernes and opening fresh negotiations. Having obtained an interview with Tissaphernes at Cnidus, Lichas took exceptions to the two former treaties; of which the first expressly, the second by implication, recognized the claims of Persia, not only to the islands of the *Ægean*, but even to Thessaly and *Boeotia*. Lichas, therefore, proposed a new treaty; but Tissaphernes was so indignant at the proposition, that he immediately broke off the negotiation. *¶*

§ 6. The conduct of Tissaphernes towards the Lacedæmonians was the result of the counsels of Alcibiades, who was scheming to effect his return to Athens by means of his intrigues with the Persian satrap. In the course of a few months Alcibiades had completely forfeited the confidence of the Lacedæmonians. His ultra-Athenian temperament and manners must have been as unwelcome to them as their own slowness and gravity were to him. The Spartan King Agis, whose wife he had seduced, was his personal enemy; and the Ephor Endius, his chief protector, went out of office in 412 B. C. To the preceding causes for private dislike was now added the want of that rapid success which he had promised to the Lacedæmonians in the East. In a man whose character for deceit was notorious it is not surprising that this failure should excite a suspicion of treachery. After the defeat of the Peloponnesians at Miletus, King Agis denounced Alcibiades as a traitor, and persuaded the new Ephors to send out instructions to put him to death. Of this, however, he was informed time enough to make his escape to Tissaphernes at Magnesia. Here he began to play an anti-Hellenic, instead of his former anti-Athenian game. He ingratiated himself into the confidence of the satrap, and persuaded him that it was not for the interest of Persia that either of the Grecian parties should be successful, but rather that they should wear each other out in their mutual struggles, when Persia would in the end succeed in expelling both. This advice was adopted by the satrap; and in order to carry it into execution, steps were taken to secure the inactivity of the

Peloponnesian armament, which, if vigorously employed, was powerful enough to put a speedy end to the war. With this view the Lacedæmonian commanders were first persuaded to await the arrival of the Phœnician fleet, which, however, was never intended to appear. But as this was a pretext which could not be made available for any length of time, the next argument was in the more solid shape of pecuniary bribes administered to Astyochus and the other Spartan leaders. Spartan virtue, which exists rather in imagination than reality, was not proof against this seduction. The Syracusan, Hermocrates,—for a Sicilian squadron was co-operating with the Peloponnesian fleet,—was alone found to be incorruptible.

§ 7. Alcibiades, having thus in some degree detached Tissaphernes from the Lacedæmonians, now endeavored to persuade him that it was more for the Persian interest to conclude a league with Athens than with Sparta; since the former state sought only to retain her maritime dependencies, whilst Sparta had held out promises of liberty to every Grecian city, from which she could not consistently recede. The only part of his advice, however, which the satrap seems to have sincerely adopted, was that of playing off one party against the other. But about this Alcibiades did not at all concern himself. It was enough for his views, which had merely the selfish aim of his own restoration to Athens, if he could make it appear that he possessed sufficient influence with Tissaphernes to procure his assistance for the Athenians; and for this the intimate terms on which he lived with the satrap seemed a sufficient guaranty. He therefore began to communicate with the Athenian generals at Samos, and held out the hope of a Persian alliance as the price of his restoration to his country. But as he both hated and feared the Athenian democracy, he coupled his offer with the condition that a revolution should be effected at Athens, and an oligarchy established. The Athenian generals greedily caught at the proposal; and though the great mass of the soldiery were violently opposed to it, they were silenced, if not satisfied, when told that Athens could be saved only by means of Persia. The oligarchical conspirators formed themselves into a confederacy, and Peisander was sent to Athens to organize the clubs in that city. But the conspirators overlooked the fact that the word of Alcibiades was their only security for the co-operation of Persia. Phrynichus alone among the Athenian generals opposed the scheme; not that he disliked oligarchy, but that he hated Alcibiades, and saw through his designs.

§ 8. The proposition for an oligarchy which Peisander made in the Athenian assembly met with the most determined opposition; whilst the personal enemies of Alcibiades, especially the sacred families of the Eumolpidæ and Ceryces, violently opposed the return of the man who had profaned the mysteries. The single but unanswerable reply of Peisander was, the necessities of the republic. A reluctant vote for a change of con-

stitution was at length extorted from the people. Peisander and ten others were despatched to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes. At the same time Phrynichus and his colleague Scironides were deposed from their command at Samos, and their places supplied by Diomedon and Leon. Before his departure Peisander had brought all the oligarchical clubs in Athens into full activity. During his absence the same task was undertaken by Antiphon, the rhetorician. He was assisted by Thera-menēs, and subsequently by Phrynichus, who, after his arrival at Athens, had become a violent partisan of the oligarchy.

§ 9. When Peisander and his colleagues arrived in Ionia, they informed Alcibiades that measures had been taken for establishing an oligarchical form of government at Athens, and required him to fulfil his part of the engagement by procuring the aid and alliance of Persia. But Alcibiades knew that he had undertaken what he could not perform, and now resolved to escape from the dilemma by one of his habitual artifices. He received the Athenian deputation in the presence of Tissaphernes himself, and made such extravagant demands on behalf of the satrap that Peisander and his colleagues indignantly broke off the conference. They attributed, however, the duplicity of Alcibiades to his want of will, and not to his want of power, to serve them; and they now began to suspect that his oligarchical scheme was a mere trick, and that in reality he desired the democracy to remain, and to procure his restoration to its bosom.

Tissaphernes, who did not wish absolutely to break with the Lacedæmonians, now began to fear that he was pushing matters too far; and, as they already felt the pinch of want, he furnished them with some pay, and concluded a new treaty with them, by which they agreed to abandon all the continent of Asia, and consequently the Greek cities in that quarter. To this treaty Pharnabazus was also a party. Persia did not waive her claim to the islands, but nothing was stipulated respecting them. On these conditions the aid of a Phœnician fleet was promised to the Peloponnesians.

§ 10. Notwithstanding the conduct of Alcibiades, the oligarchical conspirators proceeded with the revolution at Athens, in which they had gone too far to recede. Peisander, with five of the envoys, returned to Athens to complete the work they had begun; the rest were sent to establish oligarchies among the allies. The leaders of the army at Samos began a similar movement in that island. Their first step was the gratuitous murder of Hyperbolus, an Athenian demagogue who had been ostracized some years before, and who was now residing at Samos, though apparently without possessing any influence there. But the new commanders, Diomedon and Leon, were favorable to the democracy, and they found by personal inquiry that the great majority of the crews, and especially that of the public trireme called the *Paralus*, were ready to support the ancient constitution. Accordingly, when the oligarchs rose, they were overpowered

by superior numbers; thirty of them were killed in the contest, and three were subsequently indicted and banished.

Meanwhile at Athens, after the departure of Peisander, the council of Probûli, as well as many leading citizens, had joined the oligarchs. Their attacks upon the democracy were not open, but were conducted by means of depreciating speeches respecting its costliness, through the pay given to the dicasts and others discharging civil offices, which, it was represented, the state could no longer afford. They did not venture to propose the entire abolition of the democracy, but merely a modification of it, by restricting the number of those entitled to the franchise to five thousand. But even this proposition was never intended to be carried into execution. Those who stood forward to oppose the scheme were privately assassinated. A reign of terror now commenced. Citizens were continually falling; yet no man could tell whose hand struck the blow, or whose turn might come next.

§ 11. The return of Peisander was the signal for consummating the revolution. He proposed in the assembly, and carried a resolution, that a committee of ten should be appointed to prepare a new constitution, which was to be submitted to the approbation of the people. But when the day appointed for that purpose arrived, the assembly was not convened in the Pnyx, but in the temple of Poseidon at Colonus, a village upwards of a mile from Athens. Here the conspirators could plant their own partisans, and were less likely to be overawed by superior numbers. The *Graphê Paranomon* (γραφὴ παρανόμων), or action against those who proposed any unconstitutional measure, having first been repealed, Peisander obtained the assent of the meeting to the following revolutionary changes:—1. The abolition of all the existing magistracies; 2. The cessation of all payments for the discharge of civil functions; 3. The appointment of a committee of five persons, who were to name ninety-five more; each of the hundred thus constituted to choose three persons; the body of Four Hundred thus formed to be an irresponsible government, holding its sittings in the Senate-House. The Four Hundred were to convene the select body of five thousand citizens whenever they thought proper. Nobody knew who these five thousand were, but they answered two purposes, namely, to give an air of greater popularity to the government, as well as to overawe the people by an exaggerated notion of its strength.

§ 12. The government thus constituted proceeded to establish itself by force. A body of hoplites having been posted in the neighborhood of the Senate-House, the Four Hundred entered it, each with a dagger concealed under his garment, and followed by their body-guard of a hundred and twenty youths, the instruments of the secret assassinations already mentioned. The ancient Senate was dismissed, but the pay due to the members was offered, and basely accepted. Thus perished the Athenian democracy, after an existence of nearly a century since its establishment.

by Cleisthenes. The revolution was begun from despair of the foreign relations of Athens, and from the hope of assistance from Persia; but it was carried out through the machinations of Antiphon and his accomplices after that delusion had ceased.

Having divided themselves into Prytanias or sections, and installed themselves with sacrifice and prayer, the Four Hundred proceeded to put to death or imprison the most formidable of their political enemies. Their next step was to make overtures for peace to Agia. The Spartan king, however, believed that the revolution was not safely established, and preferred an attempt to capture the city during the dissensions by which he supposed it to be torn. But on marching up to the walls he found them carefully guarded, and his troops were repulsed by a sally of the besieged. A second application of the Four Hundred met with a better reception, and they were encouraged to send to Sparta.

§ 13. The failure of the revolution at Samos was highly unfavorable to the success of the revolution at Athens; but the Four Hundred despatched envoys to that island, with instructions to make the matter as palatable as possible. These, however, had been forestalled by Chæreas. Under the impression that the democracy still existed at Athens, Chæreas had been sent to the city from Samos in the *Paralus* with the news of the counter-revolution in the island. But when the *Paralus* arrived, the Four Hundred had already been installed; whereupon some of her democratic crew were imprisoned, and the rest transferred to an ordinary trireme. Chæreas himself found means to escape, and returned to Samos, where he aggravated the proceedings at Athens by additions of his own, and filled the army with uncontrollable wrath. At the instance of Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, a meeting was called in which the soldiers pledged themselves to maintain the democracy, to continue the war against Peloponnesus, and to put down the usurpers at Athens. The whole army, even those who had taken part in the oligarchical movements, were sworn to uphold these principles; and to every male Samian of military age a similar oath was administered. Thus the Athenian democracy continued to exist at Samos alone. The soldiers, laying aside for a while their military character, constituted themselves into an assembly of the people, deposed several of their officers, and appointed others whom they could better trust. The meeting resounded with patriotic speeches. Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus were appointed to the chief command; the former of whom proposed the return of Alcibiades, who, it was believed, was now able and willing to aid the democratic cause with the gold and forces of Persia. After considerable opposition the proposal was agreed to; Alcibiades was brought to Samos and introduced to the assembly, where, by his magnificent promises, and extravagant boasts respecting his influence with Tissaphernes, he once more succeeded in deceiving the Athenians. The accomplished traitor was elected one of the generals, and, in pur-

suance of his artful policy, began to pass backwards and forwards between Samos and Magnesia, with the view of inspiring both the satrap and the Athenians with a reciprocal idea of his influence with either, and of instilling distrust of Tissaphernes into the minds of the Peloponnesians.

§ 14. Such was the state of affairs at Samos when the envoys from the Four Hundred arrived. They were invited by the generals to make their communication to the assembled troops; but so great was the antipathy manifested towards them, that they could hardly obtain a hearing. Their presence revived a proposition which had been started before, — to sail at once to Athens, and put down the oligarchy by force. By the advice of Alcibiades, seconded by Thrasybulus, this proposal was, however, again discarded. The envoys were sent back to Athens with the answer that the army approved of the five thousand, but that the Four Hundred must resign and reinstate the ancient Senate of Five Hundred.

§ 15. At the first news of the re-establishment of democracy at Samos, distrust and discord had broken out among the Four Hundred. Antiphon and Phrynichus, at the head of the extreme section of the oligarchical party, were for admitting a Lacedæmonian garrison; and, with a view to further that object, actually caused a fort to be erected at Eëtioneâ, a tongue of land commanding the entrance to the harbor of the Peiræus.* But others, discontented with their share of power, began to affect more popular sentiments. Conspicuous among these were Theramenes and Aristocrates, the former of whom began to insist on the necessity for calling the shadowy body of five thousand into a real existence. As the answer from Samos very much strengthened this party, their opponents found that no time was to be lost; and Antiphon, Phrynichus, and ten others, proceeded in all haste to Sparta, with offers to put the Lacedæmonians in possession of the Peiræus. The latter, however, with their usual slowness, or perhaps from a suspicion of treachery, let slip the golden opportunity. All they could be induced to promise was, that a fleet of forty-two triremes should hover near the Peiræus, and watch a favorable occasion for seizing it. The failure of this mission was another blow to the party of Phrynichus; and shortly afterwards that leader himself was assassinated in open daylight whilst leaving the Senate-House. Some hoplites, of the same tribe as Aristocrates, now seized the fort at Eëtioneâ. Theramenes gave his sanction to the demolition of the fort, which was forthwith accomplished; whilst the inability of the Four Hundred to prevent it betrayed the extent of their power, or rather of their weakness.

§ 16. The Four Hundred now appear to have taken some steps to call the five thousand into existence. But it was too late. The leaders of the counter-revolution, entering armed into the theatre of Dionysus at the Peiræus, formed a democratic assembly under the old forms, which

* On the left to one entering the harbor, i. e. on the northern side. — Ed.

adjourned to the Anacæum, or temple of the Dioscuri, immediately under the Acropolis. Here the Four Hundred sent deputies to negotiate with them, and another assembly was appointed to be held in the theatre of Dionysus; but just as they were meeting the news arrived that the Lacedæmonian fleet was approaching the Peiræus. The Athenians were immediately on the alert, and the Lacedæmonian admiral, perceiving no signs of assistance from within, doubled Cape Sunium and proceeded to Oropus. It was now plain that their object was to excite a revolt in Eubœa. In all haste the Athenians launched an inadequate fleet of thirty-six triremes, manned by inexperienced crews. At Eretria in Eubœa it was encountered by the Lacedæmonian fleet, and completely defeated, with the loss of twenty-two ships. Eubœa, supported by the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians, then revolted from Athens.

§ 17. Great was the dismay of the Athenians on receiving this news. The loss of Eubœa seemed a death-blow. The Lacedæmonians might now easily blockade the ports of Athens and starve her into surrender; whilst the partisans of the Four Hundred would doubtless co-operate with the enemy. But from this fate they were again saved by the characteristic slowness of the Lacedæmonians, who confined themselves to securing the conquest of Eubœa. Thus left unmolested, the Athenians convened an assembly in the Pnyx. Votes were passed for deposing the Four Hundred, and placing the government in the hands of the five thousand, of whom every citizen who could furnish a panoply might be a member. In short, the old constitution was restored, except that the franchise was restricted to five thousand citizens, and payment for the discharge of civil functions abolished. In subsequent assemblies, the Archons, the Senate, and other institutions were revived; and a vote was passed to recall Alcibiades and some of his friends. The number of the five thousand was never exactly observed, and was soon enlarged into universal citizenship. Thus the Four Hundred were overthrown after a reign of four months. Theramenes stood forward and impeached the leaders of the extreme oligarchical party, on the ground of their embassy to Sparta. Most of them succeeded in making their escape from Athens; but Antiphon and Archiptolemus were apprehended, condemned, and executed, in spite of the admiration excited by the speech of the former in his defence. The rest were arraigned in their absence and condemned, their houses razed, and their property confiscated.*

* Thucydides (Lib. VIII. 68) states that Antiphon made the ablest defence that had ever been heard down to his time. The houses of Archiptolemus and Antiphon were razed to the ground, and on the columns marking the boundaries of their lots were inscribed the words, "Archiptolemus and Antiphon, the two traitors." — ED.



One of the Caryatides supporting the southern portico of the Erechtheum.

CHAPTER XXXII.

FROM THE FALL OF THE FOUR HUNDRED AT ATHENS TO THE BATTLE OF ÆGOSPOTAMI.

- § 1. State of the Belligerents. § 2. Defeat of the Peloponnesians at Cynossema. § 3. Capture of Cyzicus by the Athenians, and Second Defeat of the Peloponnesians at Abydos. § 4. Arrest of Alcibiades by Tissaphernes, and his subsequent Escape. Signal Defeat of the Peloponnesians at Cyzicus. § 5. The Athenians Masters of the Bosporus. The Lacedæmonians propose a Peace, which is rejected. § 6. Pharnabazus assists the Lacedæmonians. § 7. Capture of Chalcedon and Byzantium by the Athenians. § 8. Return of Alcibiades to Athens. § 9. He escorts the Sacred Procession to Eleusis. § 10. Cyrus comes down to the Coast of Asia. Lysander appointed Commander of the Peloponnesian Fleet. § 11. Interview between Cyrus and Lysander. § 12. Alcibiades at Samos. Defeat of Antiochus at Notium. § 13. Alcibiades is dismissed. § 14. Lysander superseded by Callicratidas. Energetic Measures of the Latter. § 15. Defeat of Conon at Mytilene, and Investment of that Town by Callicratidas. § 16. Excitement at Athens, and Equipment of a large Fleet. § 17. Battle of Arginusæ. Defeat and Death of Callicratidas. § 18. Arraignment and Condemnation of the Athenian Generals. § 19. Re-appointment of Lysander as *Navarchus*. § 20. Siege of Lampascus, and Battle of Ægospotami.

§ 1. It is necessary now to revert to the war, and the state of the contending parties. The struggle had become wholly maritime. Although

the Lacedæmonians occupied at Decelæa a strong post within sight of Athens, yet their want of skill in the art of besieging towns prevented them from making any regular attempt to capture that city. On the other hand, the great reverses sustained by the Athenians in Sicily disabled them from carrying the war, as they had formerly done, into the enemy's country. Yet they still possessed a tolerable fleet, with which they were endeavoring to maintain their power in the Ægean and on the coasts and islands of Asia Minor. This was now become the vital point where they had to struggle for empire, and even for existence; for, since the commencement of the war, the maritime power of the Spartans and their allies had become almost equal to the maritime power of Athens. They now put to sea with fleets generally larger than the fleets of the Athenians; and their ships were handled, and naval manœuvres executed, with a skill equal to that of their rivals. The great attention which the Lacedæmonians had bestowed on naval affairs is evinced by the importance into which the new office of the *Navarchia* * had now risen amongst them. The *Navarchus* * enjoyed a power even superior, whilst it lasted, to that of the Spartan kings, since he was wholly uncontrolled by the Ephors; but his tenure of office was limited to a year. From this state of things it resulted that the remainder of the war had to be decided on the coasts of Asia; and it will assist the memory to conceive it divided into four periods: 1. The war on the Hellespont (which must be taken to include the Propontis, whither it was transferred soon after the oligarchical revolution at Athens); 2. From the Hellespont it was transferred to Ionia; 3. From Ionia to Lesbos; 4. Back to the Hellespont, where it was finally decided.

§ 2. Mindarus, who now commanded the Peloponnesian fleet, disgusted at length by the often-broken promises of Tissaphernes, and the scanty and irregular pay which he furnished, set sail from Miletus and proceeded to the Hellespont, with the intention of assisting the satrap Pharnabazus, and of effecting, if possible, the revolt of the Athenian dependencies in that quarter. Hither he was pursued by the Athenian fleet under Thrasyllus. In a few days an engagement ensued (in August, 411 B. C.), in the famous straits between Sestos and Abydos, in which the Athenians, though with a smaller force, gained the victory, and erected a trophy on the promontory of Cynossema, near the tomb and chapel of the Trojan queen, Hecuba. After this defeat Mindarus sent for the Peloponnesian fleet at Eubœa, which, however, was overtaken by a violent storm near the headland of Mount Athos, and totally destroyed. But though this circumstance afforded some relief to Athens, by withdrawing an annoying enemy from her shores, it did not enable her to regain possession of Eubœa. The Eubœans, assisted by the Bœotians, and by the inhabitants of Chalcis and other cities, constructed a bridge across the narrowest part of the Euripus, and thus deprived Eubœa of its insular character.

* *Navarchia* : *Ναύαρχος*.

§ 3. The Athenians followed up their victory at Cynossema by the reduction of Cyzicus, which had revolted from them. A month or two afterwards another obstinate engagement took place between the Peloponnesian and Athenian fleets near Abydos, which lasted a whole day, and was at length decided in favor of the Athenians by the arrival of Alcibiades with his squadron of eighteen ships from Samos. The Peloponnesian ships were run ashore, where they were defended, with great personal exertion, by Pharnabazus and his troops.

§ 4. Shortly after this battle Tissaphernes arrived at the Hellespont with the view of conciliating the offended Peloponnesians. He was not only jealous of the assistance which the latter were now rendering to Pharnabazus, but it is also evident that his temporizing policy had displeased the Persian court. This appears from his conduct on the present occasion, as well as from the subsequent appointment of Cyrus to the supreme command on the Asiatic coast, as we shall presently have to relate. When Alcibiades, who imagined that Tissaphernes was still favorable to the Athenian cause, waited on him with the customary presents, he was arrested by order of the satrap, and sent in custody to Sardis. At the end of a month, however, he contrived to escape to Clazomenæ, and again joined the Athenian fleet early in the spring of 410 B.C. Mindarus, with the assistance of Pharnabazus on the land side, was now engaged in the siege of Cyzicus, which the Athenian admirals determined to relieve. Having passed up the Hellespont in the night, they assembled at the island of Proconnesus. Here Alcibiades addressed the seamen, telling them that they had nothing further to expect from the Persians, and must be prepared to act with the greatest vigor both by sea and land. He then sailed out with his squadron towards Cyzicus, and by a pretended flight inveigled Mindarus to a distance from the harbor; whilst the other two divisions of the Athenian fleet, under Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, being favored by hazy weather, stole between Mindarus and the harbor, and cut off his retreat. In these circumstances the Spartan commander ran his vessels ashore, where, with the assistance of Pharnabazus, he endeavored to defend them against the attacks of the Athenians. Alcibiades having landed his men, a battle ensued, in which Mindarus was slain, the Lacedæmonians and Persians routed, and the whole Peloponnesian fleet captured, with the exception of the Syracusan ships, which Hermocrates caused to be burnt. The severity of this blow was pictured in the laconic epistle in which Hippocrates, the second in command,* announced it to the Ephors: "Our good luck is gone; Mindarus is slain; the men are starving; we know not what to do."

§ 5. The results of this victory were most important. Perinthus and Selymbria, as well as Cyzicus, were recovered; and the Athenians, once

* Called *Epistoleus* (Ἐπιστολεύς) or "Secretary" in the Lacedæmonian fleet.

more masters of the Propontis, fortified the town of Chrysopolis, over against Byzantium, at the entrance of the Bosphorus; re-established their toll of ten per cent. on all vessels passing from the Euxine; and left a squadron to guard the strait and collect the dues. So great was the discouragement of the Lacedæmonians at the loss of their fleet, that the Ephor, Endius, proceeded to Athens to treat for peace on the basis of both parties standing just as they were. The Athenian assembly was at this time led by the demagogue Cleophon, a lamp-maker, known to us by the later comedies of Aristophanes. Cleophon appears to have been a man of considerable ability; but the recent victories had inspired him with too sanguine hopes, and he advised the Athenians to reject the terms proposed by Endius. Athens thus threw away the golden opportunity of recruiting her shattered forces, of which she stood so much in need; and to this unfortunate advice must be ascribed the calamities which subsequently overtook her.

§ 6. Meanwhile Pharnabazus was active in affording the Lacedæmonians all the assistance in his power. He clothed and armed their seamen, furnished them with provisions and pay for two months, opened to them the forests of Mount Ida for supplies of timber, and assisted them in building new ships at Antandros. He helped them to defend Chalcedon, now besieged by Alcibiades, and by his means that town was enabled to hold out for a long time. But the Athenians had already obtained their principal object. The possession of the Bosphorus reopened to them the trade of the Euxine. From his lofty fortress at Decelæa, the Spartan king, Agis, could descry the corn-ships from the Euxine sailing into the harbor of the Peiræus, and felt how fruitless it was to occupy the fields of Attica whilst such abundant supplies of provisions were continually finding their way to the city.

§ 7. The year 409 B. C. was not marked by any memorable events; but in the following year Chalcedon at length surrendered to the combined Athenian forces, in spite of an attempt of Pharnabazus to save it. Selymbria was also taken by Alcibiades about the same time. Byzantium fell next. After it had been besieged by Alcibiades for some months, the gates were opened to the Athenians towards the close of the year 408 B. C., through the treachery of a party among its inhabitants.

§ 8. These great achievements of Alcibiades naturally paved the way for his return to Athens. In the spring of 407 B. C. he proceeded with the fleet to Samos, and from thence sailed to Peiræus. His reception was far more favorable than he had ventured to anticipate. The whole population of Athens flocked down to Peiræus to welcome him, and escorted him to the city. In the Senate and in the assembly he protested his innocence of the impieties imputed to him, and denounced the injustice of his enemies. His sentence was reversed without a dissentient voice; his confiscated property restored; the curse of the Eumolpidæ revoked, and the leaden

plate on which it was engraven thrown into the sea. He seemed to be in the present juncture the only man capable of restoring the grandeur and the empire of Athens; he was accordingly named general with unlimited powers, and a force of one hundred triremes, fifteen hundred hoplites, and one hundred and fifty cavalry placed at his disposal.

§ 9. But whatever change eight years of exile and his recent achievements had produced in the public feeling towards Alcibiades, it was one of forgiveness rather than of love, and rested more on the hopes of the future than on the remembrance of the past. The wounds which he had inflicted on Athens in the affairs of Syracuse and Decelœa, in the revolts of Chios and Miletus, and in the organization of the conspiracy of the Four Hundred, were too severe to be readily forgotten; and he had still many enemies, who, though silent amid the general applause, did not cease to whisper their secret condemnation. Alcibiades, however, disbelieved or disregarded their machinations, and yielded himself without reserve to the breeze of popular favor which once more filled his sails. Before his departure, he took an opportunity to atone for the impiety of which he had been suspected. Although his armament was in perfect readiness, he delayed its sailing till after the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries at the beginning of September. For seven years the customary procession across the Thriasian plain had been suspended, owing to the occupation of Decelœa by the enemy, which compelled the sacred troop to proceed by sea. Alcibiades now escorted them on their progress and return with his forces, and thus succeeded in reconciling himself with the offended goddesses and with their holy priests, the Eumolpidae.

§ 10. Meanwhile, a great change had been going on in the state of affairs in the East. We have already seen that the Great King was displeased with the vacillating policy of Tissaphernes, and had determined to adopt more energetic measures against the Athenians. During the absence of Alcibiades, Cyrus, the younger son of Darius, a prince of a bold and enterprising spirit, and animated with a lively hatred of Athens, had arrived at the coast for the purpose of carrying out the altered policy of the Persian court; and with that view had been invested with the satrapies of Lydia, the Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, as well as with the military command of all those forces which mustered at Castolus. The arrival of Cyrus opens the last phase of the Peloponnesian war. Another event, in the highest degree unfavorable to the Athenian cause, was the accession of Lysander, as *Navarchus*, to the command of the Peloponnesian fleet. Lysander was the third of the remarkable men whom Sparta produced during the war. In ability, energy, and success he may be compared with Brasidas and Gylippus, though immeasurably inferior to the former in every moral quality. He was born of poor parents, and was by descent a *mothax*, or one of those Lacedæmonians who could never enjoy the full rights of Spartan citizenship. The allurements of money

and of pleasure had no influence over him; but his ambition was boundless, and he was wholly unscrupulous about the means which he employed to gratify it. In pursuit of his objects he hesitated at neither deceit, nor perjury, nor cruelty, and he is reported to have laid it down as one of his maxims in life, to avail himself of the fox's skin where the lion's failed.

§ 11. Lysander had taken up his station at Ephesus, with the Lacedæmonian fleet of seventy triremes; and when Cyrus arrived at Sardis, in the spring of 407 B. C., he hastened to pay his court to the young prince, and was received with every mark of favor. A vigorous line of action was resolved on. Cyrus at once offered five hundred talents, and affirmed that, if more were needed, he was prepared to devote his private funds to the cause, and even to coin into money the very throne of gold and silver on which he sat. In a banquet which ensued, Cyrus drank to the health of Lysander, and desired him to name any wish which he could gratify. Lysander immediately requested an addition of an obolus to the daily pay of the seamen. Cyrus was surprised at so disinterested a demand, and from that day conceived a high degree of respect and confidence for the Spartan commander. Lysander on his return to Ephesus employed himself in refitting his fleet, and in organizing clubs in the Spartan interest in the cities of Asia.

§ 12. Alcibiades set sail from Athens in September. He first proceeded to Andros, now occupied by a Lacedæmonian force; but, meeting with a stouter resistance than he expected, he left Conon with twenty ships to prosecute the siege, and proceeded with the remainder to Samos. It was here that he first learnt the altered state of the Athenian relations with Persia. Being ill provided with funds for carrying on the war, he was driven to make predatory excursions for the purpose of raising money. He attempted to levy contributions on Cymé, an unoffending Athenian dependency, and, being repulsed, ravaged its territory; an act which caused loud complaints against him to be lodged at Athens. During his absence on this expedition, he intrusted the bulk of the fleet at Samos to his pilot, Antiochus, with strict injunctions not to venture on an action. Notwithstanding these orders, however, Antiochus sailed out and brought the Peloponnesian fleet to an engagement off Notium, in which the Athenians were defeated with the loss of fifteen ships, and Antiochus himself was slain. Among the Athenian armament itself great dissatisfaction was growing up against Alcibiades. Though at the head of a splendid force, he had in three months' time accomplished literally nothing. His debaucheries and dissolute conduct on shore were charged against him, as well as his selecting for confidential posts not the men best fitted for them, but those who, like Antiochus, were the boon companions and the chosen associates of his revels.

§ 13. These accusations forwarded to Athens, strengthened by com-

plaints from Cymé, and fomented by his secret enemies, soon produced an entire revulsion in the public feeling towards Alcibiades. It was seen that he was still the same man, and that he had relapsed into all his former habits, in the confidence that his success and two or three years of good behavior had succeeded in recovering for him the favor and esteem of his countrymen. The Athenians voted that he should be dismissed from his command, and appointed in his place ten new generals, with Conon at their head.

§ 14. The year of Lysander's command expired about the same time as the appointment of Conon to the Athenian command. Through the intrigues of Lysander, his successor, Callicratidas, was received with dissatisfaction both by the Lacedæmonian seamen and by Cyrus. Loud complaints were raised of the impolicy of an annual change of commanders. Lysander threw all sorts of difficulties into the way of his successor, to whom he handed over an empty chest, having first repaid to Cyrus all the money in his possession, under the pretence that it was a private loan. The straightforward conduct of Callicratidas, however, who summoned the Lacedæmonian commanders, and, after a dignified remonstrance, plainly put the question whether he should return home or remain, silenced all opposition. But he was sorely embarrassed for funds. Cyrus treated him with haughtiness; and when he waited on that prince at Sardis, he was dismissed, not only without money, but even without an audience. Callicratidas, however, had too much energy to be daunted by such obstacles. Sailing with his fleet from Ephesus to Miletus, he laid before the assembly of that city, in a spirited address, all the ills they had suffered at the hands of the Persians, and exhorted them to bestir themselves and dispense with their alliance. He succeeded in persuading the Milesians to make him a large grant of money, whilst the leading men even came forward with private subscriptions. By means of this assistance he was enabled to add fifty triremes to the ninety delivered to him by Lysander; and the Chians further provided him with ten days' pay for the seamen. He now sailed for Lesbos, and, taking the town of Methymna by storm, delivered it over to be plundered by his men. He likewise caused all the slaves to be sold for their benefit, but he nobly refused to follow the example of his predecessors, in selling the Athenian garrison and Methymnæan citizens as slaves; declaring that, so long as he held the command, no Greek should ever be reduced to slavery.

§ 15. The fleet of Callicratidas was now double that of Conon. Like the Doge of Venice in modern times, he claimed the sea as his lawful bride, and warned Conon by a message to abstain from his adulterous intercourse. The latter, who had ventured to approach Methymna, was compelled to run before the superior force of Callicratidas. Both fleets entered the harbor of Mytilenê at the same time, where a battle ensued in which Conon lost thirty ships, but he saved the remaining forty by hauling them

ashore under the walls of the town. Callicratidas then blockaded Mytilenê both by sea and land; whilst Cyrus, on learning his success, immediately furnished him with supplies of money. Conon, however, contrived to despatch a trireme to Athens with the news of his desperate position.

§ 16. As soon as the Athenians received intelligence of the blockade of Mytilenê, vast efforts were made for its relief; and we learn with surprise, that in thirty days a fleet of one hundred and ten triremes was equipped and despatched from Peiræus. The armament assembled at Samos, where it was reinforced by scattered Athenian ships, and by contingents from the allies, to the extent of forty vessels. The whole fleet of one hundred and fifty sail then proceeded to the small islands of Arginusæ, near the coast of Asia, and facing Malea, the southeastern cape of Lesbos. Callicratidas, who went out to meet them, took up his station at the latter point, leaving Eteonicus with fifty ships to maintain the blockade of Mytilenê. He had thus only one hundred and twenty ships to oppose to the one hundred and fifty of the Athenians, and his pilot, Hermon, advised him to retire before the superior force of the enemy. But Callicratidas replied, that he would not disgrace himself by flight, and that if he should perish, Sparta would not feel his loss. *+*

§ 17. The greatest precautions were taken in drawing up the Athenian fleet. The main strength was thrown into the wings, each of which consisted of sixty Athenian ships, divided into four squadrons of fifteen each, ranged in a double line. The Peloponnesian fleet, on the contrary, was drawn up in a single extended line; a circumstance displaying great confidence of superiority, and which denoted a vast change in the relative naval skill of the parties; for at the beginning of the war their tactics had been precisely the reverse. It must, however, be borne in mind, that the far greater part of the Athenian fleet was on this occasion manned by hastily raised crews, who had never been to sea before; whilst the Peloponnesian sailors had been well trained by several years' experience.

The battle was long and obstinate. All order was speedily lost, and the ships fought singly with one another. In one of these contests, Callicratidas, who stood on the prow of his vessel ready to board the enemy, was thrown overboard by the shock of the vessels as they met, and perished. At length victory began to declare for the Athenians. The Lacedæmonians, after losing seventy-seven vessels, retreated with the remainder to Chios and Phocæa. The loss of the Athenians was twenty-five vessels.

Eteonicus was now in jeopardy at Mytilenê. When informed of the defeat of his countrymen, he directed the vessel which brought the news to put to sea again, and to return with wreaths and shouts of triumph; whilst, taking advantage of the false impression thus raised in the minds of the Athenians, he hastily got ready for sea, and reached Chios in safety. At the same time the blockading army was withdrawn to Methymna. Conon, thus unexpectedly liberated, put to sea, and the united fleet took up their station at Samos.

§ 18. The battle of Arginusæ led to a deplorable event, which has for ever sullied the pages of Athenian history. At least a dozen Athenian vessels were left floating about in a disabled condition after the battle; but, owing to a violent storm that ensued, no attempt was made to rescue the survivors, or to collect the bodies of the dead for burial. Eight of the ten generals were summoned home to answer for this conduct; Conon, by his situation at Mytilenê, was of course exculpated, and Arcestratus had died. Six of the generals obeyed the summons, and were denounced in the assembly by Theramenes, formerly one of the Four Hundred, for neglect of duty. The generals replied, that they had commissioned Theramenes himself and Thrasybulus, each of whom commanded a trireme in the engagement, to undertake the duty, and had assigned forty-eight ships to them for that purpose. This, however, was denied by Theramenes; and unluckily the generals, from a feeling of kindness towards the latter, had made no mention of the circumstance in their public despatches, but had attributed the abandonment of the foundering vessels solely to the violence of the storm. There are discrepancies in the evidence, and we have no materials for deciding positively which statement was true; but probability inclines to the side of the generals. Public feeling, however, ran very strongly against them, and was increased by an incident which occurred during their trial. After a day's debate the question was adjourned; and in the interval the festival of the *Apaturia* was celebrated, in which, according to annual custom, the citizens met together according to their families and phratries. Those who had perished at Arginusæ were naturally missed on such an occasion; and the usually cheerful character of the festival was deformed and rendered melancholy by the relatives of the deceased appearing in black clothes and with shaven heads. The passions of the people were violently roused. At the next meeting of the Assembly, Callixenus, a senator, proposed that the people should at once proceed to pass its verdict on the generals, though they had been only partially heard in their defence; and, moreover, that they should all be included in one sentence, though it was contrary to a rule of Attic law, known as the *psephisma* of Cannonus, to indict citizens otherwise than individually. Callixenus carried his motion in spite of the threat of Euryptolemus to indict him for an illegal proceeding under the *Graphê Paranomôn*. The Prytanes, or senators of the presiding tribe, at first refused to put the question to the Assembly in this illegal way; but their opposition was at length overawed by clamor and violence. There was, however, one honorable exception. The philosopher Socrates, who was one of the Prytanes, refused to withdraw his protest.* But his opposition

* Socrates happened to be President (*Επιστάτης*) of the Prytanes on that day; and, as presiding officer, refused to put the vote. The decision was therefore adjourned to the next day, when a more pliant officer put the vote and the generals were condemned. — Ed.

was disregarded, and the proposal of Callixenus was carried. The generals were condemned, delivered over to the Eleven for execution, and compelled to drink the fatal hemlock. Among them was Pericles, the son of the celebrated statesman. The Athenians afterwards repented of their rash precipitation, and decreed that Callixenus and his accomplices should in their turn be brought to trial; but before the appointed day they managed to escape.

§ 19. After the battle of Arginusæ the Athenian fleet seems to have remained inactive at Samos during the rest of the year. Through the influence of Cyrus, and the other allies of Sparta, Lysander again obtained the command of the Peloponnesian fleet at the commencement of the year 405 B. C.; though nominally under Aracus as admiral; since it was contrary to Spartan usage that the same man should be twice *Navarchus*.* His return to power was marked by more vigorous measures. Fresh funds were obtained from Cyrus; the arrears due to the seamen were paid up; and new triremes were put upon the stocks at Antandrus. Oligarchical revolutions were effected in Miletus and other towns. Summoned to visit his sick father in Media, Cyrus even delegated to Lysander the management of his satrapy and revenues during his absence. Lysander was thus placed in possession of power never before realized by any Lacedæmonian commander. But the Athenian fleet under Conon and his coadjutors was still superior in numbers, and Lysander carefully avoided an engagement. He contrived, however, to elude the Athenian fleet, and to cross the *Ægean* to the coast of Attica, where he had an interview with Agis; and, proceeding thence to the Hellespont, which Conon had left unguarded, he took up his station at Abydos.

§ 20. The Athenians were at this time engaged in ravaging Chios; but when they heard of this movement, and that Lysander had commenced the siege of Lampsacus, they immediately sailed for the Hellespont. They arrived too late to save the town, but they proceeded up the strait and took post at *Ægospotami*, or the "Goat's River"; a place which had nothing to recommend it, except its vicinity to Lampsacus, from which it was separated by a channel somewhat less than two miles broad. It was a mere desolate beach, without houses or inhabitants, so that all the supplies had to be fetched from Sestos, or from the surrounding country, and the seamen were compelled to leave their ships in order to obtain their meals. Under these circumstances the Athenians were very desirous of bringing Lysander to an engagement. But the Spartan commander, who was in a strong position, and abundantly supplied with provisions, was in no hurry to run any risks. In vain did the Athenians sail over several days in succession to offer him battle; they always found his ships ready manned, and drawn up in too strong a position to

* Lysander received the title of *Epistoleus*. See note on p. 336.

warrant an attack; nor could they by all their manœuvres succeed in enticing him out to combat. This cowardice, as they deemed it, on the part of the Lacedæmonians, begat a corresponding negligence on theirs: discipline was neglected, and the men allowed to straggle almost at will. It was in vain that Alcibiades, who since his dismissal resided in a fortress in that neighborhood, remonstrated with the Athenian generals on the exposed nature of the station they had chosen, and advised them to proceed to Sestos. His counsels were received with taunts and insults. At length, on the fifth day, Lysander, having watched an opportunity when the Athenian seamen had gone on shore and were dispersed over the country, rowed swiftly across the strait with all his ships. He found the Athenian fleet, with the exception of ten or twelve vessels, totally unprepared, and succeeded in capturing nearly the whole of it, without having occasion to strike a single blow. Of the hundred and eighty ships which composed the fleet, only the trireme of Conon himself, the *Paralus*, and eight or ten other vessels, succeeded in escaping. Conon was afraid to return to Athens after so signal a disaster, and took refuge with Evagoras, prince of Salamis, in Cyprus. All the Athenian prisoners, amounting to three or four thousand, together with the generals, were put to death by order of Lysander, in retaliation for the cruelty with which the Athenians had treated the prisoners they had lately made.

By this momentous victory, which was suspected to have been achieved through the corrupt connivance of some of the Athenian generals, the contest on the Hellespont, and virtually the Peloponnesian war, was brought to an end. The closing scene of the catastrophe was enacted at Athens itself; but the fate of the imperial city must be reserved for another chapter



Bust of the Poet Euripides.



View of Phylé.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FROM THE BATTLE OF ÆGOSPOTAMI TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE THIRTY TYRANTS AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRACY AT ATHENS.

§ 1. Alarm at Athens. § 2. Proceedings of Lysander. Capture of the Athenian Dependencies. § 3. Measures of the Athenians. Athens invested. § 4. Embassy of Theramenes. Conditions of Capitulation. § 5. Lysander takes Possession of Athens. Destruction of the Long Walls, &c. § 6. Return of the Oligarchical Exiles. Establishment of the Thirty. § 7. Surrender of Samos and Triumph of Lysander. § 8. Proceedings of the Thirty at Athens. § 9. Opposition of Theramenes. § 10. Proscriptions. Death of Theramenes. § 11. Suppression of Intellectual Culture. Socrates. § 12. Death of Alcibiades. § 13. Jealousy of the Grecian States towards Sparta and Lysander. § 14. Thrasybulus at Phylé. § 15. Seizure and Massacre of the Eleusinians. § 16. Thrasybulus occupies Peiræus. Death of Critias. § 17. Deposition of the Thirty, and Establishment of the Ten. Return of Lysander to Athens, and Arrival of Pausanias. § 18. Peace with Thrasybulus, and Evacuation of Attica by the Peloponnesians. § 19. Restoration of the Democracy. § 20. Archonship of Euclides. Reduction of Eleusis.

§ 1. THE defeat of Ægospotami, which took place about September, 405 B. C., was announced at Peiræus in the night, by the arrival of the Paralus. "On that night," says Xenophon, "no man slept." The disaster, indeed, was as sudden and as authentic as it was vast and irretrievable. The proceedings of the dejected assembly which met on the

following day at once showed that the remaining struggle was one for bare existence. In order to make the best preparations for a siege, it was resolved to block up two of the three ports of Athens, — a plain confession that maritime supremacy, the sole basis of her power, had departed from her.

§ 2. Lysander, secure of an easy triumph, was in no haste to gather it by force. The command of the Euxine enabled him to control the supplies of Athens; and, sooner or later, a few weeks of famine must decide her fall. With the view of hastening the catastrophe, he compelled the garrisons of all the towns which surrendered to proceed to the capital. The question was not one of arms, but of hunger; and an additional garrison, so far from adding to her strength, would complete her weakness. A strong proof of the insecure foundation of her power! A naval defeat in a remote quarter had not only deprived her of empire, but was about to render her in turn a captive and a subject.

Lysander now sailed forth to take possession of the Athenian towns, which fell one after another into his power as soon as he appeared before them. In all a new form of government was established, consisting of an oligarchy of ten of the citizens, called a decarchy, under a Spartan har-most. Chalcedon, Byzantium, Mytilenê, surrendered to Lysander himself; whilst Eteonicus was despatched to occupy and revolutionize the Athenian towns in Thrace. Amidst the general defection, Samos alone remained faithful to Athens. All her other dependencies at once yielded to the Lacedæmonians; whilst her cleruchs were forced to abandon their possessions and return home. In many places, and especially in Thasos, these revolutions were attended with violence and bloodshed.

§ 3. The situation of Athens was now more desperate even than when Xerxes was advancing against her with his countless host. The juncture demanded the hearty co-operation of all her citizens; and a general amnesty was proposed and carried for the purpose of releasing all debtors, accused persons, and state prisoners, except a few of the more desperate criminals and homicides. The citizens were then assembled in the Acropolis, and swore a solemn oath of mutual forgiveness and harmony.

About November Lysander made his appearance at Ægina, with an overwhelming fleet of one hundred and fifty triremes, and proceeded to devastate Salamis and blockade Peiræus. At the same time the whole Peloponnesian army was marched into Attica, and encamped in the precincts of the Academia, at the very gates of Athens.* Famine soon began to be felt within the walls. Yet the Athenians did not abate of their pretensions. In their proposals for a capitulation, they demanded the preservation of their long walls, and of the port of Peiræus. But the Spartan Ephors, to

* The words of Xenophon are *πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ, τῇ καλουμένῃ γυμνασίῳ*. It was about a mile north of the city. — Ed.

whom the Athenian envoys had been referred by King Agis, refused to listen to such terms, and insisted on the demolition of the long walls for the space of ten stadia at least. The spirit of the people, however, was still so unsubdued — though some of them were actually dying of hunger — that the senator Archestratus was imprisoned for proposing to accept the terms offered by the Ephors; and on the motion of Cleophon, it was forbidden to make any such proposal in future.

§ 4. Theramenes, formerly one of the Four Hundred, now offered to proceed to Lysander for the purpose of learning his real intentions with regard to the fate of Athens; and as he pretended that his personal connections would afford him great facilities in such an undertaking, his offer was accepted. After wasting three months with Lysander, — three months of terrible suffering to the Athenians, — he said that Lysander had then informed him for the first time that the Ephors alone had power to treat. The only construction that can be put on this conduct of Theramenes is, that he designed to reduce the Athenians to the last necessity, so that they should be compelled to purchase peace at any price. If such was his object he completely succeeded. When he returned to Athens the famine had become so dreadful, that he was immediately sent back to conclude a peace on whatever terms he could. In the debate which ensued at Sparta, the Thebans, the Corinthians, and others of the more bitter enemies of Athens, urged the very extinction of her name and the sale of her whole population into slavery. But this proposition was resolutely opposed by the Lacedæmonians, who declared, with great appearance of magnanimity, though probably with a view to their own interest in converting Athens into a useful dependency, that they would never consent to enslave or annihilate a city which had rendered such eminent services to Greece. The terms which the Ephors dictated, and which the Athenians were in no condition to refuse, were, that the long walls and the fortifications of Peiræus should be demolished; that the Athenians should give up all their foreign possessions, and confine themselves to their own territory; that they should surrender all their ships of war; that they should readmit all their exiles; and that they should become allies of Sparta. As Theramenes re-entered Athens, bearing in his hand the roll, or *scytalé*, which contained these terms, he was pressed upon by an anxious and haggard crowd, who, heedless of the terms, gave loud vent to their joy that peace was at length concluded. And though there was still a small minority for holding out, the vote for accepting the conditions was carried, and notified to Lysander.

§ 5. It was about the middle or end of March, B. C. 404, that Lysander sailed into Peiræus, and took formal possession of Athens; the war, in singular conformity with the prophecies current at the beginning of it, having lasted for a period of thrice nine, or twenty-seven years. The Lacedæmonian fleet and army remained in possession of the city till the

conditions of its capitulation had been executed. Lysander carried away all the Athenian triremes except twelve, destroyed the naval arsenals, and burned the ships on the stocks. The insolence of the victors added another blow to the feelings of the conquered. The work of destruction, at which Lysander presided, was converted into a sort of festival. Female flute-players and wreathed dancers inaugurated the demolition of the strong and proud bulwarks of Athens; and as the massive walls fell piece by piece, exclamations arose from the ranks of the Peloponnesians that freedom had at length begun to dawn upon Greece. The solidity of the works rendered the task of demolition a laborious one. After some little progress had been made in it, Lysander withdrew with his fleet to prosecute the siege of Samos.

Thus fell imperial Athens, in the seventy-third year after the formation of the Confederacy of Delos, the origin of her subsequent empire. During that interval she had doubtless committed many mistakes and much injustice; had uniformly, perhaps, overrated the real foundations of her strength, and frequently employed unjustifiable means in order to support it. But, on the other hand, it must be recollected that in that brief career she had risen by her genius and her valor from the condition of a small and subordinate city to be the leading power in Greece; that in the first instance empire had not been sought by her ambition, but laid at her feet, and in a manner thrust upon her; that it had been accepted, and successfully employed, for the most noble of human purposes, and to avert an overwhelming deluge of barbarism; and that Greece, and more particularly Athens herself, had been thus enabled to become the mother of refinement, the nurse of literature and art, and the founder of European civilization.

§ 6. The fall of Athens brought back a host of exiles, all of them the enemies of her democratical constitution. Of these the most distinguished was Critias, a man of wealth and family, the uncle of Plato and once the intimate friend of Socrates, distinguished both for his literary and political talents, but of unmeasured ambition and unscrupulous conscience. Critias and his companions soon found a party with which they could co-operate. A large portion of the senators were favorable to the establishment of an oligarchy; of which Theramenes had already laid the foundation during his residence with Lysander. Scarcely was the city surrendered, when this faction began to organize its plans. The political clubs met and named a committee of five, who, in compliment to the Lacedæmonians, were called Ephors. Their first step was to seize the leaders of the democratical party, whom they accused of a design to overturn the peace. Cleophon had already fallen, on an accusation of neglect of military duty, but in reality from his perseverance in opposing the surrender of Athens. The way being thus prepared, Critias and Theramenes invited Lysander from Samos, in order that his presence might secure the success of the movement.

It was then proposed in the assembly, that a committee of thirty should be named to draw up laws for the future government of the city, and to undertake its temporary administration. Among the most prominent of the thirty names were those of Critias and Theramenes. The proposal was of course carried. Lysander himself addressed the assembly, and contemptuously told them that they had better take thought for their personal safety, which now lay at his mercy, than for their political constitution. The committee thus appointed soon obtained the title of the Thirty Tyrants, the name by which they have become known in all subsequent time.

§ 7. After completing the revolution at Athens, Lysander returned to Samos. The island surrendered towards the end of summer, when an oligarchical government was established, as in the other conquered states. Never had Greek commander celebrated so great a triumph as that which adorned the return of Lysander to Sparta. He brought with him all the prow ornaments of the numerous ships he had taken; he was loaded with golden crowns, the gifts of various cities; and he ostentatiously displayed the large sum of four hundred and seventy talents, the balance which still remained of the sums granted by Cyrus for prosecuting the war. ~~++~~

§ 8. Meanwhile, the Thirty at Athens, having named an entirely new Senate, and appointed fresh magistrates, proceeded to exterminate some of their most obnoxious opponents. In order to insure their condemnation the Thirty presided in person in the place formerly occupied by the Prytanes; and the senators were obliged to deposit their voting pebbles on tables placed immediately before them. Frequently even this show of legality was dispensed with, and the accused were put to death by the mere order of the Thirty. But Critias, and the more violent party among them, still called for more blood; and, with the view of obtaining it, procured a Spartan garrison, under the harsh Callibius, to be installed in the Acropolis. Besides this force, they had an organized band of assassins at their disposal. Blood now flowed on all sides. Many of the leading men of Athens fell, others took to flight. A still greater refinement of cunning and cruelty was, to implicate distinguished citizens in their own crimes by making them accomplices in their acts of violence. Thus, on one occasion, they sent for five citizens to the government house, and ordered them with horrible menaces to proceed to Salamis, and bring back as a prisoner an eminent Athenian named Leon. Socrates was one of the five, and again did himself immortal honor by refusing to participate in such an act of violence.

§ 9. Thus the reign of terror was completely established. In the bosom of the Thirty, however, there was a party, headed by Theramenes, who disapproved of these proceedings. Theramenes was long-sighted and cunning, as we have seen from his former acts, and so shifting and unstable in his political views as to have obtained the nickname of *Cothurnus*,

from resembling a shoe that would fit either foot. But he was not unnecessarily and gratuitously cruel; and though he had approved of the slaughter of those citizens whom, from their former political conduct, he deemed dangerous and irreconcilable enemies to the new state of things, yet he was not disposed to sanction murder merely for the sake of obtaining the wealth of the victims. He was also inclined to give the new government a more constitutional form; and it was at his suggestion that the Thirty were induced to bestow the franchise on three thousand citizens, chosen, however, as much as possible from their own adherents. But this show of liberality, as managed by the majority of the Thirty, was in reality only a vehicle for greater oppression towards the remainder of the citizens. All except the chosen three thousand were considered to be without the pale of the law, and might be put to death without form of trial by the simple fiat of the Thirty; whilst, in order to render them incapable of resistance, they were assembled under pretence of a review, during which their arms were seized by a stratagem.

§ 10. The Thirty now proceeded more unsparingly than ever. A regular proscription took place. A list was made out of those who were to be slain and plundered; and the adherents of the Thirty were permitted to insert in it whatever names they pleased. So little was the proscription of a political character, that it extended to metics (resident aliens) as well as to citizens; and under the metics were included Lysias, the celebrated orator, and his brother, Polemarchus. Theramenes stood aloof from these atrocities; and when offered the choice of a victim among the metics, to be destroyed and plundered for his own especial benefit, he indignantly rejected the offer. His moderation cost him his life. One day, as he entered the Senate-House, Critias rose and denounced him as a public enemy, struck his name out of the privileged three thousand, and ordered him to be carried off to instant death. Upon hearing these words Theramenes sprang for refuge to the altar in the Senate-House; but he was dragged away by Satyrus, the cruel and unscrupulous head of the "Eleven," a body of officers who carried into execution the penal sentence of the law. Being conveyed to prison, he was compelled to drink the fatal hemlock. The constancy of his end might have adorned a better life. After swallowing the draught, he jerked on the floor a drop which remained in the cup, according to the custom of the game called *cottabos*, exclaiming, "This to the health of the *gentle* Critias!"

§ 11. Thus released from all check, the tyranny of Critias and his colleagues raged with tenfold violence. It has been affirmed by subsequent orators, that no fewer than fifteen hundred victims were put to death without trial by the Thirty; and though this is probably an exaggeration, the number was undoubtedly prodigious. Measures were taken to repress all intellectual culture, and to convert the government into one of brute force. A decree was promulgated, forbidding the teach

ing of "the art of words"; a phrase which, in its comprehensive Greek meaning, included logic, rhetoric, and literature in general, and was more particularly levelled at those ingenious and learned men who went by the name of "Sophists."* Socrates, the most distinguished among them, had commented with just severity on the enormities perpetrated by the Thirty. He was summoned before Critias, and prohibited in future from all conversation with youths. Socrates exposed, in his usual searching style, the vagueness of the command, and the impossibility of its execution; but this only provoked the more the rage of the tyrants, who dismissed him with the hint that they were not ignorant of the censures he had passed upon them.

§ 12. Alcibiades had been included by the Thirty in the list of exiles; but the fate which now overtook him seems to have sprung from the fears of the Lacedæmonians, or perhaps from the personal hatred of Agis. After the battle of Ægospotami Alcibiades felt himself insecure on the Thracian Chersonese, and fled to Pharnabazus in Phrygia, not, however, without the loss of much of his wealth. He solicited from the satrap a safe-conduct to the court of Susa, in the hope, perhaps, of playing the same part as Themistocles. Pharnabazus refused this request, but permitted him to live in Phrygia, and assigned him a revenue for his maintenance. But a *scytalé*, or despatch, came out from Sparta to Lysander, directing that Alcibiades should be put to death. Lysander communicated the order to Pharnabazus. The motives of the latter for carrying it into execution are not altogether clear. It seems probable that the demands of the Spartans were supported by Cyrus, who was now forming designs against his brother's throne, and feared perhaps that Alcibiades would reveal them at Susa. Be this, however, as it may, it is certain that the murder was undertaken under the superintendence of the uncle and brother of Pharnabazus. They surrounded the house of Alcibiades with a band of assassins, and set it on fire. Alcibiades rushed out with drawn sword upon his assailants, who shrank from his attack, but who slew him from a distance with their javelins and arrows. Timandra, a female with whom he lived, performed towards his body the last offices of duty and affection. Thus perished miserably, in the vigor of his age, one of the most remarkable, but not one of the greatest, characters in Grecian history. Alcibiades was endowed with most of those qualities which serve to constitute greatness. He possessed talent, ambition, enterprise, courage, great presence of mind, and inexhaustible resources in emergencies; but all these were marred and rendered pernicious, instead of profitable, to

* The term Sophist, in the age of Socrates, generally designated the character now signified by the word. In earlier times it was applied to those who studied wisdom and science. Socrates was the most formidable opponent of the Sophists of his age. The Thirty Tyrants classed all thinkers under this name, as Napoleon contemptuously calls those of his time *ideologues*. — ED.

himself and to his country, by profligacy, selfishness, pride, rapacity, and utter want of principle. With qualities which, properly applied, might have rendered him the greatest benefactor of Athens, he contrived to attain the infamous distinction of being that citizen who had inflicted upon her the most signal amount of damage.

§ 13. Meantime an altered state of feeling was springing up in Greece. Athens had ceased to be an object of fear or jealousy, and those feelings began now to be directed towards Sparta. That state persisted in retaining the large amount of booty acquired by the war; and when the Thebans and Corinthians sent in their claim, it was resented almost as an insult. Yet in the monument erected at Delphi in commemoration of the victory at *Ægospotami*, Lysander had not only caused his own statue in bronze to be erected, but also that of each commander of the allied contingents. Lysander had risen to a height of unparalleled power. He was in a manner idolized. Poets showered their praises on him, and even altars were raised in his honor by the Asiatic Greeks. The Ephesians set up his statue in the famous temple of their goddess *Artemis*; the Samians did the like at *Olympia*, and altered the name of their principal festival from *Heræa* to *Lysandria*. In the name of Sparta he exercised almost uncontrolled authority in the cities he had reduced, including Athens itself. But it was soon discovered that, instead of the freedom promised by the Spartans, only another empire had been established, whilst Lysander was even meditating to extort from the subject cities a yearly tribute of one thousand talents. And all these oppressions were rendered still more intolerable by the overweening pride and harshness of Lysander's demeanor.

§ 14. Even in Sparta itself, the conduct of Lysander was beginning to inspire disgust and jealousy. Pausanias, son of *Plistoanax*, who was now king with *Agis*, as well as the new Ephors appointed in September, B. C. 404, disapproved of his proceedings. The Thebans and Corinthians themselves were beginning to sympathize with Athens, and to regard the Thirty as mere instruments for supporting the Spartan dominion; whilst Sparta in her turn looked upon them as the tools of Lysander's ambition. Many of the Athenian exiles had found refuge in *Bœotia*; and one of them, *Thrasybulus*, with the aid of *Ismenias* and other Theban citizens, starting from *Thebes* at the head of a small band of exiles, seized the fortress of *Phylé*, in the passes of *Mount Parnes* and on the direct road to Athens. The Thirty marched out to attack *Thrasybulus*, at the head of the *Lacedæmonian* garrison, the three thousand enfranchised citizens, and all the Athenian knights. But their attack was repulsed with considerable loss. A timely snow-storm, by compelling the Thirty to retreat, relieved *Thrasybulus* and the exiles from a threatened blockade, and enabled him to obtain reinforcements which raised his little garrison to the number of seven hundred. In a subsequent rencontre *Thrasybulus* surprised at day-

break a body of Spartan hoplites and Athenian horse that had been sent against him; and, after killing one hundred and twenty of the Spartans, carried off a considerable store of arms and provisions to Phylé.

§ 15. Symptoms of wavering now began to be perceptible, not only among the three thousand, but even among the Thirty themselves; and Critias, fearful that power was slipping from his grasp, resolved to secure Salamis and Eleusis as places of refuge. All the Eleusinians capable of bearing arms were accordingly seized and carried to Athens, and their town occupied by adherents of the Thirty. The same was done at Salamis. Critias then convoked the three thousand and the knights in the Odæum, which he had partly filled with Lacedæmonian soldiers, and compelled them to pass a vote condemning the Eleusinians to death. This was done, as he plainly told them, in order the more thoroughly to identify their interests with those of the Thirty. The prisoners were immediately led off to execution.

§ 16. Thrasybulus, whose forces were now a thousand strong, incited probably by this enormity, and reckoning on support from the party of the reaction at Athens, marched from Phylé to Peiræus, which was now an open town, and seized upon it without opposition. When the whole force of the Thirty, including the Lacedæmonians, marched on the following day to attack him, he retired to the hill of Munychia, the citadel of Peiræus, the only approach to which was by a steep ascent. Here he drew up his hoplites in files of ten deep, posting behind them his slingers and dartmen, whose missiles, owing to the rising ground, could be hurled over the heads of the foremost ranks. Against them Critias and his confederates advanced in close array, his hoplites formed in a column of fifty deep. Thrasybulus exhorted his men to stand patiently till the enemy came within reach of the missiles. At the first discharge the assailing column seemed to waver; and Thrasybulus, taking advantage of their confusion, charged down the hill, and completely routed them, killing seventy, among whom was Critias himself.

§ 17. The partisans of the Thirty acknowledged the victory by begging a truce to bury their dead. The loss of their leader had thrown the majority into the hands of the party formerly led by Theramenes, who resolved to depose the Thirty and constitute a new oligarchy of Ten. Some of the Thirty were re-elected into this body; but the more violent colleagues of Critias were deposed, and retired for safety to Eleusis. The new government of the Ten sent to Sparta to solicit further aid; and a similar application was made at the same time from the section of the Thirty at Eleusis. Their request was complied with; and Lysander once more entered Athens at the head of a Lacedæmonian force, whilst his brother Libys blockaded Peiræus with forty triremes. Fortunately, however, the jealousy of the Lacedæmonians towards Lysander led them at this critical juncture to supersede him in the command. King Pausanias

was appointed to lead an army into Attica, and when he encamped in the Academia he was joined by Lysander and his forces. It was known at Athens that the views of Pausanias were unfavorable to the proceedings of Lysander; and his presence elicited a vehement reaction against the oligarchy, which fear had hitherto suppressed. At first, however, Pausanias made a show of attacking Thrasybulus and his adherents, and sent a herald to require them to disband and return to their homes. As this order was not obeyed, Pausanias made an attack on Peiræus, but was repulsed with loss. Retiring to an eminence at a little distance, he rallied his forces and formed them into a deep phalanx. Thrasybulus, elated by his success, was rash enough to venture a combat on the plain, in which his troops were completely routed and driven back to Peiræus, with the loss of a hundred and fifty men.

§ 18. Pausanias, content with the advantage he had gained, began to listen to the entreaties for an accommodation which poured in on all sides; and when Thrasybulus sent to sue for peace, he granted him a truce for the purpose of sending envoys to Sparta. The Ten also despatched envoys thither, offering to submit themselves and the city to the absolute discretion of Sparta. The Ephors and the Lacedæmonian assembly referred the question to a committee of fifteen, of whom Pausanias was one. The decision of this board was, that the exiles in Peiræus should be readmitted to Athens; and that there should be an amnesty for all that had passed, except as regarded the Thirty, the Eleven, and the Ten. Eleusis was recognized as a distinct government, in order to serve as a refuge for those who felt themselves compromised at Athens.

§ 19. When these terms were settled and sworn to, the Peloponnesians quitted Attica; and Thrasybulus and the exiles, marching in solemn procession from Peiræus to Athens, ascended to the Acropolis and offered up a solemn sacrifice and thanksgiving. An assembly of the people was then held, and after Thrasybulus had addressed an animated reproof to the oligarchical party, the democracy was unanimously restored. This important counter-revolution appears to have taken place in the spring of 403 B. C. The archons, the Senate of five hundred, the public assembly, and the dicasteries, seem to have been reconstituted in the same form as before the capture of the city. All the acts of the Thirty were annulled, and a committee was appointed to revise the laws of Draco and Solon, and to exhibit their amendments at the statues of the eponymous heroes. These laws, as afterwards adopted by the whole body of five hundred nomothetæ, and by the Senate, were ordered to be inscribed on the walls of the Pœcilé Stoa, on which occasion the full Ionic alphabet of twenty-four letters was for the first time adopted in public acts, though it had long been in private use. The old Attic alphabet, of sixteen or eighteen letters, had been previously employed in public documents.

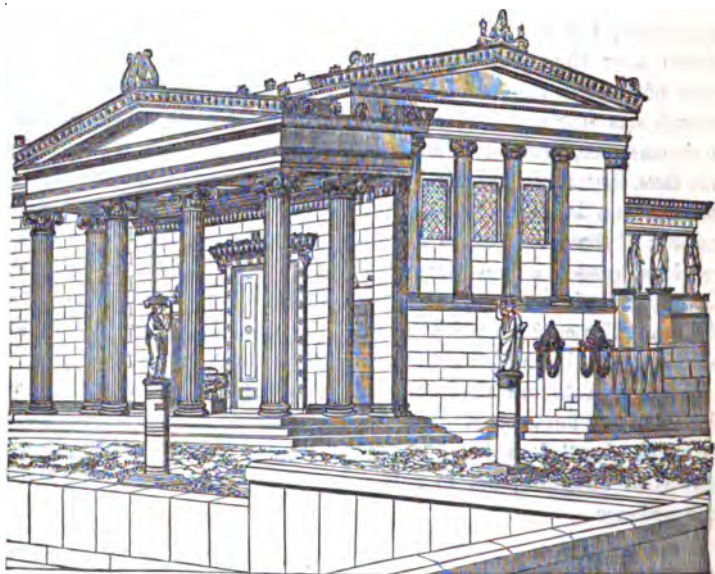
§ 20. Thus was terminated, after a sway of eight months, the despotism

of the Thirty. The year which contained their rule was not named after the archon, but was termed "the year of anarchy." The first archon drawn after their fall was Eucleïdes, who gave his name to a year ever afterwards memorable among the Athenians. The democracy, though smarting under recent wrongs, behaved with great moderation; a circumstance, however, which may in some degree be accounted for by the facts, that three thousand of the more influential citizens had been more or less implicated in the proceedings of the Thirty, and that the number of those entitled to the franchise was now reduced by its being restricted to such only as were born of an Athenian mother as well as father. Eleusis was soon afterwards brought back into community with Athens. The only reward of Thrasybulus and his party were wreaths of olive, and one thousand drachmæ given for a common sacrifice.

But though Athens thus obtained internal peace, she was left a mere shadow of her former self. Her fortifications, her fleet, her revenues, and the empire founded on them, had vanished; and her history henceforwards consists of struggles, not to rule over others, but to maintain her own independence.



Clio, the Muse of History.



The Erechthëum restored, viewed from the southwest angle.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ATHENS, AND ATHENIAN AND GRECIAN ART DURING THE PERIOD OF HER EMPIRE.

§ 1. Situation of Athens. § 2. Origin and Progress of the Ancient City. § 3. Extent of the New City. Peiræus and the Ports. § 4. General Appearance of Athens. Population. § 5. Periods and General Character of Attic Art. § 6. Sculptors of the First Period. Ageladas, Onatas, and others. § 7. Second Period. Pheidias. § 8. Polycletus and Myron. § 9. Painting. Polygnotus. § 10. Apollodorus, Zeuxis, and Parrhasius. § 11. Architecture. Monuments of the Age of Cimon. The Temple of Niké Apteros, the Thesëum, and the Pœcilé Stoa. § 12. The Acropolis and its Monuments. The Propylæa. § 13. The Parthenon. § 14. Statues of Athena. § 15. The Erechthëum. § 16. Monuments in the Asty. The Dionysiac Theatre. The Odëum of Pericles. The Areopagus. The Pnyx. The Agora and Cerameicus. § 17. Monuments out of Attica. The Temple of Zeus at Olympia. § 18. The Temple of Apollo near Phigalia.

§ 1. In the present book, we have beheld the rise of Athens from the condition of a second or third rate city to the headship of Greece : we are now to contemplate her triumphs in the peaceful but not less glorious pursuits of art, and to behold her establishing an empire of taste and genius, not only over her own nation and age, but over the most civilized portion of the world throughout all time.

First of all, however, it is necessary to give a brief description of

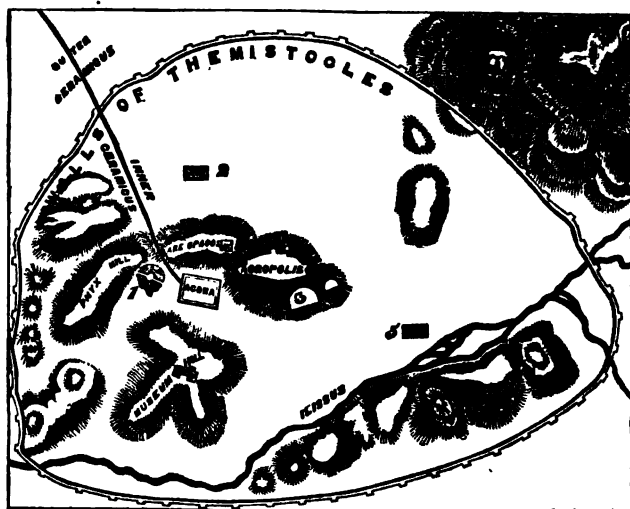
Athens itself, the repository, as it were, in which the most precious treasures of art were preserved. Athens is situated about five miles from the sea-coast, in the central plain of Attica, which is inclosed by mountains on every side except the southwest, where it is open to the sea. In the southern part of the plain rise several eminences. Of these the most prominent is a lofty insulated mountain, with a conical peaked summit, now called the Hill of St. George, and which bore in ancient times the name of *Lycabettus*. This mountain, which was not included within the ancient walls, lies to the northeast of Athens, and forms the most striking feature in the environs of the city. It is to Athens what Vesuvius is to Naples, or Arthur's Seat to Edinburgh. Southwest of Lycabettus there are four hills of moderate height, all of which formed part of the city. Of these the nearest to Lycabettus, and at the distance of a mile from the latter, was the *Acropolis*, or citadel of Athens, a square craggy rock rising abruptly about a hundred and fifty feet, with a flat summit* of about eleven hundred feet long from east to west, by four hundred and fifty broad from north to south. Immediately west of the Acropolis is a second hill, of irregular form, the *Areopagus*. To the southwest there rises a third hill, the *Pnyx*, on which the assemblies of the citizens were held; and to the south of the latter is a fourth hill, known as the *Museum*. On the eastern and western sides of the city there run two small streams, which are nearly exhausted before they reach the sea, by the heats of summer and by the channels for artificial irrigation. That on the east is the Ilissus, which flowed through the southern quarter of the city: that on the west is the Cephissus. South of the city was seen the Saronic Gulf, with the harbors of Athens. The ground on which Athens stands is a bed of hard limestone rock, which the ingenuity of the inhabitants converted to architectural purposes, by hewing it into walls, levelling it into pavements, and forming it into steps, seats, cisterns, and other objects of utility or ornament.

The noblest description of Athens is given by Milton in his *Paradise Regained*:—

“ Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,
Westward; much nearer by southwest behold,
Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,
Built nobly; pure the air, and light the soil;
Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits,
Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,
City or suburban, studious walks and shades.
See there the olive grove of Academe,
Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long;
There flowery hill Hymettus, with the sound

* The summit is three hundred feet above the town, and three hundred and fifty above the surrounding plain. — ED.

Of bees' industrious murmur, oft invites
 To studious musing: there Ilissus rolls
 His whispering stream: within the walls then view
 The schools of ancient sages; his who bred
 Great Alexander to subdue the world,
 Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next."



Plan of Athens.

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|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Pnyx, Ecclesia. | 4. Odyseum of Pericles. |
| 2. Theatrum. | 5. Temple of the Olympian Zeus. |
| 3. Theatre of Dionysus. | |

§ 2. Athens is said to have derived its name from the prominence given to the worship of Athena by its King Erechtheus. The inhabitants were previously called Cranai and Cecropidæ, from Cecrops, who, according to tradition, was the original founder of the city. This at first occupied only the hill or rock which afterwards became the *Acropolis*; but gradually the buildings began to spread over the ground at the southern foot of this hill. It was not till the time of Peisistratus and his sons (B. C. 560–514) that the city began to assume any degree of splendor. The most remarkable building of these despots was the gigantic temple of the Olympian Zeus, which, however, was not finished till many centuries later. In B. C. 500, the theatre of Dionysus was commenced on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, but was not completed till B. C. 340; though it must have been used for the representation of plays long before that period.

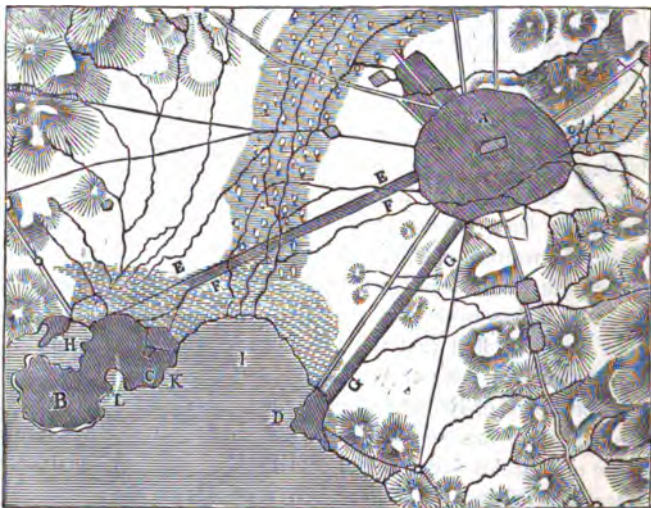
§ 3. Xerxes reduced the ancient city almost to a heap of ashes. After the departure of the Persians, its reconstruction on a much larger scale was commenced under the superintendence of Themistocles, whose first care was to provide for its safety by the erection of walls. The Acropolis now formed the centre of the city, round which the new walls described

an irregular circle of about sixty stadia, or seven and a half miles in circumference. The new walls were built in great haste, in consequence of the attempts of the Spartans to interrupt their progress; but though this occasioned great irregularity in their structure, they were nevertheless firm and solid. The space thus inclosed formed the *Asty*,* or city, properly so called. But the views of Themistocles were not confined to the mere defence of Athens: he contemplated making her a great naval power, and for this purpose adequate docks and arsenals were required. Previously the Athenians had used as their only harbor the open roadstead of *Phalerum*, on the eastern side of the Phaleric bay, where the sea-shore is nearest to Athens. But Themistocles transferred the naval station of the Athenians to the peninsula of *Peiræus*, which is distant about five miles from Athens, and contains three natural harbors,—a large one on the western side, called simply *Peiræus* or *The Harbor*, and two smaller ones on the eastern side, called respectively *Zea* and *Munychia*, the latter being nearest to the city. Themistocles seems to have anticipated from the first that the port-town would speedily become as large a place as the *Asty* or city itself; for the walls which he built around the peninsula of *Peiræus* were of the same circumference as those of Athens, and were fourteen or fifteen feet thick. It was not, however, till the time of Pericles that *Peiræus* was regularly laid out as a town by the architect Hippodamus of Miletus. It was also in the administration and by the advice of Pericles, but in pursuance of the policy of Themistocles, that the walls were built which connected Athens with her ports. These were at first the outer or northern Long Wall, which ran from Athens to *Peiræus*, and the Phaleric wall, connecting the city with *Phalerum*. These were commenced in B. C. 457, and finished in the following year. It was soon found, however, that the space thus inclosed was too vast to be easily defended; and as the port of *Phalerum* was small and insignificant in comparison with the *Peiræus*, and soon ceased to be used by the Athenian ships of war, its wall was abandoned and probably allowed to fall into decay. Its place was supplied by another Long Wall, which was built parallel to the first at a distance of only five hundred and fifty feet, thus rendering both capable of being defended by the same body of men. The magnitude of these walls may be estimated from the fact, that the foundations of the northern one, which may still be traced, are about twelve feet thick, and formed of large quadrangular blocks of stone. Their height in all probability was not less than sixty feet. In process of time the space between the two Long Walls was occupied on each side by houses.

§ 4. It will be seen from the preceding description, that Athens, in its larger acceptation, and including its port, consisted of two circular cities,

* Τὸ Ἀστυ.

the Asty and Peiræus, each of about seven and a half miles in circumference, and joined together by a broad street of between four and five miles long. Its first appearance was by no means agreeable or striking. The streets were narrow and crooked, and the meanness of the private houses formed a strong contrast to the magnificence of the public buildings.



Athens and its Port Towns.

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|---|------------------------|
| A. The Asty. | GG. The Phaleric Wall. |
| B. Peiræus. | H. Harbor of Peiræus. |
| C. Munychia, citadel of Peiræus. | I. Phaleric Bay. |
| D. Phalerum. | K. Harbor of Munychia. |
| EE, FF. The Long Walls: EE, the Northern
Long Wall; FF, the Southern Wall. | L. Harbor of Zea. |

None of the houses were more than one story high, which often projected over the street. They were for the most part constructed either of a framework of wood, or of unburnt bricks dried in the open air. The front towards the street rarely had any windows, and was usually nothing but a curtain wall covered with a coating of plaster. It was not till the Macedonian period, when public spirit had decayed, that the Athenians, no longer satisfied with participating in the grandeur of the state, began to erect handsome private houses. Athens was badly drained, and scantily supplied with water. It was not lighted, and very few of the streets were paved. Little care was taken to cleanse the city; and it appears to have been as dirty as the filthiest town of Southern Europe in the present day.*

* Dicæarchus, a contemporary of Aristotle, in the fragments of his work on the "Life of Greece," describes the city as "ill-furnished with water and irregular on account of its antiquity; the houses, generally mean and inconvenient; so that a stranger would at first hardly believe this to be the celebrated city of Athens. But when he should behold the

The population of Athens cannot be accurately ascertained. The population of the whole of Attica probably exceeded half a million, of whom, however, nearly four fifths were slaves, and half the remainder metics, or resident aliens. The number of citizens — native males above the age of twenty, enjoying the franchise — was twenty or twenty-one thousand. The population resident in Athens itself has been variously estimated at from a hundred and twenty to a hundred and ninety-two thousand souls.

§ 5. Such was the outward and material form of that city, which during the brief period comprised in our present book reached the highest pitch of military, artistic, and literary glory. The progress of the first has been already traced, and it is to the last two subjects that we are now to devote our attention. The whole period contemplated embraces about eighty years, the middle portion of which, or that comprised under the ascendancy of Pericles, exhibits Athenian art in its highest state of perfection, and is therefore by way of excellence commonly designated as the age of Pericles. The generation which preceded, and that which followed, the time of that statesman, also exhibit a high degree of excellence; but in the former perfection had not yet attained its full development, and in the latter we already begin to observe traces of incipient decline. The progress both of poetry and of the plastic arts during this epoch is strikingly similar. The great principle that pervaded all was a lively and truthful imitation of nature, but nature of an ideal and elevated stamp. Epic poetry and the ode give place to a more accurate and striking rendering of nature by means of dramatic representations; whilst sculpture presents us not only with more graceful forms, but with more of dramatic action in the arrangement of its groups. In this latter respect, however, the age was probably excelled by the succeeding one of Scopas and Praxiteles. The process by which Athenian genius freed itself from the trammels of ancient stiffness, is as visible in the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and

superb theatre; the costly temple of Athena, called the Parthenon, overhanging the theatre; the temple of Olympian Zeus, which, though unfinished, fills the beholder with amazement by the magnificence of its plan; the three Gymnasias, the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Cynosarges, all of them shaded with trees and embellished with grassy lawns; having witnessed the haunts of the philosophers, and the various schools, and the festive scenes by which the cares of life are cheated of their prey, — he would have another impression, and believe that this was in very truth the famous city of Athens. The hospitalities of the citizens make the stay of the stranger agreeable. The city abounds with supplies for every want, and the means of gratifying every desire. The neighboring towns are but suburbs of Athens. The inhabitants are prompt to know every artist; and though among the Attics there are busybodies and gossips, who pass their time in spying out the way of life of strangers, yet the genuine Athenians are magnanimous, simple in manners, trusty friends, and accomplished critics of the arts. In short, as much as other cities excel the country in the means of enjoyment, so much does Athens surpass all other cities. As Lysippus says, —

‘Hast not seen Athens, then thou art a log;

Hast seen, and not been charmed, thou art an ass.’ — ED.

Euripides, as in the productions of the great masters of the plastic arts during the same period. In the dramas of Æschylus majesty and dignity are not unmixed with a rigid and archaic simplicity, which also marks the works of the contemporary sculptors. In the next generation, during the time of Pericles, we find this characteristic giving place to the perfection of grace and sublimity united, as in the tragedies of Sophocles and in the statues of Pheidias. Art could not be carried higher. In the next step we find equal truthfulness and grace; but the former had lost its ideal and elevated character, and the latter was beginning to degenerate into over-refinement and affectation. Such are the examples offered by the plays of Euripides, and by the sculptures of Myron and Polyclētus. In like manner, with regard to architecture, the Parthenon, erected in the time of Pericles, presents the most exquisite example of the Doric style in the happiest medium between antique heaviness and the slender weakness of later monuments. Painting also, in the hands of Polygnōtus, attained its highest excellence in the grace and majesty of single figures. But painting is a complicated art; and the mechanical improvements in perspective, light and shade, grouping, and composition in general, afterwards introduced by Apollodōrus and Zeuxis, and still later by Apelles, undoubtedly brought the art to a greater degree of perfection.

§ 6. Among the artists of this period the sculptors stand out prominently. In general the eminent sculptors of this period also possessed not only a theoretical knowledge, but frequently great practical skill in the sister arts of painting and architecture.

One of the earliest sculptors of note was Ageladas of Argos, whose fame at present chiefly rests on the circumstance of his having been the master of Pheidias, Myron, and Polyclētus. He was probably born about B. C. 540, so that he must have been an old man when Pheidias became his pupil. Another distinguished statuary and painter among the immediate predecessors of Pheidias was Onatas, an Æginetan, who flourished down to the year B. C. 460. His merit as a painter appears from the fact that he was employed, in conjunction with Polygnōtus, to decorate with paintings a temple at Platea.

Contemporary with these elder masters of the best period of Greek art were Hegias, Canachus, Calamis, and others. The somewhat stiff and archaic style which distinguished their productions from those of Pheidias and his school was preserved even by some artists who flourished at the same time with Pheidias; as, for instance, by Praxias and Androstenes, who executed some of the statuary which adorned the temple of Delphi.

§ 7. Pheidias is the head of the new school. He was born about 490 B. C., began to flourish about 460, and died just before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war in 432. He seems to have belonged to a family of artists, and to have first turned his attention towards painting. He was the pupil, as we have said, of Ageladas, and probably of Hegias; and


his great abilities were developed in executing or superintending the works of art with which Athens was adorned during the administration of Pericles. He went to Elis about B. C. 437, where he executed his famous statue of the Olympian Zeus. He returned to Athens about 434, and shortly afterwards fell a victim to the jealousy against his friend and patron, Pericles, which was then at its height; and though he was acquitted on the charge of peculation, he was condemned on that of impiety, for having introduced his own likeness, as well as that of Pericles, among the figures in the battle of the Amazons, sculptured on the shield of Athena. He was in consequence thrown into prison, where he shortly afterwards died.

The chief characteristic of the works of Pheidias is ideal beauty of the sublimest order, especially in the representation of divinities and their worship. He entirely emancipated himself from the stiffness which had hitherto marked the archaic school, but without degenerating into that almost meretricious grace which began to corrupt art in the hands of some of his successors. His renderings of nature had nothing exaggerated or distorted: all was marked by a noble dignity and repose. We shall speak of his works when we come to describe the buildings which contained them.

§ 8. Among the most renowned sculptors contemporary with Pheidias were Polyclētus and Myron. There were at least two sculptors of the name of Polyclētus; but it is the elder one of whom we here speak, and who was the more famous. He seems to have been born at Sicyon, and to have become a citizen of Argos. The exact date of his birth is uncertain, but he was rather younger than Pheidias, and flourished probably from about 452 to 412 B. C. Of his personal history we know absolutely nothing. The art of Polyclētus was not of so ideal and elevated a character as that of Pheidias. The latter excelled in statues of gods, Polyclētus in those of men; but in these he reached so great a pitch of excellence, that on one occasion, when several artists competed in the statue of an Amazon, he was adjudged to have carried away the palm from Pheidias. The greatest of his works was the ivory and gold statue of Hera in her temple between Argos and Mycenæ, which always remained the ideal model of the queen of the gods, as Pheidias's statue at Olympia was considered the most perfect image of the king of heaven.

Myron, also a contemporary and fellow-pupil of Pheidias, was a native of Eleutheræ, a town on the borders of Attica and Bœotia. He seems to have been younger than Pheidias, and was probably longer in attaining excellence, since he flourished about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. He excelled in representing the most difficult, and even transient, postures of the body, and his works were marked by great variety and versatility. He appears to have been the first eminent artist who devoted much attention to the figures of animals, and one of his statues most celebrated in antiquity was that of a cow. It was represented as lowing, and

stood on a marble base in the centre of one of the largest open places in Athens, where it was still to be seen in the time of Cicero, but was subsequently removed to Rome. This, as well as most of his other works, was in bronze. He excelled in representing youthful *athletæ*; and a celebrated statue of his, of which several copies are still extant, was the *discobolus*, or quoit-player.

§ 9. The art of painting was developed later than that of sculpture, of which it seems to have been the offspring, and in its earlier period to have partaken very closely of the statuesque character. The ancient Greek paintings were either in water-colors or in wax: oil-colors appear to have been unknown. We have already given some account of the rudiments of the art among the Greeks.* The first Grecian painter of any great renown was Polygnōtus, who was contemporary with Pheidias, though probably somewhat older. He was a native of Thasos, whence he was, in all probability, brought by his friend and patron Cimon, when he subjugated that island in B. C. 463. At that period he must at least have been old enough to have earned the celebrity which entitled him to Cimon's patronage. He subsequently became naturalized at Athens, where he probably died about the year 426 B. C. His chief works in Athens were executed in adorning those buildings which were erected in the time of Cimon; as the temple of Theseus, and the Pœcilé Stoa, or Painted Colonnade. His paintings were essentially *statuesque*,—the representation by means of colors on a flat surface of figures similar to those of the sculptor. But the improvements which he introduced on the works of his predecessors were very marked and striking, and form an epoch in the art. He first depicted the open mouth, so as to show the teeth, and varied the expression of the countenance from its ancient stiffness. He excelled in representing female beauty and complexion, and introduced graceful, flowing draperies, in place of the hard, stiff lines by which they had been previously depicted. He excelled in accuracy of drawing, and in the nobleness, grace, and beauty of his figures, which were not mere transcripts from nature, but had an ideal and elevated character. His masterpieces were executed in the *Lesché* (inclosed court or hall for conversation) of the Cnidians at Delphi, the subjects of which were taken from the cycle of epic poetry. In these there seems to have been no attempt at perspective, and names were affixed to the different figures. 

§ 10. Painting reached a further stage of excellence in the hands of Apollodōrus, Zeuxis, and Parrhasius, the only other artists whom we need notice during this period. Apollodōrus was a native of Athens, and first directed attention to the effect of light and shade in painting, thus creating another epoch in the art. His immediate successors, or rather contemporaries, Zeuxis and Parrhasius, brought the art to a still greater degree of

* See p. 141.

perfection. Neither the place nor date of the birth of Zeuxis can be accurately ascertained, though he was probably born about 455 B. C., since thirty years after that date we find him practising his art with great success at Athens. He was patronized by Archelaüs, king of Macedonia, and spent some time at his court. He must also have visited Magna Græcia, as he painted his celebrated picture of Helen for the city of Croton. He acquired great wealth by his pencil, and was very ostentatious in displaying it. He appeared at Olympia in a magnificent robe, having his name embroidered in letters of gold; and the same vanity is also displayed in the anecdote, that, after he had reached the summit of his fame, he no longer sold, but gave away, his pictures, as being above all price. With regard to his style of art, single figures were his favorite subjects. He could depict gods or heroes with sufficient majesty, but he particularly excelled in painting the softer graces of female beauty. In one important respect he appears to have degenerated from the style of Polygnôtus, his idealism being rather that of *form* than of *character* and *expression*. Thus his style is analogous to that of Euripides in tragedy. He was a great master of color, and his paintings were sometimes so accurate and lifelike as to amount to illusion. This is exemplified in the story told of him and Parrhasius. As a trial of skill, these artists painted two pictures. That of Zeuxis represented a bunch of grapes, and was so naturally executed that the birds came and pecked at it. After this proof, Zeuxis, confident of success, called upon his rival to draw aside the curtain which concealed his picture. But the painting of Parrhasius was the curtain itself, and Zeuxis was now obliged to acknowledge himself vanquished; for, though he had deceived birds, Parrhasius had deceived the author of the deception. Whatever may be the historical value of this tale, it at least shows the high reputation which both artists had acquired for the natural representation of objects. But many of the pictures of Zeuxis also displayed great dramatic power. He worked very slowly and carefully, and he is said to have replied to somebody who blamed him for his slowness, "It is true I take a long time to paint, but then I paint works to last a long time." His masterpiece was the picture of Helen, already mentioned.

Parrhasius was a native of Ephesus, but his art was chiefly exercised at Athens, where he was presented with the right of citizenship. His date cannot be accurately ascertained, but he was probably rather younger than his contemporary, Zeuxis, and it is certain that he enjoyed a high reputation before the death of Socrates. The style and degree of excellence attained by Parrhasius appear to have been much the same as those of Zeuxis. He was particularly celebrated for the accuracy of his drawing, and the excellent proportions of his figures. For these he established a canon, as Pheidias had done in sculpture for gods, and Polyclétus for the human figure; whence Quintilian calls him the legislator of his art. His vanity seems to have been as remarkable as that of Zeuxis. Among

the most celebrated of his works was a portrait of the personified Athenian *Demos*, which is said to have miraculously expressed even the most contradictory qualities of that many-headed personage.

The excellence attained during this period by the great masters in the higher walks of sculpture and painting was, as may be well supposed, not without its influence on the lower grades of art. This is particularly visible in the ancient painted vases, which have been preserved to us in such numbers, the paintings on which, though of course the productions of an inferior class of artists, show a marked improvement, both in design and execution, after the time of Polygnôtus.

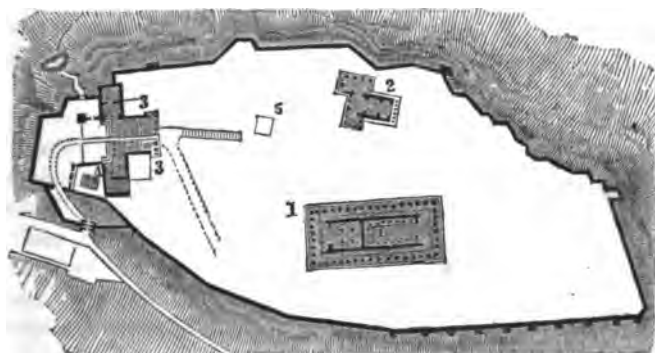
§ 11. Having thus taken a brief survey of the progress of sculpture and painting in the hands of the most eminent masters, we now turn to contemplate some of the chief buildings which they were employed to adorn.

The first public monuments that arose after the Persian wars were erected under the auspices of Cimon, who was, like Pericles, a lover and patron of the arts. The principal of these were the small Ionic temple of Niké Apteros (Wingless Victory), the Thesëum, or temple of Theseus, and the Pœcilé Stoa. The temple of Niké Apteros was only twenty-seven feet in length by eighteen in breadth, and was erected on the Acropolis in commemoration of Cimon's victory at the Eurymedon. It was still standing in the year 1676, but it was subsequently overthrown by the Turks in order to form a battery. Its remains were discovered in 1835, and it was rebuilt with the original materials. A view of it is given on p. 203, and its position on the Acropolis, on one side of the Propylæa, is seen in the drawings on pp. 248 and 255. Four slabs of its sculptured frieze, found in a neighboring wall, are now in the British Museum.

The Thesëum is situated on a height to the north of the Areopagus, and was built to receive the bones of Theseus, which Cimon brought from Scyros in B. C. 469. It was probably finished about 465, and is the best preserved of all the monuments of ancient Athens. (See drawing on p. 224.) It was at once a tomb and temple, and possessed the privileges of an asylum. It is of the Doric order, one hundred and four feet in length by forty-five feet broad, and surrounded with columns, of which there are six at each front and thirteen at the sides, reckoning those at the angles twice. The cella is forty feet in length. It is not therefore by its size, but by its symmetry, that it impresses the beholder. The eastern front was the principal one, since all its metopes, together with the four adjoining ones on either side, are sculptured, whilst all the rest are plain. The sculptures, of which the subjects are the exploits of Hercules and Theseus, have sustained great injury, though the temple itself is nearly perfect. The figures in the pediments have entirely disappeared, and the metopes and frieze have been greatly mutilated. The relief is bold and salient, and the sculptures, both of the metopes and friezes, were painted,

and still preserve remains of the colors. There are casts from some of the finest portions of them in the British Museum. The style exhibits a striking advance on that of the Æginetan marbles, and forms a connecting link between them and the sculptures of the Parthenon. The Pœcilé Stoa, which ran along one side of the Agora, or market-place, was a long colonnade formed by columns on one side and a wall on the other, against which were placed the paintings, which were on panels.*

§ 12. But it was the Acropolis which was the chief centre of the architectural splendor of Athens. After the Persian wars the Acropolis had ceased to be inhabited, and was appropriated to the worship of Athena, and the other guardian deities of the city. It was covered with the temples of gods and heroes; and thus its platform presented not only a sanctuary, but a museum, containing the finest productions of the architect and the sculptor, in which the whiteness of the marble was relieved by



Plan of the Acropolis.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Parthenon. | 3. Propylæa. |
| 2. Erechthæum. | 4. Temple of Niké Apteros. |
| 5. Statue of Athena Promachus. | |

brilliant colors, and rendered still more dazzling by the transparent clearness of the Athenian atmosphere. It was surrounded with walls, and the surface seems to have been divided into terraces communicating with one another by steps. The only approach to it was from the Agora on its western side. At the top of a magnificent flight of marble steps, seventy feet broad, stood the Propylæa,† constructed under the auspices of Pericles, and which served as a suitable entrance to the exquisite works within. The Propylæa were themselves one of the masterpieces of Athenian art. They were entirely of Pentelic marble, and covered the whole of the western end of the Acropolis, having a breadth of one hundred and sixty-eight feet. They were erected by the architect Mnesicles, at a cost

* Hence its name of Pœcilé (ποικίλη, *variegated or painted*).

† Προπύλαια.

of two thousand talents, or £ 485,500.* The central portion of them consisted of two hexastyle porticos, of which the western one faced the city, and the eastern one the interior of the Acropolis. Each portico consisted of a front of six fluted Doric columns, four feet and a half in diameter and nearly twenty-nine feet in height, supporting a pediment. The central part of the building just described was fifty-eight feet in breadth, but the remaining breadth of the rock at this point was covered by two wings, which projected twenty-six feet in front of the western portico. Each of these wings was in the form of a Doric temple. The northern one, or that on the left of a person ascending the Acropolis, was called the *Pinacotheca*, from its walls being covered with paintings. The southern wing consisted only of a porch or open gallery. Immediately before its western front stood the little temple of Niké Apteros already mentioned. (See drawing on p. 255.)

§ 13. On passing through the Propylæa all the glories of the Acropolis became visible. The chief building was the Parthēnon,† the most perfect production of Grecian architecture. It derived its name from its being the temple of Athena Parthenos,‡ or Athena the Virgin, the invincible goddess of war. It was also called *Hecatompedon*, from its breadth of one hundred feet. It was built under the administration of Pericles, and was completed in B. C. 438. The architects were Ictinus and Callicrates; but, as we have said, the general superintendence of the building was intrusted to Pheidias. The Parthenon stood on the highest part of the Acropolis, near its centre, and probably occupied the site of an earlier temple destroyed by the Persians. § It was entirely of Pentelic marble, on a rustic basement of ordinary limestone, and its architecture, which was of the Doric order, was of the purest kind. Its dimensions, taken from the under step of the stylobate, were about two hundred and twenty-eight feet in length, one hundred and one feet in breadth, and sixty-six feet in height to the top of the pediment. It consisted of a cella, surrounded by a peristyle, which had eight columns at either front, and seventeen at either side (reckoning the corner columns twice), thus containing forty-six columns in all. These columns were six feet two inches in diameter at the base, and thirty-four feet in height. The cella was divided into two chambers of unequal size, the eastern one of which was about ninety-eight feet long, and the western one about forty-three feet. The ceiling of both these chambers was supported by rows of columns. The whole building was adorned with the most exquisite sculptures, executed by various

* Over § 2,100,000. — ED.

† Παρθενών, i. e. House of the Virgin.

‡ Ἀθηνᾶ πάρθενος.

§ There is no doubt on this subject at present. The limits of the original foundation are visible, and the addition necessary to make the foundation of the new temple, on an enlarged scale, is distinctly defined. — ED.

artists under the direction of Pheidias. These consisted of, — 1. The sculptures in the tympana of the pediments (i. e. the inner portion of the triangular gable ends of the roof above the two porticos), each of which was filled with about twenty-four colossal figures. The group in the eastern or principal front represented the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, and the western the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the land of Attica. An engraving of one of the figures in the pediments is given on p. 277. 2. The metopes between the triglyphs in the frieze of the entablature (i. e. the upper of the two portions into which the space between the columns and the roof is divided) were filled with sculptures in high relief, representing a variety of subjects relating to Athena herself, or to the indigenous heroes of Attica. Each tablet was four feet three inches square. Those on the south side related to the battle of the Athenians with the Centaurs. One of the metopes is figured on p. 301. 3. The frieze which ran along outside the wall of the cella, and within the external columns which surround the building, at the same height and parallel with the metopes, was sculptured with a representation of the Panathenaic festival in very low relief. This frieze was three feet four inches in height, and five hundred and twenty feet in length. A small portion of the frieze is figured on p. 287. A large number of the slabs of the frieze, together with sixteen metopes from the south side, and several of the statues of the pediments, were brought to England by Lord Elgin, of whom they were purchased by the nation and deposited in the British Museum. The engraving on p. 266 represents the restored western front of the Parthenon.*

§ 14. But the chief wonder of the Parthenon was the colossal statue of the Virgin Goddess executed by Pheidias himself, which stood in the eastern or principal chamber of the cella. It was of the sort called *chryselephantine*,† a kind of work said to have been invented by Pheidias. Up to this time colossal statues not of bronze were *acroliths*, that is, having

* A peculiar refinement has recently been discovered in the architectural details of the Parthenon, and other Grecian temples of the best period. The lines which in ordinary architecture are straight, in these temples are delicate curves: and instead of perpendicular lines, as in the columns, inclined lines are employed. The lines of the stylobate, for example, rise so that the middle is higher than the extremities: and the lines in the entablature are nearly parallel. The axes of the columns incline inwards towards the temple, giving in reality a pyramidal shape to the structure. The object of these deviations from the rectilinear construction is "to correct certain optical illusions arising from the influence produced upon one another by lines which have different directions, and by contrasting masses of light and shade." These deviations are quite imperceptible, from the usual points of view: and the optical effect they produce is that of perfect regularity. Without them, the lines of the stylobate would appear to sag in the middle, and the columns to incline outward. The failure of most modern buildings in the Greek style has probably been owing to the ignorance of the architects with respect to this practice of the ancients. The subject is fully discussed in the beautiful and scientific work of Mr. Francis C. Penrose, entitled "An Investigation of the Principles of Athenian Architecture," &c. London, 1851. Folio. It is also treated by Mr. Beulé, in *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, Tome II. Chap. I. This writer suggests a different theory from that mentioned above. — ED.

† L. e. of gold and ivory, from *χρυσούς*, *golden*, and *ελεφάντινος*, *of ivory*.

only the face, hands, and feet of marble, the rest being of wood, concealed by real drapery. But in the statue of Athena Pheidias substituted ivory for marble in those parts which were uncovered, and supplied the place of the real drapery with robes and other ornaments of solid gold. Its height, including the base, was twenty-six cubits, or nearly forty feet. It represented the goddess standing, clothed with a tunic reaching to the ankles, with a spear in her left hand, and an image of Victory, four cubits high, in her right. She was girded with the ægis, and had a helmet on her head, and her shield rested on the ground by her side. The eyes were of a sort of marble resembling ivory, and were perhaps painted to represent the iris and pupil. The weight of solid gold employed in the statue was, at a medium statement, forty-four talents, and was removable at pleasure.

The Acropolis was adorned with another colossal figure of Athena in bronze, also the work of Pheidias. It stood in the open air, nearly opposite the Propylæa, and was one of the first objects seen after passing through the gates of the latter. With its pedestal it must have stood about seventy feet high, and consequently towered above the roof of the Parthenon, so that the point of its spear and the crest of its helmet were visible off the promontory of Sunium to ships approaching Athens. It was called the "Athena Promachos,"* because it represented the goddess armed, and in the very attitude of battle. It was still standing in A. D. 395, and is said to have scared away Alaric when he came to sack the Acropolis. In the annexed coin the statue of Athena Promachos and the Parthenon are represented on the summit of the Acropolis: below is the cave of Pan, with a flight of steps leading up to the top of the Acropolis.



Coin showing the Parthenon, Athena Promachos, and the Cave of Pan.

§ 15. The only other monument on the summit of the Acropolis which it is necessary to describe is the Erechthëum, or temple of Erechtheus. The Erechtheum was the most revered of all the sanctuaries of Athens, and was closely connected with the earliest legends of Attica. The tradi-

* *πρόμαχος*, the Defender.

tions respecting Erechtheus vary, but according to one set of them he was identical with the god Poseidon. He was worshipped in his temple under the name of Poseidon Erechtheus, and from the earliest times was associated with Athena as one of the two protecting deities of Athens. The original Erechtheum was burnt by the Persians, but the new temple was erected on the ancient site. This could not have been otherwise; for on this spot was the sacred olive-tree which Athena evoked from the earth in her contest with Poseidon, and also the well of salt-water which Poseidon produced by a stroke of his trident, the impression of which was seen upon the rock. The building was also called the temple of Athena Polias, because it contained a separate sanctuary of the goddess, as well as her most ancient statue. The building of the new Erechtheum was not commenced till the Parthenon and Propylæa were finished, and probably not before the year preceding the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. Its progress was no doubt delayed by that event, and it was probably not completed before 393 B. C. When finished it presented one of the finest models of the Ionic order, as the Parthenon was of the Doric. It stood to the north of the latter building, and close to the northern wall of the Acropolis. The form of the Erechtheum differs from every known example of a Grecian temple. Usually a Grecian temple was an oblong figure with a portico at each extremity. The Erechtheum, on the contrary, though oblong in shape, and having a portico at the eastern or principal front, had none at its western end, where, however, a portico projected north and south from either side, thus forming a kind of transept. This irregularity seems to have been chiefly owing to the necessity of preserving the different sanctuaries and religious objects belonging to the ancient temple. A view of it from the southwest angle is given on p. 356. The roof of the southern portico, as shown in the view, was supported by six Caryatides, or figures of young maidens in long draperies, one of which is figured on p. 334.

Such were the principal objects which adorned the Acropolis at the time of which we are now speaking. Their general appearance will be best gathered from the engraving on p. 248.

§ 16. Before quitting the city of Athens, there are two or three other objects of interest which must be briefly described. First, the Dionysiac Theatre, which, as already stated, occupied the slope at the southeastern extremity of the Acropolis. The middle of it was excavated out of the rock, and the rows of seats ascended in curves one above another, the diameter increasing with the height. It was no doubt sufficiently large to accommodate the whole body of Athenian citizens, as well as the strangers who flocked to Athens during the Dionysiac festival, but its dimensions cannot now be accurately ascertained.* It had no roof, but the spectators

* The dimensions may be nearly ascertained, as the upper tiers of seats, cut in the solid

were probably protected from the sun by an awning, and from their elevated seats they had a distinct view of the sea, and of the peaked hills of Salamis in the horizon. A representation of this theatre viewed from below is given on a brass coin of Athens. The seats for the spectators are distinctly seen; and on the top, the Parthenon in the centre, with the Propylæa on the left.



Theatre of Dionysus, from a coin.

Close to the Dionysiac Theatre on the east was the Odæum of Pericles, a smaller kind of theatre, which seems to have been chiefly designed for the rehearsal of musical performances. It was covered with a conical roof, like a tent, in order to retain the sound, and in its original state was perhaps actually covered with the tent of Xerxes. It served as a refuge for the audience when driven out of the theatre by rain, and as a place for training the chorus.

The Areopagus* was a rocky height opposite the western end of the Acropolis, from which it was separated only by some hollow ground. It derived its name from the tradition that Ares was brought to trial here before the assembled gods, by Poseidon, for murdering Halirrhothius, the son of the latter. It was here that the Council of Areopagus met, frequently called the Upper Council, to distinguish it from the Council of Five Hundred, which assembled in the valley below. The Areopagites sat as judges in the open air, and two blocks of stone are still to be seen, probably those which, according to the description of Euripides, † were occupied respectively by the accuser and the accused. The Areopagus was the spot where the Apostle Paul preached to the men of Athens. At the southeastern corner of the rock is a wide chasm leading to a gloomy recess containing a fountain of very dark water. This was the sanctuary

rock, remain, and a part of the substructions of the stage buildings. The distance from the upper seats to the orchestra was about three hundred feet; to the stage, the distance was considerably greater. — Ed.

* ὁ Ἄρειος πάγος, or Hill of Ares (Mars).

† Iphig. Taur. 961.

of the Eumenides, called by the Athenians the *Semnai*,* or Venerable Goddesses.

The Pnyx, or place for holding the public assemblies of the Athenians, stood on the side of a low, rocky hill, at the distance of about a furlong from the Areopagus.

Between the Pnyx on the west, the Areopagus on the north, and the Acropolis on the east, and closely adjoining the base of these hills, stood the Agora (or market-place). Its exact boundaries cannot be determined. The Stoa Pœcilé, already described, ran along the western side of it, and consequently between it and the Pnyx. In a direction from northwest to southeast a street called the Cerameïcus ran diagonally through the Agora, entering it through the valley between the Pnyx and the Areopagus. The street was named after a district of the city, which was divided into two parts, the Inner and Outer Cerameïcus. The former lay within the city walls, and included the Agora. The Outer Cerameïcus, which formed a handsome suburb on the northwest of the city, was the burial-place of all persons honored with a public funeral. Through it ran the road to the gymnasium and gardens of the Academy, which were situated about a mile from the walls. The Academy was the place where Plato and his disciples taught. On each side of this road were monuments to illustrious Athenians, especially those who had fallen in battle.

East of the city, and outside the walls, was the Lycæum, a gymnasium dedicated to Apollo Lycæus, and celebrated as the place in which Aristotle taught.

§ 17. Space will allow us to advert only very briefly to two of the most distinguished monuments of the art of this period out of Attica. These are the temple of Zeus at Olympia, and the temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassæ, near Phigalia in Arcadia. The former, built with the spoils of Pisa, was finished about the year 435. It was of the Doric order, two hundred and thirty feet long by ninety-five broad. There are still a few remains of it. We have already adverted to the circumstance of Pheidias being engaged by the Eleans to execute some of the works here. His statue of the Olympian Zeus was reckoned his masterpiece, and one of the wonders of the world. The idea which he essayed to embody in this work was that of the supreme deity of the Hellenic nation, enthroned as a conqueror, in perfect majesty and repose, and ruling with a nod the subject world. The statue was about forty feet high, on a pedestal of twelve feet. The throne was of cedar-wood, adorned with gold, ivory, ebony, precious stones, and colors. The god held in his right hand an ivory and gold statue of Victory, and in his left a sceptre, ornamented with all sorts of metals, and surmounted by an eagle. The robe which covered the lower part of the figure, as well as the sandals, was of gold. After the comple-

* *ai Semnai.*

tion of the statue, Zeus is related to have struck the pavement in front of it with lightning in token of approbation.

§ 18. The Doric temple of Apollo near Phigalia was built by Ictinus, and finished about 430 B. C. It was one hundred and twenty-five feet long by forty-seven broad. The frieze of this temple, which is preserved in the British Museum, represents in alto-rilievo the combat of the Centaurs and Amazons, with Apollo and Artemis hastening to the scene in a chariot drawn by stags. The sculpture by no means equals that of the Parthenon, or even of the Theseum. The figures are short and fleshy. Some of the groups evidently indicate the influence of Attic art, and especially an imitation of the sculptures of the Theseum; but in general they may be regarded as affording a standard of the difference between Athenian and Peloponnesian art at this period.



Melpoméné, the Muse of Tragedy.



Thalia, the Muse of Comedy.

CHAPTER XXXV.

HISTORY OF ATHENIAN LITERATURE DOWN TO THE END OF THE
PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

§ 1. Characteristics of the early Literature of Athens. § 2. Origin of the Drama. § 3. Introduction of the Drama at Athens. Susarion, Thespis, Phrynichus, Pratinas. § 4. *Æschylus*. § 5. *Sophocles*. § 6. *Euripides*. § 7. Athenian Comedy. *Cratinus*, *Eupolis*, *Aristophanes*. § 8. Prose-writers of the Period. *Thucydides*. § 9. *Xenophon*. § 10. Athenian Education. § 11. Rhetors and Sophists. § 12. Life of *Socrates*. § 13. How he differed from the Sophists. § 14. Enmity against him. § 15. His Impeachment, Trial, and Death.

§ 1. ALTHOUGH the Ionians were one of the most intellectual of the Grecian races, we have had as yet little occasion to mention the Athenians in the literary history of Greece. In this path they were at first outstripped by their colonists in Asia Minor. The Asiatic Greeks, settled in a fertile and luxurious country, amongst a race wealthier than themselves, but far inferior to them, soon found those means of ease and leisure which, to a certain degree at least, seem necessary to the development of intellectual culture; whilst at the same time their kinsmen in Attica were struggling for a bare existence, and were often hard pressed by the surrounding tribes. It was not till the time of *Peisistratus* and his sons that we behold the first dawn of literature at Athens. But this literature was of an exotic growth; the

poets assembled at the court of the Peisistratids were mostly foreigners ; and it was only after the fall of that dynasty, and the establishment of more liberal institutions at Athens, that we find the native genius shooting forth with vigor.

It was probably the democratic nature of their new constitution, combined with the natural vivacity of the people, which caused Athenian literature to take that dramatic form which pre-eminently distinguishes it. The democracy demanded a literature of a popular kind, the vivacity of the people a literature that made a lively impression ; and both these conditions were fulfilled by the drama.

§ 2. Though the drama was brought to perfection among the Athenians, it did not originate with them. Both tragedy and comedy, in their rude and early origin, were Dorian inventions. Both arose out of the worship of Dionysus. There was at first but little distinction between these two species of the drama, except that comedy belonged more to the rural celebration of the Dionysiac festivals, and tragedy to that in cities. The name of *tragedy* * was far from signifying anything mournful, being derived from the goat-like appearance of those who, disguised as Satyrs, performed the old Dionysiac songs and dances. In like manner, *comedy* † was called after the song of the band of revellers ‡ who celebrated the vintage festivals of Dionysus, and vented the rude merriment inspired by the occasion in gibes and extempore witticisms levelled at the spectators. It was among the Megarians, both those in Greece and those in Sicily, whose political institutions were democratical, and who had a turn for rough humor, that comedy seems first to have arisen. It was long, however, before it assumed anything like a regular shape. Epicharmus appears to have been the first who moulded the wild and irregular Bacchic songs and dances into anything approaching a connected fable, or plot. He was born at Cos, about B. C. 540, but spent the better part of his life at Syracuse. He wrote his comedies some years before the Persian war, and from the titles of them still extant it would appear that the greater part of them were travesties of heroic myths. They seem, however, to have contained an odd mixture of sententious wisdom and broad buffoonery, for Epicharmus was a Pythagorean philosopher as well as a comic poet.

§ 3. Comedy, in its rude and early state, was introduced into Attica long before the time of Epicharmus, by Susarion, a native of Tripodiscus, in Megara. It was at Icaria, an Attic village noted for the worship of Dionysus, where Susarion had taken up his residence, that he first represented comedy, such as it then existed among the Megarians, in the year 578 B. C. The performances of Susarion took no root ; and we hear nothing more of comedy in Attica for nearly a hundred years.

It was during this interval that tragedy was introduced into Attica, and

* τραγῳδία, literally "the goat-song."

† κωμῳδία.

‡ κῶμος.

continued to be successfully cultivated. We have already observed that tragedy, like comedy, arose out of the worship of Dionysus; but tragedy, in its more perfect form, was the offspring of the dithyrambic odes with which that worship was celebrated. These were not always of a joyous cast. Some of them expressed the sufferings of Dionysus; and it was from this more mournful species of dithyramb that tragedy, properly so called, arose. Arion introduced great improvements into the dithyrambic odes.* They formed a kind of lyrical tragedy, and were sung by a chorus of fifty men, dancing round the altar of Dionysus. The improvements in the dithyramb were introduced by Arion at Corinth; and it was chiefly among the Dorian states of the Peloponnesus that these choral dithyrambic songs prevailed. Hence, even in Attic tragedy, the chorus, which was the foundation of the drama, was written in the Doric dialect, thus clearly betraying the source from which the Athenians derived it.

In Attica an important alteration was made in the old tragedy in the time of Peisistratus, in consequence of which it obtained a new and dramatic character. This innovation is ascribed to Thespis, a native of the Attic village of Icaria. It consisted in the introduction of an actor, for the purpose, it is said, of giving rest to the chorus. He probably appeared in that capacity himself, taking various parts in the same piece by means of disguises effected by linen masks. Thus, by his successive appearance in different characters, and by the dialogue which he maintained with the chorus, or rather with its leader, a dramatic fable of tolerable complexity might be represented. The first representation given by Thespis was in 535 B. C. He was succeeded by Chœrilus and Phrynichus, the latter of whom gained his first prize in the dramatic contests in 511 B. C. He deviated from the hitherto established custom in making a contemporary event the subject of one of his dramas. His tragedy on the capture of Miletus was so pathetic, that the audience were melted into tears; but the subject was considered so ill-chosen, that he was fined a thousand drachmæ.† The only other dramatist whom we need mention before Æschylus is the Dorian Pratinas, a native of Phlius, but who exhibited his tragedies at Athens. Pratinas was one of the improvers of tragedy by separating the satyric from the tragic drama. As neither the popular taste nor the ancient religious associations connected with the festivals of Dionysus would have permitted the chorus of Satyrs to be entirely banished from the tragic representations, Pratinas avoided this by the invention of what is called the Satyric drama; that is, a species of play in which the ordinary subjects of tragedy were treated in a lively and farcical manner, and in which the chorus consisted of a band of Satyrs in appropriate dresses and masks. After this period it became customary to exhibit dramas in *tetralogies*, or sets of four; namely, a tragic *trilogy*, or

* See p. 124.

† See p. 159.

series of three tragedies, followed by a Satyric play. These were often on connected subjects; and the Satyric drama at the end served like a merry afterpiece to relieve the minds of the spectators.

The subjects of Greek tragedy were taken, with few exceptions, from the national mythology.* Hence the plot and story were of necessity known to the spectators, a circumstance which strongly distinguishes the ancient tragedy from the modern. It must also be recollected, that the representation of tragedies did not take place every day, but only, after certain fixed intervals, at the festivals of Dionysus, of which they formed one of the greatest attractions. During the whole day the Athenian public sat in the theatre witnessing tragedy after tragedy; and a prize was awarded, by judges appointed for the purpose, to the poet who produced the best set of dramas.

§ 4. Such was Attic tragedy when it came into the hands of Æschylus, who, from the great improvements which he introduced, was regarded by the Athenians as its father or founder, just as Homer was of Epic poetry, and Herodotus of History. Æschylus was born at Eleusis in Attica, in B. C. 525, and was thus contemporary with Simonides and Pindar. His father, Euphorion, may possibly have been connected with the worship of Demeter at Eleusis; and hence, perhaps, were imbibed those religious impressions which characterized the poet through life. His first play was exhibited in B. C. 500, when he was twenty-five years of age. He fought with his brother Cynægeirus at the battle of Marathon,† and also at those of Artemisium, Salamis, and Platea. In B. C. 484 he gained his first tragic prize. The first of his extant dramas, the *Persæ*, was not brought out till B. C. 472, when he gained the prize with the trilogy of which it formed one of the pieces. In 468 he was defeated in a tragic contest by his younger rival, Sophocles; shortly afterwards he retired to the court of King Hiero, at Syracuse. In 467 Hiero died; and in 458 Æschylus must have returned to Athens, since he produced his trilogy of the *Oresteia* in that year. This trilogy, which was composed of the tragedies of the *Agamemnon*, the *Choëphoroi*, and the *Eumenides*, is remarkable as the only one that has come down to us in anything like a perfect shape. His defence of the Areopagus, however, contained in the last of these three dramas, proved unpalatable to the new and more democratic generation which had now sprung up at Athens; and either from disappointment or fear of the consequences Æschylus again quitted Athens and retired once more to Sicily. On this occasion he repaired to Gela, where he died in B. C. 456, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. It is unanimously related that an eagle, mistaking the poet's bald head for a stone, let a tortoise fall upon it in order to break the shell, thus fulfilling an oracle predicting that

* To this should be added the traditions of the great families in the heroic age. — *Ed.*

† See p. 166.

he was to die by a blow from heaven. After his death, his memory was held in high reverence at Athens. A decree was passed that a chorus should be provided at the public expense for any one who might wish to revive his tragedies; and hence it happened that they were frequently reproduced upon the stage.

The improvements introduced into tragedy by Æschylus concerned both its form and composition, and its manner of representation. In the former his principal innovation was the introduction of a second actor; whence arose the dialogue, properly so called, and the limitation of the choral parts, which now became subsidiary. His improvements in the manner of representing tragedy consisted in the introduction of painted scenes, drawn according to the rules of perspective, for which he availed himself of the pictorial skill of Agatharchus. He furnished the actors with more appropriate and more magnificent dresses, invented for them more various and expressive masks, and raised their stature to the heroic size by providing them with thick-soled cothurni or buskins. He paid great attention to the choral dances, and invented several new figures.*

The genius of Æschylus inclined rather to the awful and sublime than to the tender and pathetic.† He excels in representing the superhuman, in depicting demigods and heroes, and in tracing the irresistible march of fate. His style resembles the ideas which it clothes. It is bold, sublime, and full of gorgeous imagery, but sometimes borders on the turgid.‡

§ 5. Sophocles, the younger rival and immediate successor of Æschylus in the tragic art, was born at Colonus, a village about a mile from Athens, in B.C. 495. We know little of his family, except that his father's name was Sophilus; but that he was carefully trained in music and gymnastics appears from the fact that in his sixteenth year he was chosen to lead, naked, and with lyre in hand, the chorus which danced round the trophy, and sang the hymns of triumph, on the occasion of the victory of Salamis (B.C. 480). We have already adverted to his wresting the tragic prize from Æschylus in 468, which seems to have been his first appearance as a dramatist. This event was rendered very striking by the circumstances under which it occurred. The Archon Eponymus had not yet appointed the judges of the approaching contest,

* "Personæ pallæque repertor honestæ
Æschylus, et modicis instravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno."

HOR., *Ar. Poet.* 278.

† In passages — as in the description of the sacrifice of Iphigenia in the *Agamemnon* — Æschylus shows the most exquisite tenderness of feeling, as well as beauty of language. — ED.

‡ Æschylus is said to have written seventy tragedies; but only seven are extant, which were probably represented in the following order: the *Persians*, B.C. 472; the *Seven against Thebes*, B.C. 471; the *Suppliants*; the *Prometheus*; the *Agamemnon*, *Choephori*, and *Electra*, B.C. 458.

respecting which public expectation and party feeling ran very high, when Cimon and his nine colleagues in command entered the theatre, having just returned from Scyros. After they had made the customary libations to Dionysus, the archon detained them at the altar and administered to them the oath appointed for the judges in the dramatic contests. Their decision, as we have said, was in favor of Sophocles. From this time forwards he seems to have retained the almost undisputed possession of the Athenian stage, until a young but formidable rival arose in the person of Euripides. In 440 we find Sophocles elected one of the ten *Strategi*, of whom Pericles was the chief, to conduct the expedition against Samos; an honor which he is said to have owed to his play of the *Antigone*, which was brought out in the spring of that year, and which is the earliest of his extant dramas. He was now fifty-five years of age, yet his poetical life seemed only beginning. From this time to his death was the period of his greatest literary activity; but of his personal history we have few details. He was one of the ten elders, or *Probouli*, a sort of committee of public safety appointed by the Athenians after the failure of the Sicilian expedition, unless indeed the Sophocles mentioned on that occasion by Thucydides be some other person. The close of his life was troubled with family dissensions. Iophon, his son by an Athenian wife, and therefore his legitimate heir, was jealous of the affection manifested by his father for his grandson Sophocles, the offspring of another son, Ariston, whom he had had by a Sicyonian woman. Fearing lest his father should bestow a great part of his property upon his favorite, Iophon summoned him before the *Phratores*, or tribesmen, on the ground that his mind was affected. The old man's only reply was, "If I am Sophocles, I am not beside myself; and if I am beside myself, I am not Sophocles." Then taking up his *Œdipus at Colonus*, which he had lately written, but had not yet brought out, he read from it the beautiful passage beginning,

Εὐίππου, ξίφε, τᾶσδε χάρας,*

with which the judges were so struck that they at once dismissed the case. He died shortly afterwards, in B. C. 406, in his ninetieth year.

* The singular beauties of this chorus have invested the hill of Colonus with rare poetic interest. To one who reads the poem on the spot, notwithstanding the changes time has made, — especially the disappearance of the temples and the groves (except the olive-groves of the Academy, at a short distance), — most of the points in the description are still vividly traceable. Professor Thiersch, the veteran scholar, who to his classical acquirements adds a profound knowledge of the Greek as now spoken, recited his elegant translation of this chorus, while standing on the hill of Colonus with his son, a distinguished young painter; who afterwards embodied the poet's thought in a very spirited and classical composition. It is very appropriately placed among the artistic and classical treasures of his father's house in Munich. Colonus has acquired an additional and melancholy interest, as the burial-place of Carl Otfried Müller, who died a few years ago in Athens, in consequence of a sun-stroke received while making excavations at Delphi. A nobler scholar has not adorned the literature of the present age, and a more fitting sepulture could not have been found for the editor of the *Eumenides*. — ED.

As a poet Sophocles is universally allowed to have brought the drama to the greatest perfection of which it is susceptible. His plays stand in the just medium between the sublime but unregulated flights of Æschylus, and the too familiar scenes and rhetorical declamations of Euripides. His plots are worked up with more skill and care than the plots of either of his great rivals: that of the *Edipus Tyrannus* in particular is remarkable for its skilful development, and for the manner in which the interest of the piece increases through each succeeding act. Sophocles added the last improvement to the form of the drama by the introduction of a third actor; a change which greatly enlarged the scope of the action. The improvement was so obvious, that it was adopted by Æschylus in his later plays; but the number of three actors seems to have been seldom or never exceeded. Sophocles also made considerable alterations in the choral parts, by curtailing the length of the songs, and by giving the chorus itself the character of an impartial spectator and judge, rather than that of a deeply interested party, which it often assumes in the plays of Æschylus.* 17

§ 6. Euripides was born in the island of Salamis, in B. C. 480, his parents having been among those who fled thither at the time of the invasion of Attica by Xerxes. In early life he practised painting with some success, but he devoted himself with still more earnestness to philosophy and literature. He studied rhetoric under Prodicus, and physics under Anaxagoras, and also lived on intimate terms with Socrates. He is said to have written a tragedy at the age of eighteen; but the first play brought out in his own name was acted in B. C. 455, when he was twenty-five years of age. It was not, however, till 441 that he gained his first prize, and from this time he continued to exhibit plays until B. C. 408, the date of his *Orestes*. Soon after this he repaired to the court of Macedonia, at the invitation of King Archelaüs, where he died two years afterwards at the age of seventy-four (B. C. 406). Common report relates that he was torn to pieces by the king's dogs, which, according to some accounts, were set upon him by two rival poets out of envy.

Euripides received tragedy perfect from the hands of his predecessors, and we do not find that he made any changes in its outward form. But he varied from them considerably in the poetical mode of handling it, and his innovations in this respect were decidedly for the worse. He converted the prologue into a vehicle for the exposition of the whole plot, in which he not only informs the spectator of what has happened up to that moment, but frequently also of what the result or catastrophe will be. In his hands, too, the chorus grew feebler, and its odes less connected with the

* Sophocles is said to have written 117 tragedies, but of these only seven are extant, which are to be ranked, probably, in the following chronological order: the *Antigone*, B. C. 440; *Electra*; *Trachinias*; *Edipus Tyrannus*; *Ajax*; *Philoctetes*, B. C. 408; *Edipus at Colonus*, brought out by the younger Sophocles B. C. 401.

subject of the drama, so that they might frequently belong to any other piece just as well as to the one in which they were inserted. In treating his characters and subjects he often arbitrarily departed from the received legends, and diminished the dignity of tragedy by depriving it of its ideal character, and by bringing it down to the level of every-day life. His dialogue was garrulous and colloquial, wanting in heroic dignity, and frequently frigid through misplaced philosophical disquisitions. Yet in spite of all these faults Euripides has many beauties, and is particularly remarkable for pathos, so that Aristotle calls him "the most tragic of poets." Eighteen of the tragedies of Euripides are still extant, omitting the *Rhesus*, the genuineness of which there are good reasons for doubting. One of them, the *Cyclops*, is particularly interesting as the only extant specimen of the Greek satyric drama.*

§ 7. Comedy was revived at Athens by Chionides and his contemporaries, about B. C. 488; but it received its full development from Cratinus, who lived in the age of Pericles. Cratinus, and his younger contemporaries, Eupolis and Aristophanes, were the three great poets of what is called the *Old Attic Comedy*.† The comedies of Cratinus and Eupolis are lost; but of Aristophanes, who was the greatest of the three, we have eleven dramas extant. Aristophanes was born about 444 B. C. Of his private life we know positively nothing. He exhibited his first comedy in 427, and from that time till near his death, which probably happened about 380, he was a frequent contributor to the Attic stage.‡

The old Attic comedy was a powerful vehicle for the expression of opinion; and most of the comedies of Aristophanes, and those of his contemporaries likewise, turned either upon political occurrences, or upon some subject which excited the interest of the Athenian public. Their chief object was to excite laughter by the boldest and most ludicrous caricature; and provided that end was attained, the poet seems to have cared but little about the justice of the picture. A living historian has well remarked: "Never probably will the full and unshackled force of comedy be so exhibited again. Without having Aristophanes actually before us, it would have been impossible to imagine the unmeasured and unsparing license of attack assumed by the old comedy upon the gods, the institutions, the politicians, philosophers, poets, private citizens, specially named,

* The following is a list of his extant plays: the *Alcestis*, B. C. 438; *Medea*, 431; *Hippolytus*, 428; *Hecuba*, about 424; *Heracleida*, about 421; *Suppliants*, *Ion*, *Hercules Furens*, *Andromache*; *Tronades*, 415; *Electra*; *Helena*, 425; *Iphigenia in Tauris*; *Orestes*, 408; *Phanissa*, *Baccha*, and *Iphigenia in Aulis* were brought out after the death of Euripides by his son, the younger Euripides. The date of the *Cyclops* is quite uncertain.

† Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetæ,

Atque alii quorum comœdia prisca virorum est. — HOR. SAT. I. 4.

‡ The eleven extant dramas are: the *Acharnians*, B. C. 425; *Knights*, 424; *Clouds*, 423; *Wasps*, 422; *Peace*, 419; *Birds*, 414; *Lysistrata*, 411; *Thesmophoriazusæ*, 411; *Plutus*, 408; *Frogs*, 405; *Ecclesiazusæ*, 392.

—and even the women, whose life was entirely domestic,—of Athens. With this universal liberty in respect of subject there is combined a poignancy of derision and satire, a fecundity of imagination and variety of turns, and a richness of poetical expression such as cannot be surpassed, and such as fully explains the admiration expressed for him by the philosopher Plato, who in other respects must have regarded him with unquestionable disapprobation. His comedies are popular in the largest sense of the word, addressed to the entire body of male citizens on a day consecrated to festivity, and providing for their amusement or derision with a sort of drunken abundance, out of all persons or things standing in any way prominent before the public eye.”* In illustration of the preceding remarks we may refer to the *Knights* of Aristophanes, as an example of the boldness of his attacks on one of the leading political characters of the day,—the demagogue Cleon; whilst the *Clouds*, in which Socrates† is held up to ridicule, and the *Thesmophoriazuzæ* and *Frogs*, containing slashing onslaughts on Euripides, show that neither the greatest philosophers nor the most popular poets were secure. Even Pericles himself is now and then bespattered with ridicule, and the aversion of the poet for the Peloponnesian war is shown in many of his dramas. From the nature of his plays it would be absurd, as some have done, to quote them gravely as historical authority; though, with due allowance for comic exaggeration, they no doubt afford a valuable comment on the politics, literature, and manners of the time. Nor can it be doubted that, under all his bantering, Aristophanes often strove to serve the views of the old aristocratical party, of which he was an adherent. The more serious political remarks were commonly introduced into that part of the chorus called the *parabasis*, when, the actors having left the stage, the choreutæ turned round, and, advancing towards the spectators, addressed them in the name of the poet. Towards the end of the career of Aristophanes the unrestricted license and libellous personality of comedy began gradually to disappear. The chorus was first curtailed and then entirely suppressed, and thus made way for what is called the *Middle Comedy*, which had no chorus at all. The *Plutus* of Aristophanes, which contains no political allusions, exhibits an approach to this phase.

An extract from the *Knights* of Aristophanes will give some idea of the unmeasured invective in which the poet indulged. The chorus come upon the stage, and thus commence their attack upon Cleon:—

Close around him, and confound him, the confounder of us all,
Pelt him, pummel him, and maul him; rummage, ransack, overhaul him;
Overbear him and outbawl him; bear him down, and bring him under;
Bellow like a burst of thunder, Robber! harpy! sink of plunder!
Rogue and villain! rogue and cheat! rogue and villain, I repeat!

* *Grote's Hist. of Greece*, Vol. VIII. p. 450.

† Socrates, and through him the Sophists, were the objects of attack in the *Clouds*. — *Ed.*

Often than I can repeat it has the rogue and villain cheated.
 Close around him, left and right; spit upon him, spurn and smite:
 Spit upon him as you see; spurn and spit at him like me.
 But beware, or he 'll evade ye, for he knows the private track
 Where Eucrates was seen escaping with his mill-dust on his back.

Cleon.

Worthy veterans of the jury, you that, either right or wrong,
 With my threepenny provision, I 've maintained and cherished long,
 Come to my aid! I 'm here waylaid, — assassinated and betrayed.

Chorus.

Rightly served! we serve you rightly, for your hungry love of pelf;
 For your gross and greedy rapine, gormandizing by yourself;
 You that, ere the figs are gathered, pilfer with a privy twitch
 Fat delinquents and defaulters, pulpy, luscious, plump, and rich;
 Pinching, fingering, and pulling, tampering, selecting, culling,
 With a nice survey discerning which are green and which are turning,
 Which are ripe for accusation, forfeiture, and confiscation.

Him, besides, the wealthy man, retired upon an easy rent,
 Hating and avoiding party, noble-minded, indolent,
 Fearful of official snares, intrigues, and intricate affairs;
 Him you mark; you fix and hook him, whilst he 's gaping unawares;
 At a fling, at once you bring him hither from the Chersonese,
 Down you cast him, roast and baste him, and devour him at your ease.

Cleon.

Yes! assault, insult, abuse me! this is the return I find
 For the noble testimony, the memorial I designed:
 Meaning to propose proposals for a monument of stone,
 On the which your late achievements should be carved and neatly done.

Chorus.

Out, away with him! the slave! the pompous, empty, fawning knave!
 Does he think with idle speeches to delude and cheat us all?
 As he does the doting elders that attend his daily call.
 Pelt him here, and bang him there; and here and there and everywhere.

Cleon.

Save me, neighbors! O the monsters! O my side, my back, my breast!

Chorus.

What, you 're forced to call for help? you brutal, overbearing pest.*

* Translated by Mr. Frere.

It is not a little remarkable, that most of the schemes of political and social reform which have been discussed of late years were anticipated by Aristophanes, and brought by him upon the comic stage. In the *Ecclesiazusæ* particularly, the doctrine of woman's right to an equal — or rather a superior — share of political power and honor is humorously burlesqued. The women of Athens, discontented with the state of public affairs, and stimulated by the eloquence of a lady who has a violent desire to address the people, are represented as plotting a scheme of revolution, by which the reins of government shall be placed in their hands. Accordingly, after having duly practised speaking in a preliminary meeting, they manage to steal their husband's garments, and, taking their seats very early in the Pnyx, hurry a decree through all the stages of legislation, transferring to the women the supreme power of the state. The destruction of private property, the abolition of marriage, the establishment of a complete system of Socialism, follow in rapid succession. The arguments on which these reforms are defended are precisely such as modern schemers have employed, without having given them the slightest additional force. — Ed.

§ 8. Of the prose-writers of this period, Thucydides is by far the greatest. Herodotus, who belongs to the same period, and who was only a few years older than Thucydides, has been noticed in a previous chapter.

Thucydides was an Athenian, and was born in the year 471 B. C. His father was named Olorus, and his mother Hegesipylé, and his family was connected with that of Miltiades and Cimon. Thucydides appears to have been a man of wealth; and we know from his own account that he possessed gold mines in Thrace, and enjoyed great influence in that country. We also learn from himself that he was one of the sufferers from the great plague at Athens, and among the few who recovered. He commanded an Athenian squadron of seven ships at Thasos, in 424 B. C., at the time when Brasidas was besieging Amphipolis; and having failed to relieve that city in time, he went into a voluntary exile, in order probably to avoid the punishment of death. He appears to have spent twenty years in banishment, principally in the Peloponnesus, or in places under the dominion or influence of Sparta. He perhaps returned to Athens in B. C. 403, the date of its liberation by Thrasybulus. According to the unanimous testimony of antiquity he met with a violent end, and it seems probable that he was assassinated at Athens, since it cannot be doubted that his tomb existed there; but some authorities place the scene of his death in Thrace. From the beginning of the Peloponnesian war he had designed to write its history, and he employed himself in collecting materials for that purpose during its continuance; but it is most likely that the work was not actually composed till after the conclusion of the war, and that he was engaged upon it at the time of his death. Some critics are even of opinion that the eighth and concluding book is not from his hand; but there seems to be little ground for this assumption, though he may not have revised it with the same care as the former books.

Such are all the authentic particulars that can be stated respecting the greatest of the Athenian historians. It is only necessary to add a short account of his work. The first book is introductory, and contains a rapid sketch of Grecian history from the remotest times to the breaking out of the war, accompanied with an explanation of the events and causes which led to it, and a digression on the rise and progress of the Athenian power. The remaining seven books are filled with the details of the war, related according to the division into summers and winters, into which all campaigns naturally fall; and the work breaks off abruptly in the middle of the twenty-first year of the war (B. C. 411). It is probable that the division of his history into books was the work of the Alexandrine critics, and that as it came from the hands of the author it formed a continuous narrative. The materials of Thucydides were collected with the most scrupulous care; the events are related with the strictest impartiality; and the work probably offers a more exact account of a long and eventful period

than any other contemporary history, whether ancient or modern, of an equally long and important era. The style of Thucydides is brief and sententious, and whether in moral or political reasoning, or in description, gains wonderful force from its condensation. It is this brevity and simplicity that renders his account of the plague of Athens so striking and tragic. But this characteristic is sometimes carried to a faulty extent, so as to render his style harsh, and his meaning obscure.

§ 9. Xenophon properly belongs to the next period of Grecian history; but the subject of the earlier portion of his History is so intimately connected with the work of Thucydides, that it will be more convenient to speak of him in the present place. Xenophon was the son of Gryllus, an Athenian, and was probably born about B. C. 444. Socrates is said to have saved his life in the battle of Delium, which was fought in B. C. 424, and as we know that he lived to a much later period, he could hardly have been more than twenty at the time of this battle. Xenophon was a pupil of Socrates, and we are also told that he received instructions from Prodicus of Ceos, and from Isocrates. His accompanying Cyrus the younger in his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, king of Persia, formed a striking episode in his life, and has been recorded by himself in his *Anabasis*; but as we shall have occasion to relate this event in our next book, we need not touch upon it here. He seems to have been still in Asia at the time of the death of Socrates in 399 B. C., and was probably banished from Athens soon after that period, in consequence of his close connection with the Lacedæmonian authorities in Asia. He accompanied Agesilaus, the Spartan king, on the return of the latter from Asia to Greece; and he fought along with the Lacedæmonians against his own countrymen at the battle of Coronæa in 394 B. C. After this battle he went with Agesilaus to Sparta, and soon afterwards settled at Scillus in Elis, near Olympia, where he was joined by his wife and children. His time seems to have been agreeably spent at this residence in hunting, and other rural diversions, as well as in literary pursuits; and he is said to have composed here his *Anabasis*, and a part, if not the whole, of the *Hellenica*. From this quiet retreat he was at length expelled by the Eleans, but at what date is uncertain; though he seems at all events to have spent at least twenty years at this place. His sentence of banishment from Athens was repealed on the motion of Eubulus, but in what year we do not know. His two sons, Gryllus and Diodorus, are said to have fought with the Athenians and Spartans against the Thebans, at the battle of Mantinæa in 362. There is, however, no evidence that Xenophon ever returned to Athens. He seems to have retired to Corinth after his expulsion from Elis, and it is probable that he died there. He is said to have lived to more than ninety years of age, and he mentions an event which occurred as late as 357 B. C.

Probably all the works of Xenophon are still extant. The *Anabasis*

is the work on which his fame as an historian chiefly rests. It is written in a simple and agreeable style, and conveys much curious and striking information. The *Hellenica* is a continuation of the history of Thucydides, and comprehends in seven books a space of about forty-eight years; namely, from the time when Thucydides breaks off, B. C. 411, to the battle of Mantinea in 362. The subject is treated in a very dry and uninteresting style; and his evident partiality to Sparta, and dislike of Athens, have frequently warped his judgment, and must cause his statements to be received with some suspicion. The *Cyropædia*, one of the most pleasing and popular of Xenophon's works, professes to be a history of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, but is in reality a kind of political romance, and possesses no authority whatever as an historical work. The design of the author seems to have been to draw a picture of a perfect state; and though the scene is laid in Persia, the materials of the work are derived from his own philosophical notions and the usages of Sparta, engrafted on the popularly current stories respecting Cyrus. Xenophon displays in this work his dislike of democratic institutions like those of Athens, and his preference for an aristocracy, or even a monarchy. Xenophon was also the author of several minor works; but the only other treatise which we need mention is the *Memorabilia* of Socrates, in four books, intended as a defence of his master against the charges which occasioned his death, and which undoubtedly contains a genuine picture of Socrates and his philosophy. The genius of Xenophon was not of the highest order; it was practical rather than speculative; but he is distinguished for his good sense, his moderate views, his humane temper, and his earnest piety.

§ 10. In closing this brief survey of Athenian literature, it is necessary to make a few remarks upon Athenian education, and upon the greatest teacher of his age, — the philosopher Socrates.

A certain amount of elementary education seems to have prevailed among the free citizens of all the Grecian states at the time of which we are speaking. Instruction was usually imparted in schools. The *Pædagogue*, or private tutor, was not a teacher; he was seldom a man of much knowledge, — often indeed a slave, — and his office was merely to watch over his pupils in their idle hours, and on their way to the schools. When a youth could read with fluency, he was set to learn by heart passages selected from the best poets, in which moral precepts and examples of virtuous conduct were inculcated and exhibited. The works of *Æsop* and *Theognis* were much used for this purpose. He was then taught those accomplishments which the Greeks included under the comprehensive head of "music," and which comprised not only the art of playing on the lyre, and of singing and dancing, so as to enable him to bear a part in a chorus, but also to recite poetical compositions with grace and propriety of accent and pronunciation. At the same time his physical powers were developed and strengthened by a course of gymnastic exercises. At the age of

eighteen or twenty the sons of the more wealthy citizens attended the classes of the rhetors and sophists who gave their lectures in the Lycæum, Academy, or other similar institutions; a course somewhat analogous to entering a university in our own times. Here the young man studied rhetoric and philosophy; under which heads were included mathematics, astronomy, dialectics, oratory, criticism, and morals.

§ 11. It will be perceived from the above sketch that the rhetor and sophist — whose provinces were often combined, and are generally difficult to distinguish with accuracy — played the most important part in the formation of the future man. They gave the last bias to his mind, and sent him forth into the world with habits of thought which in after life he would perhaps have neither the leisure nor the inclination to alter, or even to examine. Most of the young men who attended their lectures had little more in view than to become qualified for taking a *practical* part in active life. The democratical institutions which had begun to prevail in Athens, Sicily, and other parts of Greece during the fifth century before the Christian era, and which often obliged a public man to confute an adversary, to defend himself from an attack, or to persuade a public assembly, rendered it necessary for him to obtain some knowledge of rhetoric and dialectics. It was for this purpose that the schools of the rhetors and sophists were frequented by the great mass of their hearers, without, perhaps, much care for their speculative principles, except so far as they might serve as exercises to sharpen dialectic skill. Among the most eminent of these teachers in the time of Socrates were Protagoras of Abdéra, Gorgias of Leontini, Polus of Agrigentum, Hippias of Elis, Prodicus of Ceos, and others. As rhetorical instructors they may be compared with Isocrates or Quintilian; but, generally speaking, there was more or less of philosophical speculation mixed up with their teaching.

The name of "Sophist" borne by these men had not originally that invidious meaning which it came to possess in later times. In its early use it meant only a *wise* or a *clever* man. Thus it was applied to the seven sages, and to the poets, such as Homer and Hesiod; men as far removed as possible from the notion implied in the modern term *sophist*. The word seems to have retained its honorable meaning down to the time of Socrates; but Plato and Xenophon began to use it in a depreciatory sense, and as a term of reproach. Whenever they wished to speak of a truly wise man, they preferred the word "philosopher." It may therefore be inferred that the name of "Sophist" began to fall into contempt through the teaching of Socrates, more especially as we find that Socrates himself shrank from the name.

§ 12. But the relation of Socrates to the Sophists will be best shown by a brief account of his life.

Socrates was born in the year 468 B. C., in the deme of Alopécé, in the immediate neighborhood of Athens. His father, Sophroniscus, was a

sculptor, and Socrates was brought up to, and for some time practised, the same profession. A group of the Charites or Graces, from his chisel, was preserved in the Acropolis of Athens, and was extant in the time of Pausanias. His mother, Phænarété, was a midwife. Thus his station in life was humble, but his family was of genuine Attic descent. He was married to Xanthippé, by whom he had three sons; but her bad temper has rendered her name proverbial for a conjugal scold. His physical constitution was healthy, robust, and wonderfully enduring. Indifferent alike to heat and cold, the same scanty and homely clothing sufficed him both in summer and winter; and even in the campaign of Potidæa, amidst the snows of a Thracian winter, he went barefooted. He was moderate and frugal in his diet, yet on occasions of festival could drink more wine than any other man without being intoxicated. It was a principle with him to contract his wants as much as possible; for he had a maxim, that to want nothing belonged only to the gods, and to want as little as possible was the nearest approach to the divine nature. But though thus gifted with strength of body and of mind, he was far from being endowed with personal beauty. His thick lips, flat nose, and prominent eyes gave him the appearance of a Silenus, or satyr. We know but few particulars of his life. He served with credit as an hoplite at Potidæa (B. C. 432), Delium (B. C. 424), and Amphipolis (B. C. 422); but it was not till late in life, in the year 406 B. C., that he filled any political office. He was one of the Prytanes when, after the battle of Arginusæ, Callixenus submitted his proposition respecting the six generals to the public assembly, and his refusal on that occasion to put an unconstitutional question to the vote has been already recorded.* He had a strong persuasion that he was intrusted with a divine mission, and he believed himself to be attended by a demon or genius, whose admonitions he frequently heard, not, however, in the way of excitement but of restraint. He never *wrote* anything, but he made oral instruction the great business of his life. Early in the morning he frequented the public walks, the gymnasia, and the schools; whence he adjourned to the market-place at its most crowded hours, and thus spent the whole day in conversing with young and old, rich and poor, — with all in short who felt any desire for his instructions. There was, however, a certain set of persons who were in the habit of following him to hear his conversation, and these became known as his disciples.

From this public manner of life, he became one of the best-known characters in Athens, and this circumstance was probably the reason why he was selected for attack, as the representative of the Sophists in general, by Aristophanes and the comic poets. But the picture of Aristophanes shows that he either did not know, or was not solicitous about, the real

* See p. 342.

objects and pursuits of Socrates: his only object seems to have been to raise a laugh. The dramatist represents Socrates as occupied with physical researches. But though in early life Socrates had paid some attention to natural philosophy, he soon abandoned the study in disgust, from reading a treatise of Anaxagoras, in which he found that the philosopher's hypotheses were not sustained by any basis of reasoning. This led Socrates to turn his attention to dialectics. In this pursuit there can be little doubt that he derived great assistance from the Eleatic school of philosophers, especially Parmenides and Zeno, who visited Athens when Socrates was a young man. He seems to have borrowed from the Eleatics his *negative* method; namely, that of disproving and upsetting what is advanced by a disputant, as a means of unmasking not only falsehood, but also assertion without authority, yet without attempting to establish anything in its place.

§ 13. We are now in a condition to see in what points Socrates differed from the ordinary teachers or Sophists of the time. They were these: 1. He taught without fee or reward, and communicated his instructions freely to high and low, rich and poor alike. 2. He did not talk for mere vain show and ostentation, but for the sake of gaining clear and distinct ideas, and thus advancing both himself and others in real knowledge. It was with this view that he had abandoned physics, which, in the manner in which they were then taught, were founded merely on guesses and conjectures, and had applied himself to the study of his fellow-men, which opened a surer field of observation. And in order to arrive at clear ideas on moral subjects, he was the first to employ *definition* and *inference*, and thus confine the discourse to the eliciting of truth, instead of making it the vehicle for empty display. A contrary practice on these two points is what constituted the difference between Socrates and the Sophists.

The teaching of Socrates forms an epoch in the history of philosophy. From his school sprang Plato, the founder of the Academic philosophy; Eucleides, the founder of the Megaric school; Aristippus, the founder of the Cyrenaic school; and many other philosophers of eminence.

§ 14. That a reformer and destroyer, like Socrates, of ancient prejudices and fallacies which passed current under the name of wisdom should have raised up a host of enemies, is only what might be expected; but in his case this feeling was increased by the manner in which he fulfilled his mission. The oracle of Delphi, in response to a question put by his friend Chærephon, had affirmed that no man was wiser than Socrates. No one was more perplexed at this declaration than Socrates himself, since he was conscious to himself of possessing no wisdom at all. However, he determined to test the accuracy of the priestess, for though he had little wisdom, others might have still less. He therefore selected an eminent politician who enjoyed a high reputation for wisdom, and soon elicited, by his scrutinizing method of cross-examination, that this statesman's reputed

wisdom was no wisdom at all. But of this he could not convince the subject of his examination; whence Socrates concluded that he was wiser than this politician, inasmuch as he was conscious of his own ignorance, and therefore exempt from the error of believing himself wise when in reality he was not so. The same experiment was tried, with the same result, on various classes of men; on poets, mechanics, and especially on the rhetors and sophists, the chief of all the pretenders to wisdom.

§ 15. The first indication of the unpopularity which Socrates had incurred is the attack made upon him by Aristophanes in the "Clouds," in the year 423 B. C. That attack, however, seems to have evaporated with the laugh, and for many years Socrates continued his teaching without molestation. It was not till B. C. 399 that the indictment was preferred against him which cost him his life. In that year, Meletus, a leather-seller, seconded by Anytus, a poet, and Lycon, a rhetor, accused him of impiety in not worshipping the gods of the city, and in introducing new deities, and also of being a corrupter of youth. With respect to the latter charge, his former intimacy with Alcibiades and Critias may have weighed against him. Socrates made no preparations for his defence, and seems, indeed, not to have desired an acquittal. But although he addressed the dicasts in a bold, uncompromising tone, he was condemned only by a small majority of five or six, in a court composed of between five and six hundred dicasts. After the verdict was pronounced, he was entitled, according to the practice of the Athenian courts, to make some counter-proposition in place of the penalty of death, which the accusers had demanded, and if he had done so with any show of submission it is probable that the sentence would have been mitigated. But his tone after the verdict was higher than before. All that he could be brought to propose against himself by way of punishment was a fine of thirty *minæ*, which Plato and other friends engaged to pay for him. Instead of a fine, he asserted that he ought to be maintained in the Prytanæum at the public expense, as a public benefactor. This tone seems to have enraged the dicasts, and he was condemned to death.

It happened that the vessel which proceeded to Delos on the annual deputation to the festival had sailed the day before his condemnation; and during its absence it was unlawful to put any one to death. Socrates was thus kept in prison during thirty days, till the return of the vessel. He spent the interval in philosophical conversations with his friends. Crito, one of these, arranged a scheme for his escape by bribing the gaoler; but Socrates, as might be expected from the tone of his defence, resolutely refused to save his life by a breach of the law. His last discourse, on the day of his death, turned on the immortality of the soul, and has been recorded, and probably embellished, in the *Phædo* of Plato. With a firm and cheerful countenance he drank the cup of hemlock amidst his sorrowing and weeping friends. His last words were addressed to Crito:—

"Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius; * discharge the debt, and by no means omit it."

Thus perished the greatest and most original of the Grecian philosophers, whose uninspired wisdom made the nearest approach to the divine morality of the Gospel.†

* In allusion to the sacrifice usually offered by sick persons to that deity on their recovery.

† It is very remarkable that Socrates, if we may rely upon the account Plato gives of the conversations held in the prison, during the last two days of his life, inculcates the doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries, as one which would not be assented to at that time, but which was nevertheless to him a truth. — Ed.



Bust of Socrates.



The Pactolus at Sardis.

BOOK V.

THE SPARTAN AND THEBAN SUPREMACIES.

B. C. 403 – 371.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE EXPEDITION OF THE GREEKS UNDER CYRUS, AND RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND.

§ 1. Causes of the Expedition. § 2. Cyrus engages an Army of Greek Mercenaries. Their Character. § 3. March to Tarsus. § 4. Discontent of the Greeks. March to Myriandrus. § 5. Passage of the Euphrates, and March through the Desert. § 6. Battle of Cunaxa, and Death of Cyrus. § 7. Dismay of the Greeks. Preparations for Retreat. § 8. Retreat of the Army to the Greater Zab. Seizure of the Generals. § 9. Election of Xenophon and others as Generals. § 10. March from the Zab to the Confines of the Carduchi. March across the Mountains of the Carduchi. § 11. Progress through Armenia. § 12. March through the Country of the Taochi, Chalybes, Scythini, Macrones, and Colchi to Trapezus on the Euxine. § 13. March along the Coast of the Euxine to Chrysopolis. Passage to Byzantium. § 14. Proceedings at Byzantium. § 15. The Greeks enter the Service of Seuthes. § 16. Are engaged by the Lacedæmonians. Last Exploits of the Army, and Retirement of Xenophon.

§ 1. THE intervention of Cyrus in the affairs of Greece, related in the preceding book, led to a remarkable episode in Grecian history, which

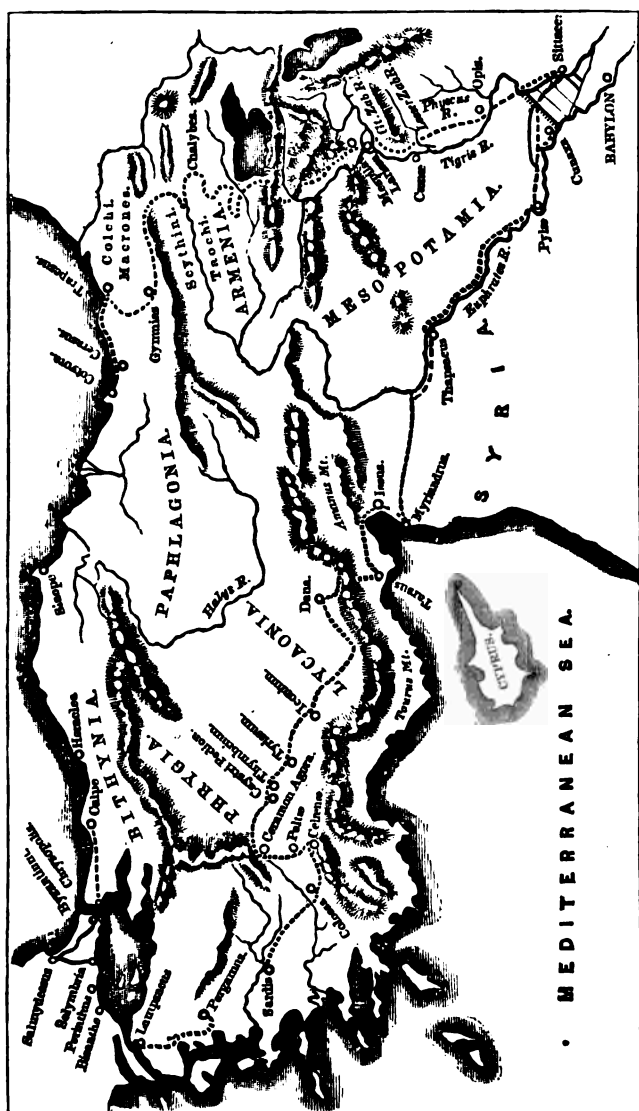
strongly illustrates the contrast between the Greeks and Asiatics. This was the celebrated expedition of Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes, in which the superiority of Grecian to Asiatic soldiers was so strikingly shown. It was the first symptom of the repulsion of the tide of conquest, which had in former times flowed from east to west, and the harbinger of those future victorious expeditions into Asia which were to be conducted by Agesilaus and Alexander the Great.

It has been already mentioned, in the account of the death of Alcibiades, that Cyrus was forming designs against the throne of his brother Artaxerxes. The death of their father, Darius Nothus, took place about the beginning of the year B. C. 404, shortly before the battle of Ægospotami. Cyrus, who was present at his father's death, was charged by Tissaphernes with plotting against the new monarch. The accusation was believed by Artaxerxes, who seized his brother, and would have put him to death, but for the intercession of their mother, Parysatis, who persuaded him not only to spare Cyrus, but to confirm him in his former government. Cyrus returned to Sardis, burning with revenge, and fully resolved to make an effort to dethrone his brother.

§ 2. From his intercourse with the Greeks Cyrus had become aware of their superiority to the Asiatics, and of their usefulness in such an enterprise as he now contemplated. The peace which followed the capture of Athens seemed favorable to his projects. Many Greeks, bred up in the practice of war during the long struggle between that city and Sparta, were now deprived of their employment, whilst many more had been driven into exile by the establishment of the Spartan oligarchies in the various conquered cities. Under the pretence of a private war with the satrap Tissaphernes, Cyrus enlisted large numbers of them in his service. The Greek in whom he placed most confidence, and who collected for him the largest number of mercenaries, was Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian, and formerly harmost of Byzantium, who had been condemned to death by the Spartan authorities for disobedience to their orders.

It was not, however, till the beginning of the year B. C. 401, that the enterprise of Cyrus was ripe for execution. The Greek levies were then withdrawn from the various towns in which they were distributed, and concentrated in Sardis, to the number of seven thousand seven hundred hoplites, and five hundred light-armed troops; and in March or April of this year Cyrus marched from Sardis with them, and with an army of one hundred thousand Asiatics. The object of the expedition was proclaimed to be an attack upon the mountain-freebooters of Pisidia; its real destination was a secret to every one except Cyrus himself and Clearchus.

The Greeks who took part in this expedition were not mere adventurers and outcasts; many of them had some position in their own cities, and several were even opulent. Yet the hope of gain, founded on the



Route of the Ten Thousand.

riches of Persia, and on the known liberality of Cyrus, was the motive which allured them. Among them was Xenophon, an Athenian knight, to whom we owe a narrative of the expedition. He went as a volunteer, at the invitation of his friend Proxenus, a Boeotian, and one of the generals of Cyrus.

§ 3. The march of Cyrus was directed through Lydia and Phrygia. After passing Colossæ he arrived at Celænæ, where he halted thirty days to await the arrival of Clearchus with the reserves and reinforcements. The grand total of the Greeks, when reviewed here by Cyrus, amounted to eleven thousand hoplites and two thousand peltasts. The line of march, which had been hitherto straight upon Pisidia, was now directed northwards. Cyrus passed in succession the Phrygian towns of Peltæ, Cera-mon Agora, the Plain of Caÿster, Thymbrium, and Tyriæum. At the last of these places he was met by Epyaxa, wife of Syennesis, the hereditary prince of Cilicia. Epyaxa supplied him with money enough to furnish four months' pay to the Greeks, who had previously been murmuring at the irregularity with which they received their stipend. A review was then held, in which the Greeks, in their best array, and with newly-furnished shields and armor, went through their evolutions, and executed a mock charge with such effect that Epyaxa jumped out of her palanquin and fled in affright, followed by a great part of the Asiatics. Cyrus was delighted at seeing the terror which the Greeks inspired.

From Tyriæum Cyrus marched to Iconium (now Konieh), the last city in Phrygia, and from thence through Lycaonia to Dana, south of which lay the pass across Mount Taurus into Cilicia. This pass, called the *Gates of Taurus*, or the *Cilician Gates*, was occupied by Syennesis. But the resistance of that prince, who was a vassal of the Persian crown, was in fact a mere feint. He had already, as we have seen, supplied Cyrus with money through his wife; and he now abandoned his impregnable position, and retired first to Tarsus, and thence to an inaccessible fortress in the mountains. But when Cyrus arrived at Tarsus, Syennesis, at the first invitation of his wife, repaired thither, and furnished the young prince with a supply of money and a contingent of troops for his expedition.

§ 4. Pisidia had now been passed, and the Greeks plainly saw that they had been deceived, and that the expedition was designed against the Persian king. Seized with alarm at the prospect of so long a march, they declared their resolution to proceed no farther. But they had already advanced so far that to retreat seemed as difficult and dangerous as to advance; and, after considerable hesitation and delay, they sent a deputation to Cyrus to ask him what his real intentions were. Cyrus replied that his design was to march against his enemy, Abrocomas, satrap of Syria, who was encamped on the banks of the Euphrates. The Greeks, though they still suspected a delusion, contented themselves with this answer in the face of their present difficulties, especially as Cyrus promised to raise their pay from one daric to one daric and a half a month. The whole army then marched forwards to Issus, the last town in Cilicia, seated on the gulf of the same name. Here they met the fleet, which brought them a reinforcement of eleven hundred Greek soldiers, thus raising the Grecian force to about fourteen thousand men.

Abrocomas, who commanded for the Great King in Syria and Phœnicia, alarmed at the rapid progress of Cyrus, fled before him with all his army, reported as three hundred thousand strong; abandoning the impregnable pass situated one day's march from Issus, and known as the Gates of Cilicia and Syria. This pass was a narrow road, nearly half a mile in length, lying between the sea and Mount Amanus, and inclosed at either end by gates. Marching in safety through this pass, the army next reached Myriandrus, a sea-port of Phœnicia, where the Grecian generals Xenias and Pasion deserted, and hired a merchant-vessel to convey them home. Cyrus might easily have captured them with his triremes, but declined to do so;—conduct which won for him the confidence and love of the army.

§ 5. Cyrus now struck off into the interior, over Mount Amanus. Twelve days' march brought him to Thapsacus on the Euphrates, where for the first time he formally notified to the army that he was marching to Babylon against his brother Artaxerxes. At this intelligence loud murmurs again broke forth from the Grecian ranks, and accusations against the generals of having deceived them. The discontent, however, was by no means so violent as that which had been manifested at Tarsus. The real object of the march had evidently been suspected beforehand by the soldiers, and the promise of a large donative soon induced them to proceed. The water happened to be very low, scarcely reaching to the breast; and Abrocomas made no attempt to dispute the passage. The army now entered upon the desert, where the Greeks were struck with the novel sights which met their view, and at once amused and exhausted themselves in the chase of the wild ass and the antelope, or in the vain pursuit of the scudding ostrich. After several days of toilsome march, the army at length reached Pylæ, the entrance into the cultivated plains of Babylonia, where they halted a few days to refresh themselves.

§ 6. Soon after leaving that place symptoms became perceptible of a vast hostile force moving in their front. The exaggerated reports of deserters stated it at one million two hundred thousand men; its real strength was about nine hundred thousand. In a characteristic address Cyrus exhorted the Greeks to take no heed of the multitude of their enemies; they would find in them, he affirmed, nothing but numbers and noise, and if they could bring themselves to despise these, they would soon find of what worthless stuff the natives were composed. The army then marched cautiously forwards, in order of battle, along the left bank of the Euphrates. They soon came upon a huge trench, thirty feet broad and eighteen deep, which Artaxerxes had caused to be dug across the plain for a length of about forty-two English miles, reaching from the Euphrates to the wall of Media. Between it and the river was left only a narrow passage about twenty feet broad; yet Cyrus and his army found with surprise that this pass was left entirely undefended. This circumstance inspired them with

a contempt of the enemy, and induced them to proceed in careless array; but on the next day but one after passing the trench, on arriving at a place called Cunaxa, they were surprised with the intelligence that Artaxerxes was approaching with all his forces. Cyrus immediately drew up his army in order of battle. The Greeks were posted on the right, while Cyrus himself, surrounded by a picked body-guard of six hundred Persian cuirassiers, took up his station in the centre. It was long, however, before the army of the Great King appeared in sight. A white cloud of dust in the extreme distance gave the first indication of their approach. Out of this an undefined and ominous dark spot began gradually to emerge; presently arms and armor glanced in the sunbeams; and at length the whole array of the enemy became discernible, advancing in dense and threatening masses. On their left wing, and consequently opposed to the Greeks appeared Tissaphernes, at the head of the Persian horsemen, with white cuirasses; on his right the Persian bowmen with their *gerrha*, or light wicker shields, which they planted in the ground, and from behind them shot their arrows; next, the array of the Egyptian infantry, whose long wooden shields covered their whole body from head to foot. In front was a line of chariots, having scythes attached to the wheels, and which were to lead the charge. The Persian line was so vast that its centre extended beyond the left of Cyrus. Before the battle began Cyrus desired Clearchus to attack the Persian centre, where the king in person was posted. But Clearchus, whose right rested on the river, cared not to withdraw from that position, lest he should be surrounded by the superior numbers of the enemy, and therefore returned a general answer that he would manage everything for the best. His over-precaution occasioned the defeat and death of Cyrus. When the enemy were about half a mile distant the Greeks charged them with the usual war-shout. The Persians did not await their onset, but turned and fled. Tissaphernes and his cavalry alone offered any resistance; the remainder of the Persian left was routed without a blow. As Cyrus was contemplating the easy victory of the Greeks, his followers surrounded him, and already saluted him with the title of king. But the centre and right of Artaxerxes still remained unbroken; and that monarch, unaware of the defeat of his left wing, ordered the right to wheel and encompass the army of Cyrus. No sooner did Cyrus perceive this movement than with his body-guard he impetuously charged the enemy's centre, where Artaxerxes himself stood, surrounded with six thousand horse. The latter were routed and dispersed, and were followed so eagerly by the guards of Cyrus, that he was left almost alone with the select few called his "Table Companions." In this situation he caught sight of his brother Artaxerxes, whose person was revealed by the flight of his troops, when, maddened at once by rage and ambition, he shouted out, "I see the man!" and rushed at him with his handful of companions. Hurling his javelin at his brother, he wounded him in the breast,

but was himself speedily overborne by superior numbers and slain on the spot.

§ 7. Meanwhile, Clearchus had pursued the flying enemy upwards of three miles; but hearing that the king's troops were victorious on the left and centre, he retraced his steps, again routing the Persians who endeavored to intercept him. When the Greeks regained their camp they found that it had been completely plundered, and were consequently obliged to go supperless to rest. It was not till the following day that they learned the death of Cyrus; tidings which converted their triumph into sorrow and dismay. A Greek in the service of Artaxerxes now appeared in their camp, with a message requiring them to lay down their arms. "If the king," replied the Grecian generals, "thinks himself strong enough, let him come and take them." But they were in a difficult position. They were desirous that Ariæus, who now commanded the army of Cyrus, should lay claim to the Persian crown, and offered to support his pretensions; but Ariæus answered that the Persian grandees would not tolerate such a claim; that he intended immediately to retreat; and that if the Greeks wished to accompany him, they must join him during the following night. This was accordingly done; when oaths of reciprocal fidelity were interchanged between the Grecian generals and Ariæus, and sanctified by a solemn sacrifice.

The difficult question now arose how their retreat was to be conducted. They were nearly fifteen hundred miles from Sardis, and were to find their own way back, without guides, and by a new route, since the former one was impracticable on account of the desert and the want of provisions. Moreover, though they might easily defy the Persian infantry, however numerous, yet the Persian cavalry, ever hovering on their rear, would prove a formidable obstacle to their retreat. They commenced their march eastwards towards some Babylonian villages, where they hoped to find supplies; but on reaching them at the end of a long day's march, they found that they had been plundered, and that no provisions were to be obtained.

On the following day a message arrived from the Persian king, with a proposal to treat for peace on equal terms. Clearchus affected to treat the offer with great indifference, and made it an opportunity for procuring provisions. "Tell your king," said he to the envoys, "that we must first fight; for we have had no breakfast, nor will any man presume to talk to the Greeks about a truce, without first providing for them a breakfast." This was agreed to, and guides were sent to conduct the Greeks to some villages where they might obtain food. In these all the riches of Babylon were spread before them. Corn in vast abundance, dates of such size and flavor as they had never before seen, wine made from the date palm; in short, luxury and abundance in place of their late scanty fare and privations. Whilst they were enjoying these quarters, they received a visit

from Tissaphernes, who came in great state. He pretended much friendship towards them, and said that he had come from the Great King to inquire the reason of their expedition. Clearchus replied — what was indeed true of the greater part of the army — that they had not come thither with any design to attack the king, but had been enticed forwards by Cyrus under false pretences; that their only desire at present was to return home; but that if any obstacle was offered, they were prepared to repel hostilities. In a day or two Tissaphernes returned, and with some parade stated that he had with great difficulty obtained permission *to save* the Greek army; that he was ready to conduct them in person into Greece, and to supply them with provisions, for which, however, they were to pay; but if he failed to supply them, then they were to be at liberty to help themselves. An agreement was accordingly entered into to this effect.

Artaxerxes, indeed, seems to have been heartily desirous of getting rid of them. They were now within ninety miles of Babylon, a rich country intersected by canals, and easily defensible against cavalry. But a painful interval of twenty days ensued, during which Tissaphernes neglected to return; whilst at the same time the suspicions of the Greeks were excited by the friendly messages which Ariæus received from Artaxerxes, with promises of oblivion and forgiveness of his past conduct. At length, however, Tissaphernes returned, and undertook the direction of the homeward march.

§ 8. The troops of Ariæus were now mingled with those of Tissaphernes, whilst the Greeks followed the combined army at a distance of three miles. In three days' march they reached the wall of Media, and passed through it. This wall was one hundred feet high and twenty feet broad, and was said to extend a distance of seventy miles. Two days more brought them to the Tigris, which they crossed on the following morning by a bridge of boats. They then marched northward, arriving in four days at the river Phycus and a large city called Opis. Six days' further march through a deserted part of Media brought them to some villages belonging to Queen Parysatis, which, out of enmity to her as the patron of Cyrus, Tissaphernes abandoned to be plundered by the Greeks. From thence they proceeded in five days to the river Zabatus, or Greater Zab, having previously crossed the Lesser Zab, which Xenophon neglects to mention. In the first of these five days they saw on the opposite side of the Tigris a large city called Cænæ, the inhabitants of which brought over provisions to them. At the Greater Zab they halted three days. Mistrust, and even slight hostilities, had been already manifested between the Greeks and Persians, but they now became so serious, that Clearchus demanded an interview with Tissaphernes. The latter protested the greatest fidelity and friendship towards the Greeks, and promised to deliver to the Greek generals, on the following day, the calumniators who had set the two armies at variance. But when Clearchus, with four other

generals, accompanied by some lochages, or captains, and two hundred soldiers, entered the Persian camp, according to appointment, the captains and soldiers were immediately cut down; whilst the five generals were seized, put into irons, and sent to the Persian court. After a short imprisonment, four of them were beheaded; the fifth, Menon, who pretended that he had betrayed his colleagues into the hands of Tissaphernes, was at first spared; but after a year's detention was put to death with tortures.

This scene naturally produced a commotion in the Persian camp; and the Greeks, who observed it from afar, warned by one of the companions of the generals, who came running wounded towards them, rushed to arms in expectation of a general attack. None, however, followed; but Ariæus rode up at the head of three hundred horse, and, relating to the Greeks the fate of their generals, called upon them to surrender.

§ 9. It seems to have been the opinion of the Persians, that under these circumstances the Greeks would feel themselves completely helpless; but some of the Greek officers stepped forward and dismissed Ariæus with indignant reproaches. Yet apprehension and dismay reigned among the Greeks. Their situation was, indeed, appalling. They were considerably more than a thousand miles from home, in a hostile and unknown country, hemmed in on all sides by impassable rivers and mountains, without generals, without guides, without provisions. Despair seemed to have seized on all. Leaving their watch-fires unlighted and their suppers uncooked, they threw themselves on the ground, not to sleep, but to ruminate on their forlorn condition. Xenophon slumbered, indeed, but his fancy was filled with the images naturally conjured up by his desperate situation. He dreamed that a thunderbolt had struck his paternal house, and enveloped it in flames. This partly favorable and partly unfavorable omen indicated at all events a message from Zeus; and the superstition which formed so marked a trait in his character led him to consider it as a warning to rise and bestir himself. He immediately got up, and, calling an assembly of the captains, impressed upon them the danger of their position, and the necessity for taking immediate precautions. Xenophon, though young, possessed as an Athenian citizen some claim to distinction; and his animated address showed him fitted for command. He was saluted general on the spot; and in a subsequent assembly was, with four others, formally elected to that office.

§ 10. The Greeks, having first destroyed their superfluous baggage, crossed the Greater Zab, and pursued their march on the other bank. Tissaphernes preceded them with his host, but without daring to dispute their passage or molest their route; though some cavalry, under Mithridates, annoyed the rear-guard with their missiles. In order to meet this species of attack, a small body of fifty horse and two hundred Rhodian slingers was organized. It was found highly useful, as the leaden bullets of the Rhodians carried farther than the stones of the Persian slingers.

Another day's march brought the Greeks to the Tigris, near the deserted city of Larissa, seven miles in circumference, with walls twenty-five feet thick and one hundred feet high. Pursuing the course of the Tigris, they arrived on the following day at Mespila, another deserted city. It was in this neighborhood that Nineveh was situated, and, according to a modern theory, the two were both formerly comprised under the name of Nineveh. Larissa seems to be represented by the mound now called *Nimroud*, and Mespila by that of *Kouyunjik*, opposite the modern town of Mosul.

The march from Mespila to the mountainous country of the Carduchi occupied several days, in which the Greeks suffered much from the attacks of the enemy.

§ 11. Their future route was now a matter of serious perplexity. On their left lay the Tigris, so deep that they could not fathom it with their spears; while in their front rose the steep and lofty mountains of the Carduchi, which came so near the river as hardly to leave a passage for its waters. A Rhodian soldier proposed to transport the army across the Tigris by means of inflated skins; but the appearance of large masses of the enemy's cavalry on the opposite bank rendered this ingenious scheme impracticable. As all other roads seemed barred, they formed the resolution of striking into the mountains of the Carduchi,—a tribe of fierce and warlike highlanders, who, though surrounded on all sides by the dominions of the Persian king, had succeeded in maintaining their independence. On the farther side of these mountains lay Armenia, where both the Tigris and the Euphrates might be forded near their sources. The Greeks found the first mountain-pass undefended, and descended thence into some villages; but all their attempts to conciliate the inhabitants proved unavailing. Every pass was disputed. Sometimes huge rocks were hurled down on the defiling army; sometimes they were attacked by the Carduchian slingers and bowmen. The latter were of extraordinary skill, and their bows and arrows of such strength as to pierce the shields and corslets, and even the brazen helmets, of the Greeks. After a difficult and dangerous march of seven days, during which their sufferings were far greater than any they had experienced from the Persians, the army at length emerged into the plain, and reached the river Centrites, the boundary of Armenia.

§ 12. Their first attempts to cross the Centrites failed. The cavalry of Tiribazus, satrap of Armenia, lined the opposite bank of the river, which was two hundred feet broad, up to the neck in depth, with a rapid current and slippery bottom. All the efforts of the Greeks to ford it proved abortive; and as the Carduchi were threatening their rear, their situation seemed altogether desperate. On the following morning, however, two young men fortunately discovered a ford about half a mile higher up the stream, by which the whole army succeeded in getting across. They now prosecuted their march in Armenia, and in three days arrived at some

villages situated on the river Teleboas. Here Tiribazus proposed to them that they should proceed unmolested through his satrapy, taking what supplies they wanted, but without damaging the villages. During the first part of their march Tiribazus kept his word, and the only annoyance they felt was the severity of the weather. It was now the month of December, and Armenia was cold and exposed, being a table-land raised high above the level of the sea. Whilst halting near some well-supplied villages, the Greeks were overtaken by two deep falls of snow, which almost buried them in their open bivouacs. Hence a five days' march brought them to the eastern branch of the Euphrates. Crossing the river, they proceeded on the other side of it over plains covered with deep snow, and in the face of a biting north wind. Here many of the slaves and beasts of burden, and even a few of the soldiers, fell victims to the cold. Some had their feet frost-bitten; some were blinded by the snow; whilst others, exhausted with cold and hunger, sunk down and died. The army next arrived at some singular villages, consisting of dwellings excavated in the earth, and entered by means of a ladder through an opening like a well. As these villages were plentifully stocked with cattle, corn, vegetables, and beer, they here took up their quarters for a week, in order to refresh themselves. On the morning after their arrival, they despatched a detachment which brought in most of the soldiers left behind during the march. On the eighth day they proceeded on their way, ascending the banks of the Phasis, not the celebrated river of that name, but probably the one usually called Araxes.

§ 13. From thence they fought their way through the country of the Taochi and Chalybes, both of them brave and warlike tribes. Then, after crossing the Harpasus (the modern *Tchorouk*), they reached the country of the Scythini, in whose territory they found abundance in a large and populous city called Gymnias. The chief of this place having engaged to conduct them within sight of the Euxine, they proceeded for five days under his guidance; when, after ascending a mountain, the sea suddenly burst on the view of the vanguard. The men proclaimed their joy by loud shouts of "The sea! the sea!" The rest of the army hurried to the summit, and gave vent to their joy and exultation in tears and mutual embraces. With spontaneous impulse they erected a pile of stones, by way of trophy, to mark the spot; and dismissed their guide with many presents and expressions of the warmest gratitude.

The Greeks now entered the country of the Macrones, with whom they opened negotiations through a peltast conversant with their language, and agreed for an unmolested passage and the purchase of provisions. The Colchians, through whose territory the march next lay, attempted to oppose their progress, but were soon dispersed. The honey of this region produced a singular effect upon the Greeks. It was grateful to the palate, and when eaten in moderation produced a species of intoxication; but

those who partook largely of it were seized with vomiting and diarrhœa, and thrown into a state resembling madness.

Two days' further march at length brought them to the objects for which they had so often pined, and which many at one time had never hoped to see again, — a Grecian city and the sea. By the inhabitants of Trapezus or Trebizond, on the Euxine, where they had now arrived, they were hospitably received, and being cantoned in some Colchian villages near the town, refreshed themselves after the hardships they had undergone by a repose of thirty days. They also seized this opportunity to discharge the vows which they had made for a safe deliverance, after the capture and massacre of their generals by Tissaphernes, by offering up sacrifices to Zeus the Preserver, Hercules the Conductor, and other gods. Solemn games followed and completed these sacred ceremonies.

§ 14. The most difficult part of the return of the Ten Thousand was now accomplished, but much still remained to be done. The sight of the sea awakened in the army a universal desire to prosecute the remainder of their journey on that element. "Comrades," exclaimed a Thurian soldier, "I am weary of packing up, of marching and running, of shouldering arms and falling into line, of standing sentinel and fighting. For my part I should like to get rid of all these labors, and go home by sea the rest of the way, so that I might arrive in Greece outstretched and asleep, like Odysseus of old." The shouts of applause which greeted this address showed that the Thurian had touched the right chord; and when Cheirisophus, one of the principal officers, offered to proceed to Byzantium and endeavor to procure transports for the conveyance of the army, his proposal was joyfully accepted. Meanwhile, the Ten Thousand were employed in marauding expeditions, and in collecting all the vessels possible, in case Cheirisophus should fail in obtaining the requisite supply. That officer delayed to return; provisions grew scarce, and the army found itself compelled to evacuate Trapezus. Vessels enough had been collected to transport the women, the sick, and the baggage to Cerasus, whither the army proceeded by land. Here they remained ten days, during which they were mustered and reviewed; when it was found that the number of hoplites still amounted to eight thousand six hundred, and with peltasts, bowmen, &c., made a total of more than ten thousand men.

From Cerasus they pursued their journey to Cotyora, through the territories of the Mosynæci and Chalybes. They were obliged to fight their way through the former of these people, capturing and plundering the wooden towers in which they dwelt, and from which they derived their name. At Cotyora they waited in vain for Cheirisophus and the transports. Many difficulties still stood in the way of their return. The inhabitants of Sinopé represented to them that a march through Paphlagonia was impracticable, and the means of a passage by sea were not at hand. After remaining forty-five days at Cotyora, a sufficient number of

vessels was collected to convey the army to Sinopé. A passage of twenty-four hours brought them to that town, where they were hospitably received and lodged in the neighboring sea-port of Armené. Here they were joined by Cheirisophus who, however, brought with him only a single trireme. From Sinopé the army proceeded to Heracléa, and from thence to Calpé, where Cheirisophus died. From Calpé they marched across Bithynia to Chrysopolis, a town immediately opposite to Byzantium, where they spent a week in realizing the booty which they had brought with them.

§ 15. The satrap Pharnabazus was desirous that the Greeks should evacuate Asia Minor; and, at his instance, Anaxibius, the Lacedæmonian admiral on the station, induced them to cross over by promising to provide them with pay when they should have reached the other side. But instead of fulfilling his agreement, Anaxibius ordered them, after their arrival at Byzantium, to proceed to the Thracian Chersonese, where the Lacedæmonian harmost, Syniscus, would find them pay; and during this long march of one hundred and fifty miles they were directed to support themselves by plundering the Thracian villages. Preparatory to the march they were ordered to muster outside the walls of Byzantium. But the Greeks, irritated by the deception which had been practised on them, and which, through want of caution on the part of Anaxibius, became known to them before they had all quitted the town, prevented the gates from being closed, and rushed in infuriated masses back into the city, uttering loud threats, and bent on plunder and havoc. The lives and property of the citizens were at their mercy; for at the first alarm Anaxibius had retired with his troops into the citadel, whilst the affrighted inhabitants were either barricading their houses, or flying to the ships for refuge. In this conjuncture Xenophon felt that the destruction of a city like Byzantium would draw down upon the army the vengeance not merely of the Lacedæmonians, but of all Greece. With great presence of mind, and under color of aiding their designs, he caused the soldiers to form in an open square called the Thracion, and by a well-timed speech diverted them from their designs.

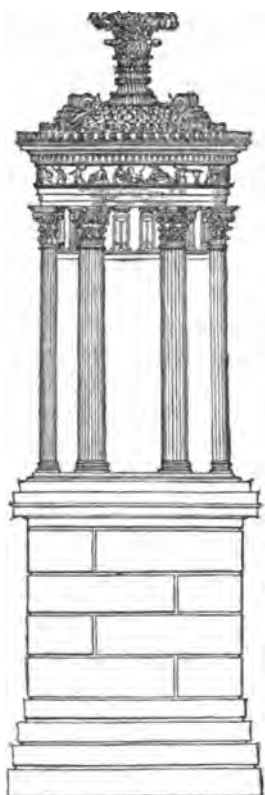
Shortly afterwards, the army entered into the service of Seuthes, a Thracian prince, who was anxious to recover his sovereignty over three revolted tribes. But after they had accomplished this object, Seuthes neglected to provide the pay which he had stipulated, or to fulfil the magnificent promises which he had made to Xenophon personally, of giving him his daughter in marriage, and putting him in possession of the town of Bisanthé.

The army, now reduced to six thousand, was thus again thrown into difficulties, when it entered on the last phase of its checkered career by engaging to serve the Lacedæmonians in a war which they had just declared against the satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. Xenophon

accordingly conducted his comrades to Pergamus in Mysia, where a considerable booty fell into their hands by the capture of a castle not far from that place. Xenophon was allowed to select the choicest lots from the booty thus acquired, as a tribute of gratitude and admiration for the services which he had rendered.

Shortly after this adventure, in the spring of B. C. 399, Thimbron, the Lacedæmonian commander, arrived at Pergamus, and the remainder of the Ten Thousand Greeks became incorporated with his army. Xenophon now returned to Athens, where he must have arrived shortly after the execution of his master Socrates. Disgusted probably by that event, he rejoined his old comrades in Asia, and subsequently returned to Greece along with Agesilaus, as we have already related.*

* See p. 356.



Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, in the Street of Tripods at Athens.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SPARTAN EMPIRE TO THE BATTLE OF CNIDOS.

§ 1. Invasion and Reduction of Elis by King Agis. § 2. Ambitious Projects of Lysander. § 3. He procures the Throne for Agesilaus. § 4. Character of Agesilaus. § 5. Nature of the Spartan Empire. § 6. Affairs of Asia Minor. § 7. Agesilaus proceeds thither. § 8. Mortifies Lysander. § 9. Campaigns of Agesilaus against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. § 10. Execution of Tissaphernes. § 11. Proceedings of Conon. Rhodes revolts from Sparta. § 12. Agesilaus ravages the Satrapy of Pharnabazus. Interview between them. § 13. Recall of Agesilaus. § 14. Battle of Cnidos.

§ 1. RESUMING the thread of the narrative, we shall now briefly trace the history of the Spartan supremacy, which resulted from the battle of *Ægospotami*, and the consequent capture of Athens, related in the preceding book. This supremacy lasted altogether thirty-four years, from the victory of *Ægospotami* in B. C. 405 to the defeat of *Leuctra* in B. C. 371.

It was, however, only during the first nine years of this period that Sparta exercised an undisputed sway in Greece, since the battle of Cnidus, fought in B. C. 394, deprived her of her maritime ascendancy, and consequently of much of her power.

After the fall of Athens Sparta stood without a rival in Greece. The first use she made of her undisputed power was to take vengeance on her neighbors the Eleans for some wrongs and insults which she had received at their hands. It will be recollected, that in the year in which Alcibiades conducted the Athenian theōria at Olympia with so much splendor, the Eleans had excluded the Spartans from the festival; and moreover, that they had subsequently, in conjunction with Argos and Mantinea, borne arms against Sparta. To these causes of offence a fresh insult had been recently added by the exclusion of King Agis from the temple of Olympia, whither he had gone to offer sacrifice and consult the oracle. The Spartans also viewed with dislike and suspicion the democratical form of government established in Elis. Accordingly, they now demanded that the Eleans should make good their quota of the expenses of the war against Athens, and also that they should relinquish their authority over their dependent townships in the district of Triphylia. Upon the refusal of the Eleans to comply with these demands, King Agis entered their territory at the head of a Lacedæmonian army, in the summer of B. C. 402, but he was induced to retire and disband his troops by the unfavorable omen of an earthquake. In the following year, however, he resumed the expedition with more success. Assisted by the allies of Sparta, among whom even the Athenians now furnished their contingent, he ravaged and plundered the territory of Elis, performed by force the sacrifice at Olympia from which he had been debarred, and ultimately compelled the Eleans to accept a humiliating peace. This success placed Sparta in a more commanding position than she had ever before occupied; and she took advantage of it to root out her ancient enemies the Messenians, some of whom had been planted by the Athenians in Naupactus, and others in the island of Cephallenia.

§ 2. Meanwhile the overgrown wealth and power of Lysander made him ill-satisfied to remain in the condition of a private citizen. Stimulated by the flattery which he received from every quarter, he began to contemplate setting aside the two regal families of Pausanias and Agis, and, by rendering the crown elective, to pave the way for his own accession to it. It is to be recollected, however, that at Sparta such a design must not be regarded in quite the same light as in any other monarchy. Although the two chief magistrates there enjoyed the title of *Basileus*, or King, they were not kings in the modern sense of the term. They were merely hereditary magistrates, enjoying indeed certain privileges, and exercising certain definite civil and military functions; but they had no share in the government, which was carried on by the Ephors and the Senate, with

occasional appeals to the public assembly ; and even in the discharge of their appointed duties they were subject to the control of the Ephors.

§ 3. Aware of the influence of religion over the Spartan mind, Lysander, in pursuance of his scheme, endeavored by bribery to procure for it the sanction of the oracles of Delphi, Dodona, and Zeus Ammon in Libya. But the priests of those famous temples proving on this occasion incorruptible, he employed his influence in obtaining for another the sceptre which had eluded his own grasp. About a year after his campaign in Elis, King Agis died, leaving a son named Leotychides, about fifteen years of age. The legitimacy of Leotychides was however doubted, and Agis himself suspected him to be the offspring of Alcibiades. Agesilaus, the younger brother of Agis, but by a different mother, took advantage of these doubts, and, being assisted by the powerful influence of Lysander, succeeded in setting aside Leotychides and ascending the throne, B. C. 398.

§ 4. Agesilaus was now forty years of age, and esteemed a model of those virtues more peculiarly deemed Spartan. He was obedient to the constituted authorities, emulous to excel, courageous, energetic, capable of bearing all sorts of hardship and fatigue, simple and frugal in his mode of life. To these severer qualities he added the popular attractions of an agreeable countenance and pleasing address. The character of Agesilaus seems, however, to have been magnified beyond its real worth by the indiscriminating panegyrics of his biographers, who relate of him many trivial anecdotes with a sort of unctuous admiration ; and though he was indisputably a good general, yet his campaigns present us with little that is striking or decisive. Previously to his accession he had filled no prominent public office, and his character consequently remained in a great measure unknown even to Lysander himself ; who erroneously considered him to be of a yielding and manageable disposition, and hoped by a skilful use of those qualities to extend his own influence, and under the name of another to be in reality king himself.

The personal defects of Agesilaus at first stood in the way of his promotion. He was not only low in stature, but also lame of one leg ; and there was an ancient oracle which warned the Spartans to beware "of a lame reign." The ingenuity of Lysander, assisted probably by the popular qualities of Agesilaus, contrived to overcome this objection by interpreting a lame reign to mean, not any bodily defect in the king, but the reign of one who was not a genuine descendant of Hercules. Once possessed of power, Agesilaus supplied any defect in his title by the prudence and policy of his conduct ; and by the marked deference which he paid both to the Ephors and the Senators, he succeeded in gaining for himself more real power than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors. The very beginning of his reign was threatened by the conspiracy of Cinadon, one of the poorer class of citizens, but possessing all the pride of an ancient Spartan. The conspiracy, however, was discovered, and Cinadon and

his accomplices were arrested by a stratagem of the Ephors and put to death.

§ 5. The discontent which gave birth to this conspiracy originated in a great measure from the altered condition of Spartan citizens, in consequence of the extension of Spartan power and dominion. Sparta had now stepped into the place of Athens. In the various cities which had belonged to the Athenian empire, Lysander established an oligarchical Council of Ten, called a *Dekarchy** or Decemvirate, subject to the control of a Spartan *Harmost*† or governor. The Dekarchies, however, remained only a short time in power, since the Spartan government regarded them with jealousy as the partisans of Lysander; but Harmosts continued to be placed in every state subject to their empire. The government of the Harmosts was corrupt and oppressive; no justice could be obtained against them by an appeal to the Spartan authorities at home; and the Grecian cities soon had cause to regret the milder and more equitable sway of Athens.

The commencement of the Spartan degeneracy and decay may be dated from her entrance upon imperial power. Before the victories of Lysander, iron had formed the only Spartan money. That commander brought vast sums of gold and silver into the public treasury, in spite of the opposition of some of the Ephors, who regarded such a proceeding as a flagrant violation of the ordinances of Lycurgus. Several instances of corruption recorded in the course of this history have, however, shown that the Spartans were far from insensible to the love of money, and that they contrived to gratify it even under the old system. But properly regarded, an extension of the currency was rendered necessary by the altered situation of Sparta. It would have been impossible to maintain a large fleet and a colonial empire without the requisite funds; and how, for instance, could a revenue of one thousand talents, which Sparta levied from the subject states, have been represented in iron money? Whether Sparta had now entered on a career to which the national genius was suited is another question; and it would not perhaps be difficult to show that, in grasping the splendid prize of empire, she lost those homely virtues which previously formed her chief distinction, and for which her children were naturally most fitted. It is at all events certain that the influx of wealth caused a great alteration in her internal condition. It was only the leading men who were able to enrich themselves by foreign commands or at the expense of the public treasury. Hence arose a still more marked distinction between the higher class of citizens, called Peers, and the lower, called the Equals or the Inferiors.‡ The latter, though nominally in the

* *Δεκαρχία*.

† *Ἀρμοστής*, literally "one who fits or arranges."

‡ See p. 59.

enjoyment of equal privileges, were no longer able, in consequence of the altered scale of living, to bear their share at the Syssitia, or public tables, and thus sank into a degraded and discontented class, in which Cinadon found the materials of his sedition.

§ 6. The affairs of Asia Minor soon began to draw the attention of Agesilaus to that quarter. The assistance lent to Cyrus by the Spartans was no secret at the Persian court, and Tissaphernes, who had been rewarded for his fidelity with the satrapy of Cyrus in addition to his own, no sooner returned to his government than he attacked the Ionian cities, then under the protection of Sparta. A considerable Lacedæmonian force under Thimbron was despatched to their assistance, and which, as related in the preceding chapter, was joined by the remnant of the Greeks who had served under Cyrus. Thimbron, however, proved so inefficient a commander, that he was superseded apparently at the end of 399 or beginning of 398 B. C., and Dercyllidas appointed in his place, a man who from his cunning and resources had acquired the name of Sisyphus. On assuming the command, Dercyllidas concluded a truce with Tissaphernes, in order that he might direct his whole force against Pharnabazus, from whom he had received a personal injury. He overran the greater part of Æolis with great rapidity, reducing nine towns in eight days, and took up his winter quarters in Bithynia. Early in the ensuing spring he proceeded into Thrace, where he built a wall across the Chersonese, to protect the Grecian colonies from the attacks of the barbarians of the interior. On his return to Asia he received orders from the Ephors to attack Tissaphernes in Caria, whilst the Lacedæmonian fleet under Pharax co-operated with him on the coast. But here the Persians appeared in such force, the two satraps having united their armies, that he was able to effect but little; and being surprised in an unfavorable position, would himself have suffered severely but for the timidity of Tissaphernes, who was afraid to venture upon an action. Under these circumstances an armistice was agreed to for the purpose of treating for a peace. Dercyllidas demanded on the part of the Spartans the complete independence of the Grecian cities in Asia: the Persians on their side required the Lacedæmonians to withdraw their army from Asia, as well as their various harmosts, or governors.

This armistice took place in 397 B. C. Pharnabazus availed himself of it to make active preparations for a renewal of the war. He obtained large reinforcements of Persian troops, and began to organize a fleet in Phœnicia and Cilicia. This was to be intrusted to the Athenian admiral Conon, of whom we now first hear again after a lapse of seven years since his defeat at Ægospotami. After that disastrous battle, Conon fled with nine triremes to Cyprus, where he was now living under the protection of Evagoras, prince of Salamis. At the instance of Pharnabazus, seconded by Evagoras, Conon consented to accept the command of the Persian fleet, which was to be raised to the number of three hundred vessels.

§ 7. It was the news of these extensive preparations that induced Ages-

ilaus, on the suggestion of Lysander, to volunteer his services against the Persians. He proposed to take with him only thirty full Spartan citizens, or peers, to act as a sort of council, together with two thousand Neodamōdes, or enfranchised Helots, and six thousand hoplites of the allies. But Thebes, Corinth, and Athens refused, on different pleas, to join the expedition. Lysander intended to be the leader of the thirty Spartans, and expected through them to be the virtual commander of the expedition of which Agesilaus was nominally the head.

Since the time of Agamemnon no Grecian king had led an army into Asia; and Agesilaus studiously availed himself of the prestige of that precedent in order to attract recruits to his standard. The Spartan kings claimed to inherit the sceptre of Agamemnon; and to render the parallel more complete, Agesilaus proceeded with a division of his fleet to Aulis, intending there to imitate the memorable sacrifice of the Homeric hero. But as he had neglected to ask the permission of the Thebans, and conducted the sacrifice and solemnities by means of his own prophets and ministers, and in a manner at variance with the usual rites of the temple, the Thebans were offended, and expelled him by armed force; — an insult which he never forgave.

§ 8. It was in 396 B. C. that Agesilaus arrived at Ephesus, and took the command in Asia. He demanded the same conditions of peace as those previously made by Dercyllidas; and in order that there might be time to communicate with the Persian court, the armistice was renewed for three months. During this interval of repose, Lysander, by his arrogance and pretensions, offended both Agesilaus and the Thirty Spartans. Agesilaus, determined to uphold his dignity, subjected Lysander to so many humiliations that he was at last fain to request his dismissal from Ephesus, and was accordingly sent to the Hellespont, where he did good service to the Spartan interests.

§ 9. Meanwhile Tissaphernes, having received large reinforcements, sent a message to Agesilaus before the armistice had expired, ordering him to quit Asia. Agesilaus replied by saying that he thanked the satrap for perjuring himself so flagrantly as to set the gods against him, and immediately made preparations as if he would attack Tissaphernes in Caria; but having thus put the enemy on a false scent, he suddenly turned northwards into Phrygia, the satrapy of Pharnabazus, and marched without opposition to the neighborhood of Dascylium, the residence of the satrap himself. Here, however, he was repulsed by the Persian cavalry; and the sacrifices proving unfavorable for an advance, Agesilaus gave orders to retreat. He now proceeded into winter quarters at Ephesus, where he employed himself in organizing a body of cavalry to compete with the Persians. A conscription was accordingly made of the richest Greeks in the various towns, who, however, were allowed if they pleased to provide substitutes. By these and other energetic exertions, which during the winter gave to Ephesus the appearance of one vast arsenal, the army was brought into

excellent condition; and Agesilaus gave out early in the spring of 395 B. C. that he should march direct upon Sardis. Tissaphernes, suspecting another feint, now dispersed his cavalry in the plain of the Mæander. But this time Agesilaus marched as he had announced, and in three days arrived unopposed on the banks of the Pactolus, before the Persian cavalry could be recalled. When they at last came up, the newly raised Grecian horse, assisted by the peltasts and some of the younger and more active hoplites, soon succeeded in putting them to flight. Many of the Persians were drowned in the Pactolus, and their camp, containing much booty and several camels, was taken.

§ 10. Agesilaus now pushed his ravages up to the very gates of Sardis, the residence of Tissaphernes. But the career of that timid and treacherous satrap was drawing to a close. The queen-mother, Parysatis, who had succeeded in regaining her influence over Artaxerxes, making a pretext of the disasters which had attended the arms of Tissaphernes, but in reality to avenge the part which he had taken against her son Cyrus, caused an order to be sent down from Susa for his execution; in pursuance of which he was seized in a bath at Colossæ, and beheaded. Tithraustes, who had been intrusted with the execution of this order, succeeded Tissaphernes in the satrapy, and immediately reopened negotiations with Agesilaus; proposing that, if he quitted Asia, the Greek cities there should enjoy their independence, with the sole exception of paying to Persia the tribute originally imposed upon them. Agesilaus replied that he could decide nothing without consulting the authorities at home. For this purpose an armistice of six months was concluded; and meanwhile Tithraustes, by a subsidy of thirty talents, induced Agesilaus to move out of his satrapy into that of Pharnabazus.

§ 11. During this march into Phrygia Agesilaus received a new commission from home, appointing him the head of the naval as well as of the land force, — two commands never before united in a single Spartan. For the first time since the battle of Ægospotami the naval supremacy of Sparta was threatened. Conon, with a fleet of forty triremes, occupied the port of Caunus, on the confines of Caria and Lycia, and was there blockaded by a Lacedæmonian fleet of one hundred and twenty triremes under Pharax; but a reinforcement of forty more ships having come to the aid of Conon, Pharax raised the blockade and retired to Rhodes. Here the first symptoms appeared of the detestation in which the Spartan government was held. The inhabitants rose, compelled the Spartan fleet to leave the island, and put themselves under the protection of Conon, who now sailed thither.

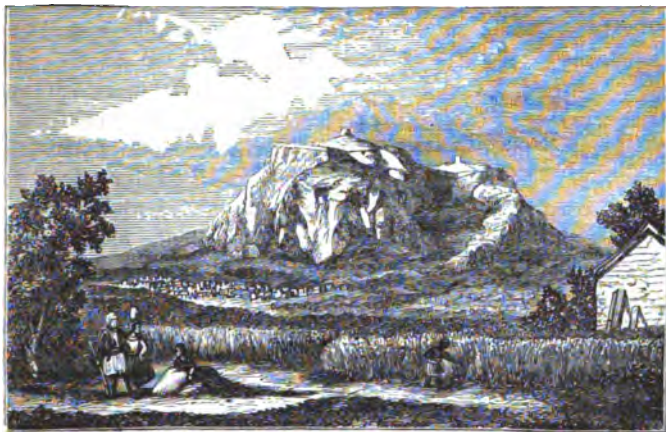
§ 12. Agesilaus, having despatched orders to the Lacedæmonian maritime dependencies to prepare a new fleet of one hundred and twenty triremes against the following year, and having appointed his brother-in-law, Peisander, to the command of it, marched himself into the satrapy of Pharnabazus. He passed the winter in the neighborhood of Dascylium; the

rich and fertile country about which afforded comfortable quarters and abundant plunder to the Grecian army.

Towards the close of the winter, a Greek of Cyzicus, named Apollophanes, brought about an interview between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus. Agesilaus, with the Thirty, having arrived first at the appointed place, sat down without ceremony on the grass. When the satrap came, accompanied with all the luxury of Oriental pomp, his attendants prepared to spread some rich carpets for him; but Pharnabazus, observing how the Spartans were seated, was ashamed to avail himself of such luxuries, and sat down on the grass by the side of Agesilaus. After mutual salutes, Pharnabazus began to reproach the Greeks with their treatment of one who had always been their faithful ally. "You have reduced me so low," he observed, "that I have scarcely a dinner except from your leavings. My residences, my parks and hunting-grounds, the charm of my life, are all burnt or destroyed. Pray tell me if this is gratitude." The Spartans seemed struck with shame; and Agesilaus, after a long pause, remarked in apology, that their war with the Persian king compelled them to act as they had done; that towards himself personally they had the most friendly feelings, and invited him to join their alliance, when they would support him in independence of the Persian king. The reply of Pharnabazus was characterized by a noble frankness. "If the king," he said, "should deprive me of my command, I would willingly become your ally; but so long as I am intrusted with the supreme power, expect from me nothing but war." Agesilaus was touched with the satrap's magnanimity. Taking him by the hand, he observed, "Would to Heaven that with such noble sentiments it were possible for you to be our friend. But at all events I will at once quit your territory, and never again molest you or your property so long as there are other Persians against whom to turn my arms."

§ 18. In pursuance of this promise Agesilaus now entered the plains of Thebé, near the Gulf of Elæus; but whilst he was here preparing an expedition on a grand scale into the interior of Asia Minor, he was suddenly recalled home (B. C. 394) to avert the dangers which threatened his native country.

Meanwhile Conon, who had remained almost inactive since the revolt of Rhodes, proceeded in person to Babylon, and succeeded in obtaining a considerable sum of money from Artaxerxes. He shared his command with Pharnabazus, and by their joint exertions a powerful fleet, partly Phœnician and partly Grecian, was speedily equipped, superior in number to that of the Lacedæmonians under Peisander. About the month of July Conon proceeded to the peninsula of Cnidos, in Caria, and offered Peisander battle. Though inferior in strength, Peisander did not shrink from the encounter. Being abandoned, however, by his Asiatic allies, he was soon overpowered by numbers, and fell gallantly fighting to the last. More than half the Lacedæmonian fleet was either captured or destroyed. This event occurred about the beginning of August, B. C. 394.



View of Corinth and the Acrocorinthos.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE CORINTHIAN WAR.—FROM THE BATTLE OF CNIDOS TO THE PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS.

§ 1. Mission of Timocrates to the Grecian Cities. § 2. Hostilities between Sparta and Thebes. § 3. The Athenians join the Thebans. Defeat and Death of Lysander. Retreat of Pausanias. § 4. League against Sparta. Battle of Corinth. § 5. Homeward March of Agesilaus. § 6. Battle of Coronea. § 7. Loss of the Spartan Maritime Empire. § 8. Conon rebuilds the Walls of Athens. § 9. Civil Dissensions at Corinth. § 10. Campaign of Agesilaus in the Corinthian Territory. § 11. New System of Tactics introduced by Iphicrates. Destruction of a Spartan *Mora* by his light-armed Troops. § 12. Negotiations of Antalcidas with the Persians. Death of Conon. Defeat and Death of Thimbron. § 13. Maritime War on the Coast of Asia. Revolt of Rhodes. Thrasybulus appointed Athenian Commander. His Death at Aspendus. Anaxibius defeated by Iphicrates at the Hellespont. § 14. War between Athens and Ægina. Teleutias surprises the Peiræus. § 15. Peace of Antalcidas. § 16. Its Character.

§ 1. THE jealousy and ill-will with which the newly acquired empire of the Spartans was regarded by the other Grecian states had not escaped the notice of the Persians; and when Tithraustes succeeded to the satrapy of Tissaphernes he resolved to avail himself of this feeling by exciting a war against Sparta in the heart of Greece itself. With this view he despatched one Timocrates, a Rhodian, to the leading Grecian cities which appeared hostile to Sparta, carrying with him a sum of fifty talents to be distributed among the chief men in each for the purpose of bringing them over to the views of Persia. This transaction, however, is scarcely to be viewed in the light of a private bribe, but rather as a sum publicly

advanced for a specific purpose. Timocrates was successful in Thebes, Corinth, and Argos; but he appears not to have visited Athens.

§ 2. Hostilities were at first confined to Sparta and Thebes. A quarrel having arisen between the Opuntian Locrians and the Phocians respecting a strip of border land, the former people appealed to the Thebans, who invaded Phocis. The Phocians on their side invoked the aid of the Lacedæmonians, who, elated with the prosperous state of their affairs in Asia, and moreover desirous of avenging the affronts they had received from the Thebans, readily listened to the appeal. Lysander, who took an active part in promoting the war, was directed to attack the town of Haliartus, having first augmented the small force which he took with him by contingents levied among the tribes of Mount Ceta; and it was arranged that King Pausanias should join him on a fixed day under the walls of that town, with the main body of the Lacedæmonians and their Peloponnesian allies.

§ 3. Nothing could more strikingly denote the altered state of feeling in Greece than the request for assistance which the Thebans, thus menaced, made to their ancient enemies and rivals, the Athenians; even offering as an inducement, to assist them in recovering their lost empire. Nor were the Athenians backward in responding to the appeal. Disunion, however, prevailed among the Bœotians themselves; and Orchomenus, the second city in importance in their confederacy, revolted at the approach of Lysander, and joined the Lacedæmonians. That commander, after ravaging the country round Lebadæa, proceeded according to agreement to Haliartus, though he had as yet received no tidings of Pausanias. Here, in a sally made by the citizens, opportunely supported by the unexpected arrival of a body of Thebans, the army of Lysander was routed, and himself slain; and though his troops, favored by some rugged ground in their rear, succeeded in rallying and repulsing their assailants, yet, disheartened by the severe loss which they had suffered, and by the death of their general, they disbanded and dispersed themselves in the night-time. Thus when Pausanias at last came up, he found no army to unite with; and as an imposing Athenian force had arrived, he now, with the advice of his council, took the humiliating step — always deemed a confession of inferiority — of requesting a truce in order to bury the dead who had fallen in the preceding battle. Even this, however, the Thebans would not grant, except on the condition that the Lacedæmonians should immediately quit their territory. With these terms Pausanias was forced to comply; and after duly interring the bodies of Lysander and his fallen comrades, the Lacedæmonians dejectedly pursued their homeward march, followed by the Thebans, who manifested by repeated insults, and even by blows administered to stragglers, the insolence inspired by their success. Pausanias, afraid to face the public indignation of the Spartans, took refuge in the temple of Athena Alca at Tegea; and being condemned to death in

his absence, only escaped that fate by remaining in the sanctuary. He was succeeded by his son Agesipolis. •

§ 4. The enemies of Sparta took fresh courage from this disaster to her arms. Athens, Corinth, and Argos now formed with Thebes a solemn alliance against her. The league was soon joined by the Eubœans, the Acarnanians, the Ozolian Locrians, the Ambraciots, the Leucadians, and the Chalcidians of Thrace. In the spring of 394 B. C. the allies assembled at Corinth, and the war, which had been hitherto regarded as merely Bœotian, was now called the Corinthian, by which name it is known in history. This threatening aspect of affairs determined the Ephors to recall Agesilaus, as related in the preceding chapter.

The allies were soon in a condition to take the field with a force of twenty-four thousand hoplites, of whom one fourth were Athenians, together with a considerable body of light troops and cavalry. The Lacedæmonians, under the conduct of Aristodemus, had also made the most active preparations. The exact amount of their force is not known, but it was in all probability inferior to that of the allies. The latter were full of confidence, and the Corinthian Timolaus proposed marching straight upon Sparta, in order, as he expressed it, to burn the wasps in their nest before they came forth to sting. This bold, but perhaps judicious advice, was however anticipated by the unwonted activity of the Lacedæmonians, who had already crossed their border, and, advancing by Tegea and Mantinæa, had taken up a position at Sicyon. The allies, who had proceeded as far as Nemea, now fell back upon Corinth, and encamped on some rugged ground in the neighborhood of the city. Here a battle ensued, in which the Lacedæmonians gained the victory, though their allied troops were put to the rout. Of the Spartans themselves only eight men fell; but of their allies eleven hundred perished, and of the confederates as many as twenty-eight hundred. This battle, called the battle of Corinth, was fought apparently about the same time as that of Cnidos, in July, 394 B. C.

§ 5. Agesilaus, who had relinquished with a heavy heart his projected expedition into Asia, was now on his homeward march. By the promise of rewards at Sestos in the Chersonese, he had persuaded the bravest and most efficient soldiers in his army to accompany him, amongst whom were many of the Ten Thousand, with Xenophon at their head. The route of Agesilaus was much the same as the one formerly travelled by Xerxes, and the camels which accompanied the army gave it somewhat of an Oriental aspect. At Amphipolis he received the news of the victory at Corinth; but his heart was so full of schemes against Persia, that the feeling which it awakened in his bosom was rather one of regret that so many Greeks had fallen, whose united efforts might have emancipated Asia Minor, than of joy at the success of his countrymen. Having forced his way through a desultory opposition offered by the Thessalian cavalry, he crossed Mount

Othrys, and marched unopposed the rest of the way through the straits of Thermopylæ to the frontiers of Phocis and Bœotia. Here the evil tidings reached him — foreshadowed according to ancient superstition by an eclipse of the sun (14 Aug. 394 B. C.) — of the defeat and death of his brother-in-law, Peisander, at Cnidos. Fearing the impression which such sad news might produce upon his men, he gave out that the Lacedæmonian fleet had gained a victory, though Peisander had perished; and, having offered sacrifice as if for a victory, he ordered an advance.

§ 6. Agesilaus soon came up with the confederate army, which had prepared to oppose him in the plain of Coronæa. The hostile forces approached each other slowly and in silence, till within about a furlong, when the Thebans raised the pæan, and charged at a running pace. They succeeded in driving in the Orchomenians, who formed the left wing of the army of Agesilaus, and penetrated as far as the baggage in the rear. But on the remainder of the line Agesilaus was victorious, and the Thebans now saw themselves cut off from their companions, who had retreated and taken up a position on Mount Helicon. Facing about and forming in deep and compact order, the Thebans sought to rejoin the main body, but they were opposed by Agesilaus and his troops. The shock of the conflicting masses which ensued was one of the most terrible recorded in the annals of Grecian warfare. The shields of the foremost ranks were shattered, their spears broken, so that daggers became the only available arm. The regular war-shout was suppressed, but the silence was occasionally broken by deep and furious exclamations. Agesilaus, who was in the front ranks, unequal by his size and strength to sustain so furious an onset, was flung down, trodden on, and covered with wounds; but the devoted courage of the fifty Spartans forming his body-guard rescued him from death. The Thebans finally forced their way through, but not without severe loss. The victory of Agesilaus was not very decisive; but the Thebans tacitly acknowledged their defeat by soliciting the customary truce for the burial of their dead.

After the battle Agesilaus visited Delphi, where he dedicated to Apollo a tithe, valued at the large sum of one hundred talents, of the booty which he had acquired during his Asiatic campaigns. He then returned to Sparta, where he was received with the most lively demonstrations of gratitude and esteem, and became henceforwards the sole director of Spartan policy.

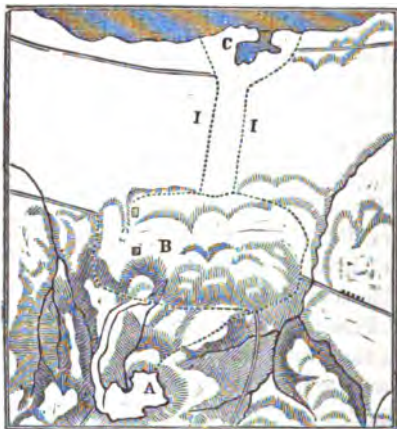
§ 7. Thus in less than two months the Lacedæmonians had fought two battles on land, and one at sea; namely, those of Corinth, Coronæa, and Cnidos. But though they had been victorious in the land engagements, they were so little decisive as to lead to no important result; whilst their defeat at Cnidos produced the most disastrous consequences. It was followed by the loss of nearly all their maritime empire, even faster than they had acquired it after the battle of Ægospotami. For as Conon and

Pharnabazus sailed with their victorious fleet from island to island, and from port to port; their approach was everywhere the signal for the flight or expulsion of the Spartan harmosts. Abydos formed the only exception to this universal surrender. Fortunately for Sparta the able and experienced Dercyllidas was then harmost in that city, and by his activity and courage he succeeded in preserving not only Abydos, but also the opposite Chersonese, from the grasp of Pharnabazus.

§ 8. In the spring of the following year, B. C. 393, Conon and Pharnabazus sailed from the Hellespont with a powerful fleet, and, after visiting Melos and several of the Cyclades, directed their course to the Peloponnesus. After ravaging the coast of Laconia at several points, and taking the island of Cythera, where they established an Athenian garrison, they sailed to the Isthmus of Corinth, then occupied as a central post by the allies. The appearance of a Persian fleet in the Saronic Gulf was a strange sight to Grecian eyes, and one which might have served as a severe comment on the effect of their suicidal wars. Pharnabazus assured the allies of his support, and gave earnest of it by advancing to them a considerable sum of money. Conon dexterously availed himself of the hatred of Pharnabazus towards Sparta to procure a boon for his native city. As the satrap was on the point of proceeding homewards Conon obtained leave to employ the seamen in rebuilding the fortifications of Peiræus and the long walls of Athens. Pharnabazus also granted a large sum for the same purpose; and Conon had thus the glory of appearing, like a second Themistocles, the deliverer and restorer of his country. By a singular revolution of fortune, the Thebans, who had most rejoiced at the fall of Athens, as well as the Persians, who had subsidized Sparta to destroy the city, now gave their funds and labor to restore it. Before the end of autumn the walls were rebuilt. Athens seemed now restored, if not to power, at least to independence; and if she reflected but the shadow of her former greatness, she was at least raised up from the depths of her degradation. Having thus, as it were, founded Athens a second time, Conon sailed to the islands to lay again the foundations of an Athenian maritime empire.

§ 9. During the remainder of this and the whole of the following year (B. C. 392), the war was carried on in the Corinthian territory. The Oean Mountains, which extend across the Isthmus south of its narrowest part, afford an excellent line of defence against an invading army. Through these mountains there are only three passes, one by the Saronic Gulf, close to Cenchreæ, a second through a ravine at the eastern side of the Acrocorinthos or citadel of Corinth, and a third along the narrow strip of land which lies between the western foot of the Acrocorinthos and the Corinthian Gulf. The two former of these passes could easily be defended by a resolute body of troops against superior numbers; and the third was completely protected by two long walls running down from Corinth to

Lechæum, the port of the city upon the Corinthian Gulf. Corinth and the passes of the Onean Mountains were now occupied by the allied troops; but while the allies themselves suffered little or nothing, the whole brunt of the war fell upon Corinth. The Spartans took up their head-quarters at Sicyon, whence they ravaged the fertile Corinthian plain upon the coast. The wealthy Corinthian proprietors suffered so much from the devastation of their lands, that many of them became anxious to renew their



Plan of Corinth.

A. Acrocorinthos.
B. Corinth.

C. Lechæum.
I, I. Long Walls.

old alliance with Sparta. A large number of the other Corinthians participated in these feelings, and the leading men in power, who were violently opposed to Sparta, became so alarmed at the wide-spread disaffection among the citizens, that they introduced a body of Argives into the city during the celebration of the festival of the Eucleia, and massacred numbers of the opposite party in the market-place and in the theatre. The government now formed such a close union with Argos, that even the boundary marks between the two states were removed, and the very name of Corinth was changed to that of Argos. But the aristocratical party at Corinth, which was still numerous, contrived to admit Praxitas, the Lacedæmonian commander at Sicyon, within the long walls which connected Corinth with Lechæum. In the space between the walls, which was of considerable breadth and about a mile and a half in length, a battle took place between the Lacedæmonians and the Corinthians, who had marched out of the city to dislodge them. The Corinthians, however, were defeated, and this victory was followed by the demolition of a considerable part of the long walls by Praxitas. The Lacedæmonians now marched across the Isthmus, and captured Sidus and Crommyon. These events happened in B. C. 392.

§ 10. The breach effected in the long walls of Corinth excited great alarm at Athens, as it opened a secure passage to the Lacedæmonians into Attica and Bœotia. Accordingly the Athenians moved in great force to Corinth, with carpenters and other necessary workmen; and with this assistance the Corinthians soon restored the breach. In the summer of B. C. 391, this step was, however, rendered useless, in consequence of Agesilaus, assisted by the Lacedæmonian fleet under his brother Teleutias, having obtained possession not only of the long walls, but also of the port of Lechæum itself. Agesilaus followed up his success by marching into the rocky peninsula between the bay of Lechæum and the Alcyonian sea, from which Corinth derived both support and assistance. The two principal places in this district, Peiræum and Cœnoë, together with large booty and many captives, fell into his hands. Corinth was now surrounded on every side; and the Thebans were thrown into such alarm that they sent envoys to Agesilaus to treat of peace. Agesilaus had never forgiven the Thebans for having interrupted his sacrifice at Aulis; and he now seized the opportunity of gratifying his spite against them. Accordingly, when they were introduced into his presence, he treated them with the most marked contempt, and affected not to notice them. But a retributive Nemesis was at hand. As Agesilaus sat in a pavilion on the banks of a lake which adjoined the sacred grove of Hera, feasting his eyes with the spectacle of a long train of captives, paraded under the guard of Lacedæmonian hoplites, a man galloped up on a foaming horse, and acquainted him with a disaster more novel and more astounding than any that had ever yet befallen the Spartan arms. This was nothing less than the destruction of a whole Lacedæmonian *mora*, or battalion, by the light-armed mercenaries of the Athenian Iphicrates.

§ 11. For the preceding two years Iphicrates had commanded a body of mercenaries, consisting of peltasts,* who had been first organized by Canon after rebuilding the walls of Athens. For this force Iphicrates introduced those improved arms and tactics which form an epoch in the Grecian art of war. His object was to combine as far as possible the peculiar advantages of the hoplites and light-armed troops. He substituted a linen corslet for the coat of mail worn by the hoplites, and lessened the shield, while he rendered the light javelin and short sword of the peltasts more effective by lengthening them both one half. These troops soon proved very effective. At their head Iphicrates attacked and defeated the Phliasians, gained a victory near Sicyon, and inflicted such loss upon the Arcadian hoplites that they were afraid to meet his peltasts in the field. He now ventured upon a bolder exploit.

A body of Amyclæan hoplites had obtained leave to celebrate the festival of the Hyacinthia in their native city; and a Lacedæmonian *mora*,

* So called from the pelta, or kind of shield which they carried.

six hundred strong, was appointed to escort them till they should be considered out of reach of attack. Iphicrates, who was in Corinth with his peltasts, suffered the Amyclæans and their escort to pass unmolested; but on the return of the Lacedæmonians, he sallied forth with inconceivable hardihood, and attacked them in the flank and rear. So many fell under the darts and arrows of the peltasts, that the Lacedæmonian captain called a halt, and ordered the youngest and most active of his hoplites to rush forward and drive off the assailants. But their heavy arms rendered them quite unequal to such a mode of fighting; nor did the Lacedæmonian cavalry, which now came up, but which acted with very little vigor and courage, produce any better effect. At length the Lacedæmonians succeeded in reaching an eminence, where they endeavored to make a stand; but at this moment Callias arrived with some Athenian hoplites from Corinth, whereupon the already disheartened Lacedæmonians broke and fled in confusion, pursued by the peltasts, who committed such havoc, chasing and killing some of them even in the sea, that but very few of the whole body succeeded in reaching Lechæum.

The news of this defeat produced a great change in the conduct of the Theban envoys then with Agesilaus. They did not say another word about peace, but merely asked permission to communicate with their countrymen at Corinth. Agesilaus, perceiving their altered sentiments, and taking them with him, marched on the following day with his whole force to Corinth, where he defied the garrison to come out to battle. But Iphicrates was too prudent to hazard his recently achieved success; and Agesilaus marched back to Sparta as it were by stealth, avoiding all those places where the inhabitants, though allies, were likely to show their satisfaction at the disgrace of the Spartan arms. No sooner was he departed than Iphicrates sallied forth from Corinth and retook Sidus, Crommyon, Peiræum, and CEnoë, thus liberating all the northern and eastern territory of Corinth. But, in spite of his military abilities and great services, the domineering character of Iphicrates had rendered him so unpopular at Corinth, that the Athenians were obliged to recall him, and appoint Chabrias in his place.

§ 12. Meantime important events had taken place in connection with the maritime war. The success of Conon had inspired the Lacedæmonians with such alarm, that they resolved to spare no efforts to regain the good-will of the Persians. With this view they sent Antalcidas, an able politician trained in the school of Lysander, to negotiate with Tiribazus, who had succeeded Tithraustes in the satrapy of Ionia, in order to bring about a general peace under the mediation of Persia. His negotiations, however, though supported by the influence of Tiribazus, at present proved unsuccessful. Conon, and the other representatives of the allies in Asia, rejected with indignation the proposal of Antalcidas to abandon the Grecian cities in Asia to Persia; nor was the court of Susa itself as

yet disposed to entertain any amicable relations with Sparta. Tiribazus, however, covertly supplied the Lacedæmonians with money for the purposes of their fleet, and, by a gross breach of public faith, caused Conon to be seized and detained, under the pretence that he was acting contrary to the interests of the Great King. This event proved the end of Conon's public life. According to one account the Persians caused him to be put to death in prison; but it seems more probable that he escaped and again took refuge with Evagoras in Cyprus. Be this, however, as it may, the public labors of one of the most useful, if not one of the greatest, of Athenian citizens, were now brought to a close: a man from whose hands his country reaped nothing but benefit, and to whose reputation history seems to have done but scanty justice.

Struthas, who held the command in Ionia during the absence of Tiribazus at Susa, carried on hostilities with vigor against the Lacedæmonians. In spite of his proved incapacity, Thimbron had been again intrusted with the command of an army of eight thousand men; but while on his march from Ephesus he was surprised by Struthas, and suffered a complete defeat. Thimbron himself was among the slain, and those of his soldiers who escaped were compelled to take refuge in the neighboring cities.

§ 13. The island of Rhodes now demanded the attention of the belligerents. The democratical party in this island, having obtained the upper hand, had revolted from Persia; and the Spartans, fearing that they would form an alliance with Athens, sent Teleutias, the brother of Agesilaus, with a fleet to reduce the island, although they were themselves at war with Persia, so much greater was their fear of the Athenians than of the Persians. On his way from Cnidos, Teleutias fell in with and captured an Athenian squadron of ten triremes under Philocrates, which was proceeding to assist Evagoras in a struggle that was impending between him and the Persians. The news of this reverse, as well as the great increase of the Lacedæmonian fleet, induced the Athenians to despatch, in B. C. 389, a fleet of forty triremes, under Thrasybulus, to the coasts of Asia Minor, — a feat which betokens a considerable renovation of their naval power. Thrasybulus first proceeded to the Hellespont, where he extended the Athenian alliance among the people on both sides of the straits, persuaded or compelled Byzantium and other cities to establish democratical governments, and reimposed the toll of a tenth on all vessels passing from the Euxine. After this, Thrasybulus sailed to Lesbos, where he defeated the Lacedæmonian harmost, and next visited several places on the mainland, with the view of raising funds for his meditated expedition to Rhodes. But the inhabitants of Aspendus in Pamphylia, where he had obtained some contributions, surprised his naval camp in the night, and slew him. Thus perished the man who had delivered his country from the Thirty Tyrants. He was succeeded in his command by Agyrrius.

The success of Thrasybulus in the Hellespont created such anxiety at Sparta, that the Ephors were induced to supersede Dercyllidas, and appoint Anaxibius to the government of Abydos. Anaxibius took with him a force that rendered him master of the straits, and enabled him to intercept the merchantmen bound to Athens and other ports belonging to the allies. The Athenians now despatched Iphicrates with eight triremes and twelve hundred peltasts to make head against Anaxibius; and by a well-laid stratagem the Athenian commander succeeded in surprising Anaxibius among the mountain ranges of Ida, whilst on his homeward march from Antandros to Abydos. The troops of Anaxibius were completely routed and himself and twelve other harmosts slain.

§ 14. This exploit rendered the Athenians again masters of the Hellespont. But whilst thus successful in that quarter, their attention was attracted nearer home by the affairs of Ægina. After the battle of Ægos-potami, Lysander had restored to the island as many of the ancient population as he could find; and they were now induced by the Lacedæmonian harmost to infest the Athenian trade with their privateers; so that, in the language of Pericles, Ægina again became "the eyesore of Peiræus." The most memorable event in this period of the war was the surprise of Peiræus by Teleutias with a squadron of only twelve sail. Teleutias was the most popular commander in the Lacedæmonian fleet, and was sent by the Ephors to appease the discontent among the Lacedæmonian seamen at Ægina, in consequence of not receiving their pay. Teleutias plainly told them that they had nothing to depend upon but their swords, and he bade them prepare for an enterprise, the object of which he did not then disclose. This was nothing less than an attack upon Peiræus; an enterprise which it seemed almost insane to attempt with a force of only twelve triremes. But Teleutias reckoned on taking the Athenians by surprise. Quitting the harbor of Ægina at nightfall, and rowing along leisurely and in silence, Teleutias found himself at daybreak within half a mile of Peiræus, and when it was fully light he steered his vessels straight into the harbor, which was beginning to assume again some of its former commercial importance. Here, as he expected, he found no preparations for repelling an attack, and though the alarm was immediately raised, he had time to inflict considerable damage before any troops could be got together to oppose him. His men disembarked on the quays, and carried off, not only the portable merchandise, but also the shipmasters, tradesmen, and others whom they found there. The larger merchant-ships were boarded and plundered; several of the smaller were towed off with their whole cargoes; and even three or four triremes met the same fate. All this booty Teleutias succeeded in carrying safely into Ægina, together with several corn-ships, and other merchantmen which he fell in with off Sunium. The prizes were then sold, and yielded so large a sum that Teleutias was able to pay the seamen a month's wages.

§ 15. Whilst these things were passing in Greece, Antalcidas, conducted by Tiribazus, had repaired to the Persian court a second time, for the purpose of renewing his negotiations for a general peace, on the same basis as he had proposed before. This time he succeeded in winning the favor of the Persian monarch, in spite of his dislike of the Spartans generally, and prevailed on him both to adopt the peace, and to declare war against those who should reject it. Antalcidas and Tiribazus again arrived on the coasts of Asia Minor in the spring of B. C. 387, not only armed with these powers, but provided with an ample force to carry them into execution. In addition to the entire fleet of Persia, Dionysius of Syracuse had placed twenty triremes at the service of the Lacedæmonians; and Antalcidas now sailed with a large fleet to the Hellespont, where Iphicrates and the Athenians were still predominant. But the overwhelming force of Antalcidas, the largest that had been seen in the Hellespont since the battle of Ægospotami, rendered all resistance hopeless. The supplies of corn from the Euxine no longer found their way to Athens; the Æginetan privateers resumed their depredations; and the Athenians, depressed at once both by what they felt and by what they anticipated, began to long for peace. The Argives participated in the same desire; and as without the assistance of Athens it seemed hopeless for the other allies to struggle against Sparta, all Greece seemed inclined to listen to an accommodation.

Under these circumstances deputies from the Grecian states were summoned to meet Tiribazus; who, after exhibiting to them the royal seal of Persia, read to them the following terms of a peace: "King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia and the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus should belong to him. He also thinks it just to leave all the other Grecian cities, both small and great, independent, — except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which are to belong to Athens, as of old. Should any parties refuse to accept this peace, I will make war upon them, along with those who are of the same mind, both by land and sea, with ships and with money."

The deputies reported these terms to their respective governments, all of which at once accepted the peace with the exception of the Thebans, who claimed to take the oath not in their own behalf alone, but for the Bœotian confederacy in general. But when Agesilaus threatened the Thebans with war if they did not comply, they consented to take the oath for their own city alone, — thus virtually renouncing their federal headship.

§ 16. This disgraceful peace, called the peace of Antalcidas, was concluded in the year B. C. 387. By it Hellas seemed prostrated at the feet of the barbarians; for its very terms, engraven on stone and set up in the sanctuaries of Greece, recognized the Persian king as the arbiter of her destinies. Although Athens cannot be entirely exonerated from the blame of this transaction, the chief guilt rests upon Sparta, whose designs were far deeper and more hypocritical than they appeared. Under the specious

pretext of securing the independence of the Grecian cities, her only object was to break up the confederacies under Athens and Thebes, and, with the assistance of Persia, to pave the way for her own absolute dominion in Greece. Her real aim is pithily characterized in an anecdote recorded of Agesilaus. When somebody remarked, "Alas for Hellas, that our Spartans should be *Medizing*!"—"Say rather," replied Agesilaus, "that the Medes are *Laconizing*."



Adventures of Dionysus, from the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates.



Adventures of Dionysus, from the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

FROM THE PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS TO THE PEACE OF CALLIAS.

§ 1. Aggressions of Sparta in Bœotia. Rebuilding of Platæa. § 2. Reduction of Mantinea. § 3. Olynthian Confederation. Sparta interferes. § 4. Seizure of the Cadmea at Thebes by the Lacedæmonians. § 5. Reduction of Olynthus. § 6. Unpopularity of Sparta. § 7. Revolution at Thebes. § 8. The Lacedæmonians expelled from the Cadmea. § 9. Their Expeditions against Thebes. Alarm of the Athenians, who ally themselves with Thebes. § 10. Reorganization of the Athenian Confederation. § 11. Preparations for War. The Theban "Sacred Band." § 12. Character of Epameinondas. § 13. Spartan Invasions of Bœotia. § 14. Maritime Affairs. Battle of Naxos. Success of Timotheus. § 15. Progress of the Theban Arms. § 16. The Athenians form a Peace with Sparta, which is immediately broken. Proceedings at Corcyra. § 17. The Lacedæmonians solicit Persian Aid. § 18. Congress at Sparta to treat of Peace. The Thebans are excluded from it.

§ 1. No sooner was the peace of Antalcidas concluded, than Sparta, directed by Agesilaus, the ever-active enemy of Thebes, exerted all her power to weaken that city. She began by proclaiming the independence of the various Bœotian cities, and by organizing in each a local oligarchy, adverse to Thebes and favorable to herself. The popular feeling in these cities was in general opposed to the Spartan dominion; two alone, Orchomenus and Thespizæ, preferred it to that of Thebes; and in these the Lacedæmonians placed garrisons, and made them their main stations in Bœotia. Even such a step as this seemed to exceed the spirit of the treaty, which required merely the independence of each city; but the restoration of Platæa, now effected by the Lacedæmonians, was an evident work of supererogation, undertaken only to annoy and weaken Thebes, and to form a place for another Lacedæmonian garrison. Since the destruction of Platæa, most of her remaining citizens had become domiciled at Athens, had married Athenian women, and had thus almost forgotten their native country. These were now restored, and their city rebuilt; but merely that it might become a Spartan outpost. Thebes was at present too weak to resist these encroachments on her dignity and power, which even at Sparta

were regarded with dissatisfaction by King Agesipolis and the more moderate party.

§ 2. The Lacedæmonians now found themselves in a condition to wreak their vengeance on the Mantineans, by whom they deemed themselves aggrieved. They could not, indeed, bring any charge of positive hostility against the Mantineans; but they accused them of lukewarmness and equivocal fidelity; of having been slack in furnishing their contingents during the late war; and of having supplied the Argives with corn when at war with Sparta. On these grounds a message was sent requiring the Mantineans to raze their walls; and as they hesitated to comply, an army was despatched under Agesipolis to enforce obedience. Agesipolis succeeded in taking Mantinëa, which was well supplied with provisions, by damming up the river Ophis which ran through it. The inundation thus caused undermined the walls, which were built of baked bricks, and obliged the citizens to capitulate. Much harder terms were now exacted from them. They were required not only to demolish their fortifications, but also a great part of their town, so as to restore it to the form of five villages, out of which it had been originally formed. Each of these villages was left unfortified, and placed under a separate oligarchical government. About the same time the Lacedæmonians compelled the city of Phlius to recall a body of exiles who had been expelled on account of their attachment to the interests of Sparta.

§ 3. But the attention of Sparta was soon called to more distant regions. Olynthus, a town situated at the head of the Toronaic Gulf in the peninsula of the Macedonian Chalcidicé, had become the head of a powerful confederation, which included several of the adjacent Grecian cities, and among them Potidæa, on the isthmus of Pallêné. Acanthus and Apollonia, the largest cities after Olynthus in the Chalcidic peninsula, had refused to join the league; and as they were threatened with war by Olynthus, they despatched envoys to Sparta to solicit aid (B. C. 383). The envoys gave an alarming account of the designs of Olynthus: and they being seconded by ambassadors from Amyntas, king of Macedonia, the Lacedæmonians were easily persuaded to enter upon an undertaking which harmonized with their present course of policy. Their allies were persuaded or rather overawed into the adoption of their views, and an army of ten thousand men was voted. The emergency, however, was so pressing that Eudamidas was despatched at once with a force of two thousand hoplites. Marching rapidly with only a portion even of these, he arrived in season to defend Acanthus and Apollonia, and even succeeded in inducing Potidæa to revolt from the league. But though joined by Amyntas with his forces, he was not strong enough to take the field openly against the Olynthians.

§ 4. This expedition of the Lacedæmonians led incidentally to an affair of much greater importance. The Thebans had entered into an alliance with Olynthus, and had forbidden any of their citizens to join the Lacedæmonians.

dæmonian army destined to act against it; but they were not strong enough to prevent its marching through their territory. Phœbidas, the brother of Eudamidas, was appointed to collect the tooops which were not in readiness at the time of his brother's departure, and to march with all possible speed towards Olynthus. On his way through Bœotia he halted with his division at a gymnasium not far from Thebes; where he was visited by Leontiades, one of the polemarchs of the city, and two or three other leaders of the Lacedæmonian party in Thebes. It happened that the festival of the Thesmophoria was on the point of being celebrated, during which the Cadmæa, or Theban Acropolis, was given up for the exclusive use of the women. The opportunity seemed favorable for a surprise; and Leontiades and Phœbidas concerted a plot to seize it. Whilst the festival was celebrating, Phœbidas pretended to resume his march, but only made a circuit round the city walls; whilst Leontiades, stealing out of the Senate, mounted his horse, and, joining the Lacedæmonian troops, conducted them towards the Cadmea. It was a sultry summer's afternoon, so that the very streets were deserted; and Phœbidas, without encountering any opposition, seized the citadel and all the women in it, to serve as hostages for the quiet submission of the Thebans. Leontiades then returned to the Senate, and caused his fellow-polemarch, Ismenias, who was the head of the opposite, or patriotic party, to be seized and imprisoned. After this blow, three hundred of the leading men of his party fled to Athens for safety. Ismenias was shortly afterwards brought to trial by Leontiades before a packed court, and put to death on the ground of his receiving money from Persia and stirring up the late war.

This treacherous act during a period of profound peace awakened the liveliest indignation throughout Greece. Sparta herself could not venture to justify it openly, and Phœbidas was made the scape-goat of her affected displeasure. The Ephors, though they had secretly authorized the proceeding, now disavowed him; and Agesilaus alone, prompted by his burning hatred of Thebes, stood forth in his defence. The result was a truly Lacedæmonian piece of hypocrisy. As a sort of atonement to the violated feeling of Greece, Phœbidas was censured, fined, and dismissed. But that this was a mere farce is evident from the fact of his subsequent restoration to command; and, however indignant the Lacedæmonians affected to appear at the act of Phœbidas, they took care to reap the fruits of it by retaining their garrison in the Cadmæa.

§ 5. The once haughty Thebes was now enrolled a member of the Lacedæmonian alliance, and furnished her contingent — the grateful offering of the new Theban government — for the war which Sparta was prosecuting with redoubled vigor against Olynthus. The troops of that city, however, especially its cavalry, were excellent, and the struggle was protracted for several years. During the course of it King Agesipolis died of a fever brought on by his exertions; and the war, which had begun in

B. C. 383, was ultimately brought to a close by his successor, Polybiades, in B. C. 379: who, by closely blockading Olynthus, deprived it of its supplies, and thus forced it to capitulate. The Olynthian confederacy was now dissolved; the Grecian cities belonging to it were compelled to join the Lacedæmonian alliance; whilst the maritime towns of Macedonia were again reduced under the domination of Amyntas. Sparta thus inflicted a great blow upon Hellas; for the Olynthian confederacy might have served as a counterpoise to the growing power of Macedon, destined soon to overwhelm the rest of Greece.

About the same time as the reduction of Olynthus, Phlius yielded to the arms of Agesilaus, who, on the complaint of the restored exiles that they could not obtain a restitution of their rights, had undertaken the siege of that city. A government nominated by Agesilaus was now appointed there.

§ 6. The power of Sparta on land had now attained its greatest height. At sea, she divided with Athens the empire of the smaller islands, whilst the larger ones seem to have been independent of both. Her unpopularity in Greece was commensurate with the extent of her harshly administered dominion. She was leagued on all sides with the enemies of Grecian freedom, — with the Persians, with Amyntas of Macedon, and with Dionysius of Syracuse. But she had now reached the turning-point of her fortunes, and her successes, which had been earned without scruple, were soon to be followed by misfortunes and disgrace. The first blow came from Thebes, where she had perpetrated her most signal injustice.

§ 7. That city had been for three years in the hands of Leontiades and the Spartan party. During this time great discontent had grown up among the resident citizens; and there was also the party of exasperated exiles, who had taken refuge at Athens. Among these exiles was Pelopidas, a young man of birth and fortune, who had already distinguished himself by his disinterested patriotism and ardent character. He applied a great part of his wealth to the relief of his indigent fellow-citizens, and gave such undivided attention to public affairs as to neglect the management of his own property.

Pelopidas took the lead in the plans now formed for the liberation of his country, and was the heart and soul of the enterprise. Rebuked by his friends on account of his carelessness, he replied that money was certainly useful to such as were lame and blind. His warm and generous heart was irresistibly attracted by everything great and noble; and hence he was led to form a close and intimate friendship with Epameinondas, who was several years older than himself, and of a still loftier character. Their friendship is said to have originated in a campaign in which they served together, when, Pelopidas having fallen in battle apparently dead, Epameinondas protected his body at the imminent risk of his own life. Pelopidas afterwards endeavored to persuade Epamei-

nondas to share his riches with him ; and when he did not succeed, he resolved to live on the same frugal fare as his great friend. A secret correspondence was opened with his friends at Thebes, the chief of whom were Phyllidas, secretary to the polemarchs, and Charon. Epameinondas was solicited to take a part in the conspiracy ; but, though he viewed the Lacedæmonian government with abhorrence, his principles forbade him to participate in a plot which was to be carried out by treachery and murder.

The dominant faction, besides the advantage of the actual possession of power, was supported by a garrison of fifteen hundred Lacedæmonians. The enterprise, therefore, was one of considerable difficulty and danger. In the execution of it Phyllidas took a leading part. It was arranged that he should give a supper to Archias and Philippus, the two polemarchs, whose company was to be secured by the allurements of an introduction to some Theban women remarkable for their beauty. After they had partaken freely of wine, the conspirators were to be introduced, disguised as women, and to complete their work by the assassination of the polemarchs. On the day before the banquet, Pelopidas, with six other exiles, arrived at Thebes from Athens, and, straggling through the gates towards dusk in the disguise of rustics and huntsmen, arrived safely at the house of Charon, where they remained concealed till the appointed hour. Before it arrived, however, a summons which Charon received to attend the polemarchs filled the conspirators with the liveliest alarm. These magistrates, whilst enjoying the good cheer of Phyllidas, received a vague message from Athens respecting some plot formed by the exiles ; and, as Charon was known to be connected with them, he was immediately sent for and questioned. By the aid of Phyllidas, however, Charon contrived to lull the suspicions of the polemarchs, who were already half intoxicated. Shortly after the departure of Charon another messenger arrived from Athens with a letter for Archias, in which the whole plot was accurately detailed. The messenger, in accordance with his instructions, informed Archias that the letter related to matters of serious importance. But the polemarch, completely engrossed by the pleasures of the table, thrust the letter under the pillow of his couch, exclaiming, " Serious matters to-morrow."

The hour of their fate was now ripe, and the polemarchs, flushed with wine, desired Phyllidas to introduce the women. The conspirators, disguised with veils, and in the ample folds of female attire, were ushered into the room. For men in the state of the revellers the deception was complete ; but when they attempted to lift the veils from the women, their passion was rewarded by the mortal thrust of a dagger. After thus slaying the two polemarchs, the conspirators went to the house of Leontiades, whom they found reclining after supper, whilst his wife sat spinning by his side. Leontiades, who was strong and courageous, immediately seized his sword and inflicted a mortal wound on one of the conspirators, but was at

length overpowered and killed by Pelopidas. Then the conspirators proceeded to the gaol, and, having liberated the prisoners, supplied them with arms.

The news of the revolution soon spread abroad. Epameinondas, whose repugnance to these proceedings attached only to their secret and treacherous character, now appeared, accompanied by a few friends in arms. Proclamations were issued announcing that Thebes was free, and calling upon all citizens who valued their liberty to muster in the market-place. As soon as day dawned, and the citizens became aware that they were summoned to vindicate their liberty, their joy and enthusiasm were unbounded. For the first time since the seizure of their citadel they met in public assembly; the conspirators, being introduced, were crowned by the priests with wreaths, and thanked in the name of their country's gods; whilst the assembly, with grateful acclamation, unanimously nominated Pelopidas, Charon, and Mellon as the first restored Bœotarchs.

§ 8. Meanwhile the remainder of the Theban exiles, accompanied by a body of Athenian volunteers, assembled on the frontiers of Bœotia; and, at the first news of the success of the conspiracy, hastened to Thebes to complete the revolution. The Lacedæmonian garrison sent to Thespiæ and Plataea for reinforcements; but these were dispersed by the Theban cavalry before they could approach the gates. The Thebans, under their new Bœotarchs, were already mounting to the assault of Cadmea, when the Lacedæmonians capitulated, and were allowed to march out with the honors of war. But several of the Theban citizens of the Lacedæmonian party, who had taken refuge in the citadel, were put to death, and in some cases even their children shared their fate. The surrender of the Cadmea seems to have been a disgraceful dereliction of duty on the part of the three commanding Spartan harmosts; nor are we surprised to hear that two of them were put to death, and the third fined and banished.

§ 9. The news of this revolution gave a shock to the Lacedæmonian power throughout Greece. At Sparta itself it occasioned the greatest consternation. Although it was the depth of winter, the allied contingents were immediately called out, and an expedition undertaken against Thebes. As Agesilaus, being now more than sixty years of age, declined to take the command, it was assigned to his colleague, Cleombrotus, who penetrated as far into Bœotia as Cynoscephalæ; but after remaining there sixteen days, he returned to Sparta without having effected anything, leaving, however, a third of his army at Thespiæ, under the command of Sphodrias. This expedition caused great alarm at Athens. The Lacedæmonians sent envoys to demand satisfaction for the part which the Athenians had taken in the Theban revolution. Among those who had aided and abetted the plot were two of the Strategi or generals, who were now sacrificed to the public security, one of them being condemned and executed, and the other, who fled before trial, sentenced to banishment.

The Thebans, now fearing that the Athenians would remain quiet and leave them to contend single-handed against the Spartans, bribed Sphodrias to invade Attica. Accordingly Sphodrias set out from Thespiæ with the intention of surprising the Peiræus by night; but being overtaken by daylight whilst still on the Thriasian plain near Eleusis, he retreated, though not without committing various acts of depredation. This attempt excited the liveliest indignation at Athens. The Lacedæmonian envoys still at Athens, were seized and interrogated, but exculpated themselves from all knowledge of the enterprise. Sphodrias himself was indicted for it at Sparta, but the influence of Agesilaus procured his acquittal. His escape was denounced by the unanimous voice of Greece. At Athens it at once produced an alliance with Thebes, and a declaration of war against Sparta (B. C. 378).

§ 10. From this time must be dated the era of a new political combination in Greece. Athens strained every nerve to organize a fresh confederacy. She already possessed the nucleus of one in a small body of maritime allies, and envoys were now sent to the principal ports and islands in the Ægean, inviting them to join the alliance on equal and honorable terms. Thebes did not scruple to enroll herself as one of its earliest members. At Athens itself the fortifications of Peiræus were completed, new ships of war were built, and every means taken to insure naval supremacy. The basis on which the confederacy was formed closely resembled that of Delos. The cities composing it were to be independent, and to send deputies to a congress at Athens, for the purpose of raising a common fund for the support of a naval force. Care was taken to banish all recollections connected with the former unpopularity of the Athenian empire. The name of the tribute was no longer *phoros*,* but *syntaxis*,† or “contribution”; and all previous rights of *cleruchia* were formally renounced. The confederacy, which ultimately numbered seventy cities, was chiefly organized through the exertions of Chabrias, of Timotheus the son of Conon, and of the orator Callistratus; but of these Timotheus was particularly successful in procuring accessions to the league. ~~✕~~

§ 11. The first proceeding of the assembled congress was to vote twenty-thousand hoplites, five hundred cavalry, and two hundred triremes. To meet the necessary expenses, a new graduated assessment of the *eisphora*,‡ or property tax, was instituted at Athens itself (B. C. 378); a species of tax never imposed except on urgent occasions. These proceedings show the ardor with which Athens embarked in the war. Nor were the Thebans less zealous, amongst whom the Spartan government had left a lively feeling of antipathy. They hastened to enroll themselves under Pelopidas and his colleagues; the most fertile portion of the Theban territory was

* φόρος.

† σύνταξις.

‡ εισφορά.

surrounded with a ditch and palisade, in order to protect it from invasion; the military force was put in the best training, and the famous "Sacred Band" was now for the first time instituted. This band was a regiment of three hundred hoplites. It was supported at the public expense, and kept constantly under arms. It was composed of young and chosen citizens of the best families, and organized in such a manner that each man had at his side a dear and intimate friend. Its special duty was the defence of the Cadmea.

§ 12. The Thebans had always been excellent soldiers; but their good fortune now gave them the greatest general that Greece had hitherto seen. Epameinondas, who now appears conspicuously in public life, deserves the reputation, not merely of a Theban, but of a Grecian hero. Sprung from a poor but ancient family, Epameinondas possessed all the best qualities of his nation, without that heaviness, either of body or mind, which characterized and deteriorated the Theban people. In the exercises of the gymnasium he aimed rather at feats of skill, than of mere corporeal strength. He excelled in music, — a term which among the Greeks denoted not only instrumental and vocal performance, and dancing, but also the just and rhythmical intonation of the voice and movement of the body. To these accomplishments he united the more intellectual study of philosophy. Through the Theban Simmias, and the Tarentine Spintharus, both of whom had been companions of Socrates, Epameinondas imbibed the wisdom and the method of the great philosopher of Athens; whilst by the Pythagorean Lysis, a Tarentine exile resident at Thebes, he was initiated into the more recondite doctrines of the earliest of Grecian sages. By these varied communications his mind was enlarged beyond the sphere of vulgar superstition, and emancipated from that timorous interpretation of nature, which caused even some of the leading men of those days to behold a portent in the most ordinary phenomenon. A still rarer accomplishment for a Theban was that of eloquence, which he possessed in no ordinary degree. These intellectual qualities were matched with moral virtues worthy to consort with them. Though eloquent, he was discreet; though poor, he was neither avaricious nor corrupt; though naturally firm and courageous, he was averse to cruelty, violence, and bloodshed; though a patriot, he was a stranger to personal ambition, and scorned the little arts by which popularity is too often courted. Pelopidas, as we have already said, was his bosom friend. It was natural, therefore, that, when Pelopidas was named Bœotarch, Epameinondas should be prominently employed in organizing the means of war; but it was not till some years later that his military genius shone forth in its full lustre.

§ 13. The Spartans were resolved to avenge the repulse they had received, and in the summer of B. C. 378, Agesilaus marched with a large army into Bœotia. He succeeded in breaking through the Theban circumvallation, and ravaged the country up to the very gates of Thebes

though the combined Theban and Athenian armies — the latter under Chabrias — presented too formidable a front for him to venture upon an engagement. After spending a month in the Bœotian territory without striking a decisive blow, Agesilaus returned to Sparta with the bulk of his army, leaving the rest under the command of Phœbidas at Thespiæ; who shortly afterwards fell in a skirmish. A second expedition undertaken by Agesilaus in the following summer (B. C. 377) ended much in the same manner. An injury to his leg, which he received on the homeward march, and which was aggravated by the unskilfulness of his surgeon, disabled him for a long time from active service; so that the invasion in the summer of B. C. 376 was conducted by Cleombrotus. But the Thebans had now acquired both skill and confidence. They anticipated the Lacedæmonians in seizing the passes of Citheron; and Cleombrotus, instead of invading Bœotia, was forced to retreat ingloriously.

§ 14. This ill-success on land determined the Lacedæmonians to try what they could effect at sea; and a fleet of sixty triremes under Pollio was accordingly despatched into the Ægean. Near Naxos they fell in with the Athenian fleet under Chabrias, who completely defeated them, thus regaining once more for Athens the mastery of the seas (B. C. 376). It was on this occasion that young Phocion first distinguished himself. The Athenians followed up this success by sending Timotheus, the son of Conon, with a fleet into the western seas. Timotheus won success as much by prudence and conciliation as by arms. The inhabitants of Cephallenia and Corcyra, several of the tribes of Epeirus, together with the Acarnanians dwelling on the coast, were persuaded to join the Athenian alliance. Off Acarnania he was attacked by the Peloponnesian fleet, which however he defeated; and being subsequently reinforced by some triremes from Corcyra, he became completely master of the seas in that quarter.

§ 15. The justice and forbearance, however, which Timotheus observed towards friends and neutrals, obliged him to draw largely upon the Athenian treasury; and the losses inflicted on the Athenian commerce by the privateers of Ægina caused the drain to be still more seriously felt. Athens was thus compelled to make fresh demands on the members of the confederacy; with which, however, the Thebans refused to comply, though it was partly at their instance that the Athenian fleet had been sent into the Ægean. This refusal was embittered by jealousy of the rapid strides, which, owing to the diversion caused by the maritime efforts of Athens, Thebes had recently been making. For two years Bœotia had been free from Spartan invasion; and Thebes had employed this time in extending her dominion over the neighboring cities. One of her most important successes during this period was the victory gained by Pelopidas near Tegyra, a village dependent upon Orchomenus (B. C. 375). The Spartan harmost of Orchomenus having left that town with the greater part of the garrison in order to make an incursion into Locris, Pelopidas formed the

project of surprising Orchomenus, but, finding it impracticable, was on his road home, when he fell in near Tegyra with the Lacedæmonians on their return from Locris. Pelopidas had with him only the Sacred Band and a small body of cavalry, while the Lacedæmonians were nearly twice as numerous. He did not, however, shrink from the conflict on this account; and when one of his men, running up to him, exclaimed, "We are fallen into the midst of the enemy," he replied, "Why so, more than they into the midst of us?" In the battle which ensued, the two Spartan commanders fell at the first charge, and their men were put to the rout. So signal a victory inspired the Thebans with new confidence and vigor, as it showed that Sparta was not invincible even in a pitched battle and with the advantage of numbers on her side. By the year 374 B. C., the Thebans had succeeded in entirely expelling the Lacedæmonians from Bœotia, had put down the oligarchical factions in the various cities, and revived the Bœotian confederacy. Orchomenus alone, which lay on the borders of Phocis, together with its dependency Chæronœa, still remained under Spartan government. The Thebans now began to look beyond their own boundaries, and to retaliate on the Phocians for the assistance they had lent to Sparta. The success of the Thebans in that quarter would have laid open to them the temple of Delphi with all its treasures; nor did such a result seem improbable, as the Phocians were at the same time hard pressed by Jason of Pheræ in Thessaly. But at the instance of the Phocians Cleombrotus came to their aid, and succeeded in assuring their safety, as well as that of Orchomenus.

§ 16. Such were the successes of the Thebans which revived the jealousy and distrust of Athens. Phocis was her ancient ally; and the Theban menace of that country, coupled with the anger excited by the refusal of the Thebans to pay the required tribute, induced the Athenians to make proposals of peace to Sparta. These were eagerly adopted, and Timotheus was instructed to sail back to Athens with the fleet. The peace, however, was broken almost as soon as made. On his way back, Timotheus disembarked at Zacynthus some exiles belonging to that island, and assisted them in establishing a fortified post. For this proceeding Sparta demanded redress at Athens in the name of the Zacynthian government; which being refused, war was again declared. The Lacedæmonians now sent a large force under the command of Mnasippus to subdue the important island of Corcyra, which has not appeared in Grecian history since the time of the fearful dissensions by which it was torn asunder in the Peloponnesian war. Mnasippus having effected a landing and blockaded the capital, the Corcyreans invoked the aid of the Athenians, who appointed Timotheus to conduct a fleet to their relief; and whilst this was preparing despatched Stesicles with six hundred peltasts overland through Thessaly and Epeirus. These, being conveyed across the channel to Corcyra, contrived to get into the city, and revived the hopes of the

besieged with the news of the approaching Athenian fleet. The distress and privation had now become very great within the city; but the misconduct of Mnasippus afforded the Corcyraeans an opportunity of retrieving their affairs. His soldiers, who were mostly mercenaries, being irregularly paid and harshly treated, became mutinous and insubordinate; the watch was badly kept; and the besieged, observing their opportunity, made a sally, in which the Lacedæmonians were defeated and Mnasippus himself slain. Shortly afterwards, the approach of the Athenian fleet being announced, the Lacedæmonians hastily evacuated the island, leaving behind them a large store of provisions and many slaves, besides a considerable number of sick and wounded soldiers.

When the Athenian fleet arrived, it was found to be commanded by Iphicrates, Chabrias, and the orator Callistratus. Timotheus had been superseded in the command, because he was thought to have wasted time unnecessarily in equipping the fleet. Iphicrates, soon after his arrival at Corcyra, captured nine out of ten triremes sent by Dionysius of Syracuse to the assistance of Sparta. From thence he crossed over to the opposite coast of Acarnania, and even laid waste the western shores of Peloponnesus.

§ 17. These successes of the Athenians occasioned great alarm at Sparta. Antalcidas was again despatched (B. C. 372) to solicit the intervention of Persia, on the plea that the peace had been infringed by the re-establishment of the Bœotian confederation. But even Athens had become anxious for peace, in consequence of the increasing jealousy of Thebes, which had recently destroyed the restored city of Platea, and obliged its inhabitants once more to seek refuge at Athens. Prompted by these feelings, the Athenians opened negotiations for a peace with Sparta; a resolution which was also adopted by the majority of the allies. Due notice of this intention was given to the Thebans, who were also invited to send deputies to Sparta.

§ 18. A congress was accordingly opened in that city in the spring of 371 B. C. The Athenians were represented by Callias, Autocles, and Callistratus; and the Thebans by Epameinondas, then one of the polemarchs. The terms of a peace were agreed upon, by which the independence of the various Grecian cities was to be recognized; the armaments on both sides were to be disbanded, and the Spartan harmosts and garrisons everywhere dismissed. Sparta ratified the treaty for herself and her allies; but Athens took the oaths only for herself, and was followed separately by her allies. But when the turn of the Thebans came, Epameinondas refused to sign except in the name of the Bœotian confederation, and justified his refusal in a bold and eloquent speech, in which he maintained that the title of Thebes to the headship of Bœotia rested on as good a foundation as the claim of Sparta to the sovereignty of Laconia, which he maintained was derived only from the power of the sword.

This novel and startling view of the matter, which nobody before had even ventured to open, was peculiarly insulting to Spartan ears. Agesilaus was incensed beyond measure at what he regarded as another instance of Theban insolence. Starting abruptly from his seat, and addressing Epameinondas, he exclaimed: "Speak out, — will you, or will you not leave each Bœotian city independent?" Epameinondas replied by another question: "Will *you* leave each of the Laconian towns independent?" Agesilaus made no answer, but, directing the name of the Thebans to be struck out of the treaty, proclaimed them excluded from it.

Thus ended the congress. The peace concluded between Sparta, Athens, and their respective allies, was called the peace of Callias. The result with regard to Thebes and Sparta will appear in the following chapter.



The Wind Boreas, from the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes at Athens.



Ithome, from the Stadium of Messene.

CHAPTER XL.

THE SUPREMACY OF THEBES.

§ 1. Invasion of Bœotia by Cleombrotus. § 2. Battle of Leuctra. § 3. Its Effect throughout Greece. § 4. Jason of Pheræ joins the Thebans. § 5. Progress of Thebes. § 6. Assassination of Jason. § 7. Establishment of the Arcadian League. § 8. First Invasion of Peloponnesus by Epameinondas. Alarm at Sparta. Vigorous Measures of Agesilaus. § 9. Epameinondas founds Megalopolis, and restores the Messenians. § 10. Alliance between Athens and Sparta. Second Invasion of Peloponnesus by Epameinondas. § 11. Invasion of Laconia by the Arcadians. § 12. Expedition of Pelopidas into Thessaly. The "Tearless Battle" between the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians. § 13. Third Invasion of Peloponnesus by Epameinondas. § 14. Mission of Pelopidas to the Court of Susa. § 15. Seizure of Pelopidas by Alexander. His Release. § 16. The Athenians acquire Oropus. Alliance between Athens and Arcadia. § 17. Attempt of the Athenians to seize Corinth, followed by an Alliance between the Corinthians and Thebans. § 18. Success of the Athenians at Sea. A Theban Fleet commanded by Epameinondas. § 19. Death of Pelopidas. § 20. Wars between Elis and Arcadia. Battle at Olympia during the Festival. § 21. Dissensions among the Arcadians. § 22. Fourth Invasion of Peloponnesus by Epameinondas. Attempts upon Sparta and Mantinea. § 23. Battle of Mantinea, and Death of Epameinondas. § 24. Death of Agesilaus.

§ 1. In pursuance of the treaty, the Lacedæmonians withdrew their har-
 mosts and garrisons, whilst the Athenians recalled Iphicrates with the
 fleet from the Ionian Sea. Only one feeling prevailed at Sparta,—a
 desire to crush Thebes; and this was carried to an almost insane extent;
 so that even Xenophon, a warm partisan of the Lacedæmonians, compares
 it to the misleading and fatal inspiration of the Homeric Atê. But this

was an afterthought. Before the actual collision, the general opinion, not only at Sparta, but throughout Greece, was very different. Thebes was regarded as doomed to destruction; and it was not for a moment imagined that, single-handed, she would be able to resist the might of Sparta. At the time when the peace was concluded, Cleombrotus happened to be in Phocis at the head of a Lacedæmonian army; and he now received orders to invade Bœotia without delay. The Thebans, on their side, were equally determined on resistance. In order to prevent Cleombrotus from penetrating into Bœotia, Epameinondas occupied with a strong force the narrow pass near Coronæa, situated between the Lake Copaia and a spur of Mount Helicon, through which Agesilaus had forced a passage on his homeward march from Asia. But Cleombrotus took a circuitous road, deemed hardly practicable, and therefore but slightly guarded, over the mountains to the south. Arriving thus unexpectedly before Creusis on the Crissean Gulf, he took that place by surprise, and seized twelve Theban triremes which lay in the harbor. Then, having left a garrison in the town, he directed his march through the territory of Thespiæ, and encamped on the memorable plain of Leuctra.

§ 2. This march of Cleombrotus displays considerable military skill. He had not only succeeded in penetrating into Bœotia almost without opposition; but, by seizing the port of Creusis, he had secured a safe retreat in case of disaster. The Thebans were discouraged at his progress, and it required all the energy and address of Epameinondas and Pelopidas to revive their drooping spirits. Omens of evil import had attended their march from Thebes; and when they encamped within sight of the Lacedæmonians, three out of the seven Bœotarchs were for returning to the city and shutting themselves up in it, after sending away their wives and children to Athens. But Epameinondas had too much confidence in his own genius to listen to such timorous counsels. His own mind was proof against the fears of superstition, and luckily some favorable portents now gave encouragement to his troops. A Spartan exile serving with the Thebans bade them remark, that on that very spot stood the tomb of two Bœotian virgins who slew themselves in consequence of having been outraged by Lacedæmonians. The shades of these injured maidens, he said, would now demand vengeance; and the Theban commanders, seizing the omen, crowned the tombs with wreaths.

The forces on each side are not accurately known, but it seems probable that the Thebans were outnumbered by the Lacedæmonians. The military genius of Epameinondas, however, compensated any inferiority of numbers by novelty of tactics. Up to this time Grecian battles had been uniformly conducted by a general attack in line. Epameinondas now first adopted the manœuvre, used with such success by Napoleon in modern times, of concentrating heavy masses on a given point of the enemy's array. Having formed his left wing into a dense column of fifty deep, so

that its depth was greater than its front, he directed it against the Lacedæmonian right, containing the best troops in their army, drawn up twelve deep, and led by Cleombrotus in person. Meanwhile the Theban centre and right were ordered to be kept out of action, and in readiness to support the advance of the left wing. The battle began with skirmishes of cavalry in front, in which the Lacedæmonian horse were soon driven in. The Theban left, the Sacred Band with Pelopidas at their head, leading the van, now fell with such irresistible weight on the Lacedæmonian right, as to bear down all opposition. The shock was terrible. Cleombrotus himself was mortally wounded in the onset, and with difficulty carried off by his comrades. Numbers of his officers, as well as of his men, were slain, and the whole wing was broken and driven back to their camp. On no other part of the line was there any serious fighting; partly owing to the disposition made by Epameinondas, and partly to the lukewarmness of the Spartan allies, who occupied the centre and part of the right wing. The loss of the Thebans was small compared with that of the Lacedæmonians. Out of seven hundred Spartans in the army of the latter, four hundred had fallen; and their king also had been slain, an event which had not occurred since the fatal day of Thermopylæ. Many of their allies hardly concealed the satisfaction which they felt at their defeat; whilst so great was the depression among the Lacedæmonians themselves, that very few were found bold enough to propose a renewal of the combat, in order to recover the bodies of the slain. The majority decided that a truce should be solicited for that purpose. But, though the bodies of the fallen were given up, their arms were retained; and five centuries afterwards the shields of the principal Spartan officers were seen at Thebes by the traveller Pausanias. ✱

§ 3. The victory of Leuctra was gained within three weeks after the exclusion of the Thebans from the peace of Callias. The effect of it throughout Greece was electrical. It was everywhere felt that a new military power had arisen, — that the prestige of the old Spartan discipline and tactics had departed. Yet at Sparta itself, though the reverse was the greatest that her arms had ever sustained, the news of it was received with an assumption of indifference characteristic of the people. The Ephors forbade the chorus of men, who were celebrating in the theatre the festival of the Gymnopædia, to be interrupted. They contented themselves with directing the names of the slain to be communicated to their relatives, and with issuing an order forbidding the women to wail and mourn. Those whose friends had fallen appeared abroad on the morrow with joyful countenances, whilst the relatives of the survivors seemed overwhelmed with grief and shame. The Ephors then directed their attention to the rescue of the defeated army. The whole remaining military force of Sparta, including even the more aged citizens, together with what forces could be collected from the allies, was placed under the command of Archidamus,

son of Agesilaus, and transported by sea from Corinth to Creusis, which port now proved an invaluable acquisition.

§ 4. Immediately after the battle the Thebans had sent to Jason of Phæræ in Thessaly, to solicit his aid against the Lacedæmonians. We have already had occasion to mention this despot, who was one of the most remarkable men of the period. He was Tagus,* or Generalissimo, of all Thessaly; and Macedonia was partially dependent on him. He was a man of boundless ambition, and meditated nothing less than extending his dominion over the whole of Greece, for which his central situation seemed to offer many facilities. Upon receiving the invitation of the Thebans, Jason immediately resolved to join them, and marched with such rapidity that he forestalled all opposition, though he had to proceed through the hostile territories of the Heracleots and Phocians. When he arrived, the Thebans were anxious that he should unite with them in an attack upon the Lacedæmonian camp; but Jason dissuaded them from the enterprise, advising them not to drive the Lacedæmonians to despair, and offering his mediation. He accordingly succeeded in effecting a truce, by which the Lacedæmonians were allowed to depart from Bœotia unmolested. Their commander, however, did not trust to this; but, having given out that he meant to march over Mount Cithæron, he decamped in the night to Creusis, and from thence proceeded by a difficult road along the side of the rocks upon the coast to Ægosthena in the Megarid; where he was met by Archidamus and his army. As the defeated troops were now in safety, the object of the latter had been attained, and the whole armament was disbanded.

§ 5. According to Spartan custom, the survivors of a defeat were looked upon as degraded men, and subjected to the penalties of civil infamy. No allowance was made for circumstances. But those who had fled at Leuctra were three hundred in number; an attempt to enforce against them the usual penalties might prove not only inconvenient, but even dangerous; and on the proposal of Agesilaus, they were, for this occasion only, suspended. The loss of material power which Sparta sustained by the defeat was great. The ascendancy she had hitherto enjoyed in parts north of the Corinthian Gulf fell from her at once, and was divided between Jason of Phæræ and the Thebans. The latter, flushed by success, now panted for nothing but military glory, and under the superintendence of Epameinondas devoted themselves to an active course of warlike training. Their alliance was sought on every side. The Phocians were the first to claim it, and their example was soon followed by the Eubœans, the Locrians, the Malians, and the Heracleots. In this flood-tide of power the Thebans longed to take vengeance on their ancient enemy, Orchomenos, to destroy the town, and to sell the inhabitants for slaves; and from this

* Ταγός.

design they were only diverted by the mildness and wisdom of Epameinondas. But the Orchomenians were forced to make their submission, and were then readmitted as members of the Bœotian confederation. The same lenity was not extended to the Thespians, who were expelled from Bœotia, and their territory annexed to Thebes. They took refuge, like the Plataeans, at Athens.

§ 6. At the same time Jason of Pheræ was also extending his influence and power. It was known that he was revolving some important enterprise, but it was doubtful whether he would turn his arms against the Persians, against the cities of Chalcidicé, or against the states of Southern Greece. After the battle of Leuctra the last seemed the most probable. He had announced his intention of being present at the Pythian festival, which was to take place in August, 370 B. C., at the head of a numerous army; on which occasion his sacrifice to the Delphian god was to consist of the enormous quantity of one thousand bulls, and ten thousand sheep, goats, and swine. But it was unpleasant tidings for Grecian ears to learn that he intended to usurp the presidency and management of the festival, which were the prerogatives of the Amphictyonic Council. In this conjuncture the alarmed Delphians consulted the god as to what they should do in case Jason approached their treasury, and received for answer that he would himself take care of it. Shortly afterwards the despot was assassinated by seven youths as he sat in public to give audience to all comers. The death of Jason was felt as a relief by Greece, and especially by Thebes. He was succeeded by his two brothers Polyphron and Polydorus; but they possessed neither his ability nor his power.

§ 7. The Athenians stood aloof from the contending parties. They had not received the news of the battle of Leuctra with any pleasure, for they now dreaded Thebes more than Sparta. But instead of helping the latter, they endeavored to prevent either from obtaining the supremacy in Greece, and for this purpose called upon the other states to form a new alliance upon the terms of the peace of Antalcidas. Most of the Peloponnesian states joined this new league; but the Eleans declined, on the ground that they would thus deprive themselves of their sovereignty over the Triphylian cities.

Thus even the Peloponnesian cities became independent of Sparta. But this was not all. Never did any state fall with greater rapidity. She not only lost the dominion over states which she had exercised for centuries; but two new political powers sprung up in the peninsula, which threatened her own independence. The first of these was the Arcadian confederation, established a few months after the battle of Leuctra; the second was the new Messenian state, founded by Epameinondas two years later.

It has been related how the Lacedæmonians had some years previously broken up Mantinëa into its five original villages, and thus degraded it from the rank of a city. The Mantineans, assisted by the Arcadians of

various other quarters, now availed themselves of the weakness of Sparta to rebuild their town. Its restoration suggested the still more extensive scheme of a union of all the Arcadian cities. Hitherto the Arcadians had been a race, and not a nation, having nothing in common but their name. The idea of uniting them into a federal state arose with Lycomedes, one of the leading men of the restored Mantinēa. It was expected that the Thebans and Argives would lend their aid to the project, which was well received throughout the greater part of Arcadia, though opposed by Tegea and certain other cities jealous of Mantinēa. The Spartans would not tamely allow such a formidable power to spring up at their very doors; and, accordingly, Agesilaus marched with a Lacedæmonian army against Mantinēa (B. C. 370). But the Mantineans were too prudent to venture on an engagement till reinforced by the Thebans, to whom they had applied for assistance; and as they kept within their walls, Agesilaus, after ravaging their territory, marched back to Sparta.

§ 8. Ever since the battle of Leuctra, Epameinondas had been watching an opportunity for interfering in the affairs of Peloponnesus. But his views were not confined to the establishment of an Arcadian union. He also proposed to restore the exiled Messenians to their territory. That race had formerly lived under a dynasty of their own kings; but for the last three centuries their land had been in the possession of the Lacedæmonians, and they had been fugitives upon the face of the earth. The restoration of these exiles, now dispersed in various Hellenic colonies, to their former rights, would plant a bitterly hostile neighbor on the very borders of Laconia. Epameinondas accordingly opened communications with them, and numbers of them flocked to his standard during his march into Arcadia, late in the autumn of 370 B. C. He entered that country shortly after Agesilaus had quitted it, and, in addition to the Arcadians, was immediately joined by the Argives and Eleans. The combined force, including the Thebans, is estimated at seventy thousand men. Epameinondas, who had in reality the chief command, though associated with the other Bœotarchs, brought with him choice bodies of auxiliaries from Phocis, Locris, and other places, and especially the excellent cavalry and pel-tasts of Thessaly. But it was the Theban bands themselves that were the object of universal admiration; which, under the inspection of Epameinondas, had been brought into the highest state of discipline and efficiency. The Peloponnesian allies, elated at the sight of so large and so well appointed an army, pressed Epameinondas to invade Laconia itself, since his services were no longer required in Arcadia, in consequence of the retreat of Agesilaus. Although it was now mid-winter, he resolved, after some hesitation, to comply with their request. Dividing his army into four parts, he crossed without any serious opposition the mountains separating Arcadia from Laconia, and reunited his forces at Sellasia. From thence he marched to Amyclæ, two or three miles below Sparta,

where he crossed the river Eurotas, and then advanced cautiously towards the capital.

Sparta, which was wholly unfortified, was now filled with confusion and alarm. The women, who had never yet seen the face of an enemy, gave vent to their fears in wailing and lamentation. Moreover, the state was in great danger from her own intestine divisions. Not only was she threatened by the customary discontent of the Periœci and Helots, but the large class of poor and discontented citizens called "Inferiors" looked with anger on the wealth and political power of the "Peers." * But the emergency was pressing, and called for decisive measures. The Ephors ventured on the step of offering freedom to such Helots as would enlist as hoplites for the defence of the city. The call was responded to by no fewer than six thousand, who now inspired fear by their very numbers; and the alarm was justified and heightened by the fact that a considerable body of Periœci and Helots had actually joined the Thebans.

In the midst of these pressing dangers, Sparta was saved by the vigilance and energy of her aged king Agesilaus. He repulsed the cavalry of Epameinondas as they advanced towards the city; and so vigorous were his measures of defence, that Epameinondas abandoned all further attempt upon the city, and proceeded southwards as far as Helos and Gythium on the coast, the latter the port and arsenal of Sparta. After laying waste with fire and sword the valley of the Eurotas, he retraced his steps to the frontiers of Arcadia.

§ 9. Epameinondas now proceeded to carry out the two objects for which his march had been undertaken; namely, the consolidation of the Arcadian confederation, and the establishment of the Messenians as an independent community. In the prosecution of the former of these designs, the mutual jealousy of the various Arcadian cities rendered it necessary that a new one should be founded, which should be regarded as the capital of the confederation. Consequently, a new city was built on the banks of the Helisson, called Megalopolis, and peopled by the inhabitants of forty distinct Arcadian townships. Here a synod of deputies from the towns composing the confederation, called "The Ten Thousand," † was to meet periodically for the despatch of business. A body of Arcadian troops, called Epariti, ‡ was also levied for the purposes of the league. Epameinondas next founded the town of Messêné. Its citadel was placed on the summit of Mount Ithome, which had three centuries before been so bravely defended by the Messenians against the Spartans; whilst the town itself was seated lower down upon the western slope of the mountain, but connected with its Acropolis by a continuous wall. The strength of its fortifications was long afterwards a subject of admiration. The territory attached to the new city extended southwards to the Messenian Gulf, and

* See p. 410.

† Μύριοι.

‡ Ἐπαρίτοι.

northwards to the borders of Arcadia, comprising some of the most fertile land in Peloponnesus.

In order to settle the affairs of Arcadia and Messenia, Epameinondas had remained in Peloponnesus four months after the legal period of his command had expired; for which offence he and the other Bœotarchs were arraigned on his return to Thebes. But they were honorably acquitted, Epameinondas having expressed his willingness to die if the Thebans would record that he was put to death because he had humbled Sparta, and taught his countrymen to conquer her armies.

§ 10. So low had Sparta now sunk, that she was fain to send envoys to beg the assistance of the Athenians. This request was acceded to; and shortly afterwards an alliance was formed between the two states, in which Sparta waived all her claims to superiority and headship. It was agreed that the command both on land and sea should alternate every five days between Athens and Sparta, and that their united forces should occupy Corinth and guard the passes of the Oean Mountains across the isthmus, so as to prevent the Thebans from again invading Peloponnesus. Before this position Epameinondas appeared with his army in the spring of the year B. C. 369; and as all his attempts to draw on a battle proved unavailing, he resolved on forcing his way through the hostile lines. Directing his march just before daybreak against the position occupied by the Lacedæmonians, he succeeded in surprising and completely defeating them. He was thus enabled to form a junction with his allies in Peloponnesus, whilst the Lacedæmonians and Athenians do not appear to have stirred from their position. Sicyon now deserted Sparta and joined the Theban alliance; but the little town of Phlius remained faithful to the Lacedæmonians, and successfully resisted all the attempts made to capture it. The Thebans were also defeated in an attempt upon Corinth; and the spirits of the Spartan allies were still further raised by the arrival at Lechæum of a Syracusan squadron, bringing two thousand mercenary Gauls and Iberians, together with fifty horsemen, as a succor from the despot Dionysius. After a while, however, according to the usual desultory nature of Grecian warfare, both armies returned home without having achieved anything of importance.

§ 11. Meanwhile the Arcadians, elate with their newly acquired power, not only believed themselves capable of maintaining their independence without foreign assistance, but thought themselves entitled to share the headship with Thebes, as Athens did with Sparta. Lycomedes, whom we have already mentioned as an able and energetic citizen of Mantinea, was the chief promoter of these ambitious views, and easily flattered the national vanity of his countrymen by appeals to their acknowledged courage and hardihood. They responded to his representations by calling upon him to lead them into active service, appointed him their commander, and chose all the officers whom he nominated. The first exploit of Ly-

comedes was to rescue the Argive troops in Epidaurus, where they were in great danger of being cut off by a body of Athenians and Corinthians under Chabrias. He then marched into the southwestern portion of Messenia, where he penetrated as far as Asiné, defeated the Spartan commander Geranor, who had drawn out the garrison to oppose him, and destroyed the suburbs of the town. It was probably by this expedition that the annihilation of the Spartan dominion in that quarter was completed. The hardihood and enterprise displayed in it excited everywhere both admiration and alarm; but at Thebes it also occasioned jealousy. At the same time circumstances arose which tended to disunite the Arcadians and Eleans. The former objected to Elis resuming her sovereignty over the towns of Triphylia, which they had thought to regain after the decay of the Spartan supremacy.

§ 12. During the year 368 B. C. the Thebans undertook no expedition into Peloponnesus; but Pelopidas conducted a Theban force into Thessaly for the purpose of protecting Larissa and other cities against the designs of Alexander, who, by the murder of his two brothers, had become despot of Phæræ and Tagus of Thessaly. Alexander was compelled to solicit peace; and Pelopidas, after establishing a defensive league amongst the Thessalian cities, marched into Macedonia, when the regent Ptolemy entered into an alliance with the Thebans. Amongst the hostages given for the observance of this treaty was the youthful Philip, son of Amyntas, afterwards the celebrated king of Macedon, who remained for some years at Thebes.

Shortly afterwards, the Lacedæmonians, under the command of Archidamus, supported by the reinforcements sent by Dionysius, succeeded in routing the Arcadians with great slaughter, whilst not a single Lacedæmonian fell, whence the victory derived the name of "the Tearless Battle." The news of this defeat of the Arcadians was by no means unwelcome at Thebes, as it was calculated to check their presumption, and to show them that they could not dispense with Theban aid.

§ 13. Epameinondas now resolved on another expedition into Peloponnesus, with the view of bringing the Achæans into the Theban alliance. Until the battle of Leuctra the cities of Achaia had been the dependent allies of Sparta; but since that event they had remained free and neutral. On the approach of Epameinondas they immediately submitted, and consented to be enrolled among the allies of Thebes. That commander, with his usual moderation, did not insist upon any change in their governments. But this was made a subject of accusation against him at home. The Arcadians charged him with having left men in power in the Achæan cities who would join Sparta on the first opportunity. These accusations, being supported by the enemies of Epameinondas, prevailed: his proceedings in Achaia were reversed; democratic governments were established in the various Achæan cities; and in the ensuing year Epameinondas himself

was not re-elected as Boeotarch. But the consequence was, that the exiles thus driven from the various Achæan cities, watching their opportunity, succeeded in effecting counter-revolutions, and afterwards took a decided part with Sparta. ~~XX~~

§ 14. The Thebans now resolved to send an embassy to Persia. Ever since the peace of Antalcidas the Great King had become the recognized mediator between the states of Greece; and his fiat seemed indispensable to stamp the claims of that city which pretended to the headship. The recent achievements of Thebes might entitle her to aspire to that position; and at all events the alterations which she had produced in the internal state of Greece, by the establishment of Megalopolis and Messêné, seemed to require for their stability the sanction of a Persian rescript. For this purpose Pelopidas and Ismenias proceeded to the court of Susa, apparently in the years 367–366 B. C. They were accompanied by other deputies from the allies; and at the same time the Athenians sent Timagoras and Leon to counteract their influence. Pelopidas may probably have pleaded the former services of Thebes towards Persia at the time of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, as well as in having opposed the expedition of Agesilaus into Asia. But the great fact which influenced the decision of the Persian king would doubtless be, that Thebes was now the strongest state in Greece; for it was evidently easier to exercise Persian ascendancy there by her means, than through a weaker power. Pelopidas had therefore only to ask his own terms. A rescript was issued declaring the independence of Messêné and Amphipolis; the Athenians were directed to lay up their ships of war in ordinary; Thebes was declared the head of Greece; and the dispute between Elis and Arcadia on the subject of the Triphylian cities was decided in favor of the former power: probably at the instance of Pelopidas, and on account of the estrangement now subsisting between Arcadia and Thebes.

The Athenian and Arcadian envoys had attempted in vain to secure better terms for their own states. Antiochus, the representative of Arcadia, on his return to Megalopolis, vented his displeasure by a most depreciatory report to the Ten Thousand of all that he had seen during his journey. There were armies, he said, of cooks, confectioners, wine-bearers, and the like, but not a single man fit to fight against Greeks; and even the vaunted golden plane-tree itself, he affirmed, was too small to afford shade for a single grasshopper. The Thebans, on the contrary, made the most of their success. Deputies from the allied cities were summoned to Thebes to hear the royal rescript read; but it was coldly received by all present. Lycomedes, the Arcadian envoy, even protested against the headship claimed for Thebes, and asserted that the allied synod should not be exclusively convened in that city, but in the actual seat of war. After some angry language, the Arcadians withdrew from the assembly, and the other deputies seem to have followed their example. Nor were

the Thebans more successful in an attempt to get the rescript recognized by sending it round to the various cities separately.

§ 15. It was, in all probability, during a mission undertaken by Pelopidas and Ismenias, for the purpose of procuring the acknowledgment of the rescript in Thessaly and the northern parts of Greece, that they were seized and imprisoned by Alexander of Pheræ. That tyrant met them at Pharsalus under all the appearances of peace, but took occasion of their being without guards to seize and carry them off to Pheræ. Such value was attached to the person of Pelopidas, that his imprisonment induced several of the Thessalian partisans of Thebes to submit to Alexander. Even the Athenians did not disdain to avail themselves of this treacherous breach of public faith, and sent Autocles with a fleet of thirty triremes and one thousand hoplites to the support of Alexander. Meanwhile the justly incensed Thebans had despatched an army of eight thousand hoplites and six hundred cavalry, to recover or avenge their favorite citizen. Unfortunately, however, they were no longer commanded by Epameinondas, who, as we have related, had not been re-elected to the office of Bœotarch. Their present commanders were utterly incompetent. They were beaten and forced to retreat, and the army was in such danger from the active pursuit of the Thessalians and Athenians, that its destruction seemed inevitable. Luckily, however, Epameinondas was serving as a hoplite in the ranks. By the unanimous voice of the troops he was now called to the command, and succeeded in conducting the army safely back to Thebes. Here the unsuccessful Bœotarchs were disgraced, and Epameinondas, whose reputation now shone forth more brilliantly than ever, was restored to the command, and placed at the head of a second Theban army destined to attempt the release of Pelopidas. Directed by his superior skill, the enterprise proved successful. Anxious, however, for the life of his friend, Epameinondas avoided reducing Alexander to such extremities as might induce him to make away with Pelopidas; and thus, though the main object of the expedition was attained, it was not accompanied with such striking and decisive results as to counterbalance the advantages which Alexander had derived from his treachery.

§ 16. The acquirement of Oropus was, however, some compensation to the Thebans for their losses on the other side of their frontier. The possession of that town, which lay on the borders of Athens and Thebes, had long been a subject of contention between the two states. For many years past it had been in the hands of the Athenians; but it was now seized by a party of exiles favorable to the Theban interest, and immediately occupied by a Theban garrison, which deprived the Athenians of all hopes of retaking it. The Athenians had been displeased at the want of zeal manifested by their Peloponnesian allies in not assisting them in the affair of Oropus; and Lycomedes, who was disgusted with the Theban ascendancy, took advantage of this feeling to negotiate an alli-

ance between Arcadia and Athens. He procured himself to be appointed ambassador to that city, where he was favorably received, and preliminary arrangements made for an alliance; but on his way home he was assassinated by some Arcadian exiles of the opposite party. The negotiations, however, proceeded. Callistratus was sent from Athens as ambassador to the Arcadian Ten Thousand, whilst Epameinondas hastened from Thebes, to counteract, if possible, the machinations of the eloquent Athenian. But though Epameinondas here displayed his ready talent in debate, he was unsuccessful. The Athenians concluded an alliance with Arcadia, but at the same time without formally breaking with Thebes.

§ 17. This connection rendered it desirable for Athens to secure an uninterrupted communication with Peloponnesus, and for this purpose she formed the treacherous design of seizing Corinth by surprise. She was not only at peace, but in alliance, with that city; and her auxiliaries were serving in the Corinthian forts and outposts. These, however, were to be the instruments of her treachery. Under pretence of a reinforcement, an armament under the command of Chares was despatched to Corinth. But the designs of Athens had reached the ears of the Corinthians, who refused to admit Chares into their port of Cenchræ; and at the same time dismissed the other Athenians in their service, yet with all the appearance of good-will. Though thus saved for the moment, this step had placed the Corinthians in a state of isolation; and they therefore resolved to open negotiations with Thebes for a general peace. Their overtures were well received by the Thebans. A meeting of the allies was then convened at Sparta, in which the Corinthians set forth the necessity of their case, and endeavored to induce the rest of the confederates to follow their example in concluding a peace with Thebes, the terms of which were to be the independence of each individual city, including Messéné; but without recognizing the headship of Thebes, or entering into any formal alliance with her. On this basis a peace was accordingly concluded, between Thebes, Corinth, Phlius, Epidaurus, and perhaps one or two other cities; but as the Thebans made the independence of Messéné an indispensable condition, Sparta resolutely refused to join it, and the larger states of Greece, Thebes, Athens, Sparta, Arcadia, and others, still remained at war.

§ 18. Athens availed herself of the distracted condition of Greece to extend her maritime empire. She had no longer occasion to dread any opposition from Sparta; and she accordingly sent a powerful fleet into the Ægean under the command of Timotheus, who succeeded in conquering Samos, and in obtaining possession of Potidæa, Pydna, Methôné, and it is said even of Olynthus itself. But in the midst of his success, he was menaced by the unexpected appearance of a Theban fleet. Epameinondas, jealous of the maritime empire of Athens, had persuaded his countrymen to try their strength on a new element. Sparta, he said, was

humbled; it was not she, but Athens, who was now their prominent enemy; and he exhorted them not to rest content till they had transferred to the Theban Cadmēa the Propylæa which adorned the acropolis of Athens. A fleet of one hundred triremes was constructed, and he himself appointed to the command; whilst envoys were sent to Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium, to induce them to break with Athens. It was with this fleet that Epameinondas appeared in the Hellespont in B. C. 363. He seems, however, to have effected little, — at least nothing splendid is recorded, — and this expedition proved both the first and last of the Thebans by sea.

§ 19. It was in the same year that his friend Pelopidas led an expedition into Thessaly against Alexander of Pheræ. Strong complaints of the tyranny of that despot arrived at Thebes, and Pelopidas, who probably also burned to avenge his private wrongs, prevailed upon the Thebans to send him into Thessaly to punish the tyrant. The forces he had collected were far inferior in number to those of Alexander; and when informed at Pharsalus, that the tyrant was advancing towards him with a great army, he remarked that it was so much the better, since there would be more for him to conquer. The battle was fought on the hills of Cynoscephalæ; the troops of Alexander were routed; and Pelopidas, observing his hated enemy endeavoring to rally them, was seized with such a transport of rage, that, regardless of his duties as a general, he rushed impetuously forwards and challenged him to single combat. Alexander shrunk back within the ranks of his guards, followed impetuously by Pelopidas, who was soon slain, fighting with desperate bravery. Although the army of Alexander was defeated with severe loss, the news of the death of Pelopidas deprived the Thebans and their Thessalian allies of all the joy which they would otherwise have felt at their victory. The Thebans, however, subsequently avenged the death of their general by sending a fresh force of seven thousand hoplites into Thessaly; with which they compelled Alexander to relinquish all his dependencies in that country, to confine himself to the actual limits of Pheræ, and to swear allegiance to Thebes. The Thebans thus acquired greater influence than they had ever before enjoyed in Northern Greece.

§ 20. Meantime a war had been carried on between Elis and Arcadia. It has been already remarked, on more than one occasion, that the Eleans claimed the sovereignty of the Triphylian towns, in which they were backed by Sparta, but opposed by the Arcadians. The Eleans also laid claim to a tract of hilly ground lying north of the Alphæus, containing Lasion and some other towns which had been included in the Arcadian league. They seized Lasion by surprise, but were driven out again by the Arcadians, who afterwards took formal possession of the sacred district of Olympia. Other acts of hostility had occurred between the Eleans and Arcadians, and the former had called in the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, but without any decisive result. In 364 B. C. the Arcadians

were still in possession of Olympia; and as the Olympic festival occurred in that year, they availed themselves of their situation to transfer the presidency of the games from the Eleans to the Pisatans, who had long laid claim to it. It was anticipated that the Eleans would assert their rights by force; and the Arcadians prepared to resist any attempt of that kind, not only by a large army of their own, but also by summoning their allies. The festival had already commenced, many of the games had been performed, and the wrestling match was going on, when bodies of the Eleans, and their allies, the Achæans, were observed approaching the sacred ground. The Arcadians immediately rushed to arms, and formed on the bank of the little river Cladeus, to prevent their approach. The Eleans advanced with the utmost boldness, but were finally repulsed and obliged to retire. On this occasion the temple of the Olympian deity himself was converted into a fortress, and the majestic Zeus of Pheidias looked down with calm dignity upon those who were contending for the honor of celebrating his festival. The Eleans subsequently avenged themselves by striking the 104th Olympiad out of the list of the festivals.

§ 21. Not content with this insult to the Eleans, the Arcadians carried their insolence to the extent of sacrilege, by despoiling the rich temples of Olympia. But this act ripened the seeds of disunion which were already springing up among the Arcadians themselves. The assembly of Mantinëa passed an act renouncing all participation in the sacred spoil, and though the Ten Thousand attempted at first to seize the leading men at Mantinëa as traitors to the Arcadian league, the views of the Mantineans respecting the employment of the sacred treasures were so evidently just, that even their opponents were at length shamed into them. Accordingly a peace was concluded with the Eleans, who were restored to all their rights with regard to Olympia. Since the Spartans had supported the Eleans, the Mantineans were naturally brought into close connection with the former; whilst the rest of the Arcadians, and especially the Tegeans, favored Thebes. Tegea thus became the centre of Theban influence in Arcadia, and was occupied by a Theban harmost and a garrison of three hundred Bœotians. The Thebans viewed the success of the Mantineans and Spartan party with suspicion; and when the peace, recently concluded, was sworn to at Tegea, they seized the principal members of the Spartan party. The news of this treacherous act was received with great indignation at Mantinea. Heralds were immediately despatched by the Mantineans to demand the release of their own citizens. Hereupon the Theban harmost released the prisoners, protesting that he had been misled by a false report of the approach of a Spartan force, prepared to co-operate with a party within the walls in order to seize Tegea. The Mantineans and their party, however, were not satisfied with this apology, but sent envoys to Thebes, demanding the punishment of the harmost. Epameinondas, incensed that a peace had been concluded without the sanction of Thebes, justified the harmost's conduct, and bade the envoys

carry back word that he would himself soon lead an army into Arcadia. The Mantineans and their partisans immediately made preparations for war, and sent ambassadors to request the assistance of the Lacedæmonians.

§ 22. These events occurred in 362 B. C. and in the summer of that year Epameinondas undertook his fourth and last invasion of Peloponnesus. The proceedings in Arcadia, which threatened to undo all that he had done in that country, and ultimately to lead to an alliance between it and Sparta, were the motives for his expedition. His army was numerous, and included many troops from Northern Greece. He marched without opposition to Tegea, where he was joined by such of the Arcadians and other Peloponnesians as were favorable to the Theban cause. The other party concentrated themselves at Mantinea, whither the aged Agesilaus was marching with a Lacedæmonian force, whilst Athenian succors were also expected. Epameinondas, whose movements were characterized by decision and rapidity, resolved to surprise Sparta in the absence of Agesilaus by a sudden march upon it. Providentially, however, a swift Cretan runner overtook Agesilaus in time to warn him of the danger. He got back to Sparta early enough to anticipate the attempt of Epameinondas; and though that commander actually entered the city, yet he found the streets and houses so well defended, that he was fain to retire. The alarm caused by this diversion had however occasioned the recall of the Lacedæmonian army destined for Mantinea, and Epameinondas took advantage of that circumstance to attempt the surprise of that place. Fortunately for the Mantineans, the Athenian cavalry had reached their city an hour or two before the arrival of Epameinondas, and, though hungry and tired with their march, succeeded in repulsing the Theban and Thessalian horse. Epameinondas now fell back upon Tegea.

§ 23. Thus both these well-planned manœuvres were accidentally frustrated. As the enemy had now succeeded in concentrating their forces at Mantinea, it was clear that a general action was unavoidable. The plain between Tegea and Mantinea, though two thousand feet above the level of the sea, is shut in on every side by lofty mountains. In length it is about ten miles, whilst its breadth varies from one to eight. About four miles south of Mantinea it contracts to its narrowest dimensions, and here the Lacedæmonians and Mantineans took up their position. Epameinondas, in marching northwards from Tegea, inclined to the left, so as to skirt the base of Mount Mænalus, which bounds the plain on the west. On arriving in sight of the hostile lines, Epameinondas ordered his troops to halt and ground arms. Hence the Lacedæmonians inferred that he did not mean to offer battle that day; and so strong was this persuasion, that they left their ranks, whilst some of the horsemen took off their breastplates and unbridled their horses. But meanwhile Epameinondas was making his dispositions for an attack. His plan very much resembled that of the battle of Leuctra. His chief reliance was upon the Bœotian troops, whom he had formed into a column of extraordinary depth.

The enemy at length became aware of his intentions, and hurried into their ranks; but they were in no condition to receive the onset of the Theban hoplites, who bore down all before them. The Mantineans and Lacedæmonians turned and fled, and the rest followed their example. The day was won; but Epameinondas, who fought in the foremost ranks, fell pierced with a mortal wound. His fall occasioned such consternation among his troops, that, although the enemy were in full flight, they did not know how to use their advantage, and remained rooted to the spot. Hence both sides subsequently claimed the victory and erected trophies, though it was the Lacedæmonians who sent a herald to request the bodies of the slain.

Epameinondas was carried off the field with the spear-head still fixed in his breast. Having satisfied himself that his shield was safe, and that the victory was gained, he inquired for Iolaidas and Daiphantus, whom he intended to succeed him in the command. Being informed that both were slain: "Then," he observed, "you must make peace." After this he ordered the spear-head to be withdrawn; when the gush of blood which followed soon terminated his life. Thus died this truly great man; and never was there one whose title to that epithet has been less disputed. Antiquity is unanimous in his praise, and some of the first men of Greece subsequently took him for their model. With him the commanding influence of Thebes began and ended. His last advice was adopted, and peace was concluded probably before the Theban army quitted Peloponnesus. Its basis was a recognition of the *status quo*,—to leave everything as it was, to acknowledge the Arcadian constitution and the independence of Messêné. Sparta alone refused to join it on account of the last article, but she was not supported by her allies.

§ 24. Agesilaus had lived to see the empire of Sparta extinguished by her hated rival. Thus curiously had the prophecy been fulfilled, which warned Sparta of the evils awaiting her under a "lame sovereignty." But Agesilaus had not yet abandoned all hope; and he and his son Archidamus now directed their views towards the east, as a quarter from which Spartan power might still be resuscitated. At the age of eighty the indomitable old man proceeded with a force of one thousand hoplites to assist Tachos, king of Egypt, in his revolt against Persia. The age and insignificant appearance of the veteran warrior made him, however, a butt for Egyptian ridicule, and he was not intrusted with the supreme command. But in spite of this affront he accompanied the Egyptian army on an expedition into Phœnicia. During the absence of Tachos, Nectanebis rose against him, and, being supported by Agesilaus, obtained the throne of Egypt. Nectanebis rewarded this service with a present of two hundred and thirty talents. But Agesilaus did not live to carry this money home to Sparta. He died on his road to Cyrêné, where he had intended to embark for Greece. His body was embalmed in wax, and splendidly buried in Sparta. He was succeeded by his son Archidamus III.



Bust of Plato.

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE SICILIAN GREEKS FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THE
ATHENIAN ARMAMENT TO THE DEATH OF TIMOLEON.

§ 1. Revolutions at Syracuse. Dionysius the Elder seizes the Despotism. § 2. His Successes. § 3. His Poetical Compositions. Plato visits Syracuse. § 4. Death of Dionysius. His Character. Story of Damocles. § 5. Accession of the Younger Dionysius. Second Visit of Plato. Banishment of Dion. Third Visit of Plato. § 6. Dion expels Dionysius, and becomes Master of Syracuse. § 7. Assassination of Dion. § 8. Revolutions at Syracuse. The Syracusans invoke the Aid of Corinth. § 9. Character of Timoleon. § 10. His Successes. Surrender of Dionysius and Conquest of Syracuse. § 11. Moderation of Timoleon. He remodels the Constitution. § 12. Defeats the Carthaginians at the Crimessus. § 13. Deposits the Sicilian Despots. § 14. Retires into a Private Station. His great Popularity and Death.

§ 1. The affairs of the Sicilian Greeks, an important branch of the Hellenic race, deserve a passing notice. After the destruction of the Athenian armament in B. C. 413, the constitution of Syracuse was rendered still more democratical by a new code of laws, which Diocles, one of the principal citizens, took the chief part in drawing up. Shortly afterwards, in B. C. 410, Hermocrates, the leader of the aristocratical party, who had greatly distinguished himself during the Athenian invasion, was banished; and Diocles thus obtained for a time the undisputed direction of the Syracusan government. But two years afterwards Diocles was in his turn banished in consequence of his want of success in the war against the Carthaginians. Meantime Hermocrates had returned to Sicily and collected a considerable force at Selinus, from whence he carried on hostilities against the Carthaginians and their allies with considerable success, and thus secured a strong party at Syracuse in his favor. Relying upon this circumstance, he endeavored to effect his restoration by force, but was slain in an attempt to enter Syracuse by night, B. C. 407. This state of things opened the way for a still more daring and successful aspirant.

This was the celebrated Dionysius, the son of a person also named Hermocrates. Dionysius was of humble origin, but of good education, and began life as a clerk in a public office. He had taken an active part in the enterprise of Hermocrates just mentioned, in which he had been wounded and given out for dead, — a circumstance by which he escaped a sentence of banishment. After the death of Hermocrates, the domestic discontents of the Syracusans were still further fomented by another invasion of the Carthaginians in 406 B. C., during which they took and plundered Agrigentum. Dionysius, who now headed the party of Hermocrates, taking advantage of the prevailing discontent, in an artful address to the assembly attributed the fall of Agrigentum to the incompetence of the Syracusan generals, and succeeded in procuring their deposition, and the appointment of others in their stead, of whom he himself was one. His advent to power was immediately followed by the restoration of all the exiles of his party. His next step was to get rid of his colleagues by accusing them of treachery and corruption, and to procure his own sole appointment with unlimited and irresponsible authority. The remaining steps towards a despotism were easy. Under pretence that his life had been attempted, he obtained a body-guard of one thousand men for his protection; by whose means he made himself master of Syracuse, and openly seized upon the supreme power, B. C. 405.

§ 2. Dionysius first directed his arms against Naxos, Catana, and Leontini, which successively fell into his power, either by force or treachery; but it was not till B. C. 397 that he considered himself sufficiently strong to declare war against Carthage. This war was conducted with varying success. In 395 – 4 Syracuse itself seemed on the point of falling into the hands of the Carthaginians. The Carthaginian fleet, after obtaining a great naval victory at Catana, sailed into the harbor of Syracuse upwards of two hundred strong. At the same time their army established itself in the neighborhood of the city, and Imilcon, the Carthaginian general, took up his head-quarters in the temple of Olympian Zeus, within about a mile and a half of the walls, and even occupied and plundered the suburb of Achradina. The situation of Dionysius now seemed desperate. It is even said that he was on the point of giving up all for lost and making his escape; from which he was deterred by one of his friends observing, “that sovereign power was an honorable winding-sheet.” A pestilence which shortly afterwards broke out in the Carthaginian camp proved the salvation of Syracuse. The Carthaginians fell by thousands, whilst the Syracusans themselves remained unharmed. Dionysius made a successful attack both by sea and land on their weakened forces; and Imilcon was glad to secure a disgraceful retreat by purchasing the connivance of Dionysius for the sum of three hundred talents.

After this period the career of Dionysius was marked by great, though not altogether unvarying success. In 393 the Carthaginians under Magon

once more threatened Syracuse, but were again defeated, and compelled to sue for peace. Dionysius willingly concluded a treaty with them, since he was anxious to pursue his schemes of conquest in the interior of Sicily, and in Magna Græcia. By the year 384 he had reduced the greater part of the former, and a considerable portion of the latter country. He had now arrived at his highest pitch of power, and had raised Syracuse to be one of the chief Grecian states, second in influence, if indeed second, to Sparta alone. Under his sway Syracuse was strengthened and embellished with new fortifications, docks, arsenals, and other public buildings, and became superior even to Athens in extent and population. Dionysius took every opportunity of extending his relations with foreign powers, and strengthening himself by alliances. He cultivated the friendship of the Lacedæmonians; and among the last acts of his reign was the sending of an auxiliary force in two successive years to support them against the increasing power of the Thebans.

§ 3. Dionysius was a warm patron of literature, and was anxious to gain distinction by his literary compositions. In the midst of his political and military cares he devoted himself assiduously to poetry, and not only caused his poems to be publicly recited at the Olympic games, but repeatedly contended for the prize of tragedy at Athens. Here he several times obtained the second and third prizes; and finally, just before his death, bore away the first prize at the Lenæan festival, with a play called "The Ransom of Hector."

In accordance with the same spirit we find him seeking the society of men distinguished in literature and philosophy. Plato, who visited Sicily about the year 389 from a curiosity to see Mount Ætna, was introduced to Dionysius by Dion. The high moral tone of Plato's conversation did not however prove so attractive to Dionysius as it had done to Dion; and the philosopher was not only dismissed with aversion and dislike, but even, it seems, through the machinations of Dionysius, seized, bound, and sold for a slave in the island of Ægina. He was, however, repurchased by Anniceris of Cyréné, and sent back to Athens.

§ 4. Dionysius died in B. C. 387, after a reign of thirty-eight years. Love of power was his ruling passion: the desire of literary fame his second. In his manner of life he was moderate and temperate; but he was a stranger to pity, and never suffered it to check him in the pursuit of his ends. Although by no means deficient in personal courage, the suspicious temper of Dionysius rendered him the miserable prey of uneasiness in the midst of all his greatness, and drove him to take precautions for the security of his life even against his nearest friends and relatives. The miseries of absolute, but unlegalized and unpopular power, cannot be more strongly illustrated, than by the celebrated story of the despot of Syracuse and his flatterer Damocles. The latter having extolled the power and majesty, the abundant possessions and magnificent

palaces, which rendered his master the happiest of men, Dionysius invited Damocles to try what his happiness really was, and then ordered him to be placed on a golden couch, decked with coverings of the richest and most magnificent embroidery. The sideboards groaned under the weight of gold and silver plate; pages of the choicest beauty waited on him; his head was crowned with garlands and reeked with unguents; the smell of burning odors filled all the apartment, and the table was covered with the most exquisite viands. Damocles now thought himself supremely happy; but in the midst of his enjoyments he happened to cast his eyes towards the ceiling, and beheld a naked cimeter suspended over his head by a single hair. At this sight his satisfaction vanished in an instant, and he entreated to be released from the enjoyment of pleasures which could only be tasted at the risk of life.* Such was the tyrant's practical illustration of his own envied condition. ~~XX~~

§ 5. Dionysius was succeeded by his eldest son, commonly called the Younger Dionysius, who was about twenty-five years of age at the time of his father's death. The elder Dionysius had married two wives at the same time. One of these was a Locrian woman named Doris; the other, Aristomaché, was a Syracusan, the daughter of Hipparinus, one of the most active partisans of Dionysius, and sister to Dion, whom we have already had occasion to mention as the friend of Plato. The marriage with Doris proved immediately fruitful, and by her he had three children, of whom the eldest, Dionysius, was his successor. But Aristomaché was long childless, much to the chagrin of Dionysius, who, attributing the circumstance to the spells and incantations of the mother of Doris, caused the latter to be put to death. At length Aristomaché also bore him children, two sons and two daughters. Dionysius having died without appointing any successor, Dion at first attempted to secure the inheritance for his youthful nephews, but found himself obliged to relinquish all such claims in favor of the son of Doris. The inexperience of the young Dionysius, however, inclined him to listen to the counsels of Dion, who had always enjoyed the respect and confidence of his father, and who now became the confidential adviser of the son. Plato's lofty and ideal conceptions of civil government had sunk deep into the mind of Dion, and the influence which he now enjoyed over the youthful sovereign made him long to seize the opportunity for realizing them in practice. To expel the Carthaginians from Sicily, to civilize and Hellenize the semi-barbarous Siceliot tribes, and to convert Syracuse from a despotism into a constitutional monarchy governed by equal laws, — these were the projects which floated in the imagination of

* "Destriectus ensis cui super impia
Cervice pendet, non Siculæ dapea
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem;
Non avium citharæque cantus
Somnum reducent." — HOR. *Carm.* ili. 1. 17.

Dion, and which he endeavored to instil into Dionysius. With this view he persuaded Dionysius to invite Plato again to Syracuse, nothing doubting that his eloquence and conversational powers would work an immense effect upon the youthful monarch. But Plato was now growing old, and had already experienced the danger of attempting to instruct despots in the sublime, but somewhat visionary, theories of perfect government. Nevertheless, after something of a struggle, he sacrificed his scruples and apprehensions to the pressing instances of his friend Dion, and the warm invitation of young Dionysius himself. The philosopher was received with the greatest honor. His illustrious pupil immediately began to take lessons in geometry; superfluous dishes disappeared from the royal table; and Dionysius even betrayed some symptoms of a wish to mitigate the former rigors of the despotism. But now his old courtiers took the alarm; nor does Plato himself appear to have used with skill the opportunity for a practical application of his doctrines which chance had thrown in his way. It was whispered to Dionysius that the whole was a deep-laid scheme on the part of Dion for the purpose of effecting a revolution and placing his own nephews on the throne. These accusations had the desired effect on the mind of Dionysius; and an intercepted letter from Dion to the Carthaginian generals, in which he invited them to make their communications through him, afforded Dionysius a pretext for getting rid of him. In the course of a conversation he enticed Dion down to the very brink of the harbor, when, suddenly producing the intercepted letter, and charging him to his face with treason, he forced him to enter a vessel that was in readiness to convey him to Italy. The situation of Plato was now very critical. Many advised Dionysius to put him to death; but the despot refused to listen to these suggestions. He even invited Plato to his palace, and treated him with the greatest respect; but he cautiously abstained from any more lessons in a philosophy which he had now been taught to regard with suspicion, as designed only to deprive him of his power. Plato was at length suffered to escape from the kind of honorable captivity in which he was held; but at the pressing invitation of Dionysius he again reluctantly returned to Syracuse in the hope of prevailing upon the tyrant to recall Dion from banishment. In this, however, he proved unsuccessful; nay, Dionysius even proceeded to measures of violence against his former guide and minister. First, the remittances which Dion, who was now residing at Athens, was in the habit of receiving, were stopped, and at length all his large property was confiscated and sold, and the proceeds distributed among the personal friends of Dionysius. Plato beheld this injustice towards his friend with grief and mortification, but without the power of preventing it; and it was with difficulty that he himself at length obtained permission to return to Greece.

§ 6. This event took place early in 360 B. C.; and at the Olympic festival of that year Plato met his friend Dion, and acquainted him with the

measures which had been taken against him by Dionysius. The natural indignation of Dion was further inflamed by other acts of the Syracusan tyrant. Dionysius compelled Areté, the wife of Dion, and his own half-sister, to marry one of his friends, named Timocrates. He also acted in the most brutal manner towards Dion's youthful son. Thus wounded in the tenderest points, Dion resolved on revenge. The popularity which he had acquired, not only at Athens but at Sparta and in the Peloponnesus, and especially among those who were attached to Plato and his teaching, rendered many disposed to serve him; whilst the natural desire of a great part of the Syracusan population to recover their liberty, as well as the contempt into which Dionysius had fallen from his drunken and dissipated habits, promised success to any enterprise against him, though undertaken with ever so small a force.

After two or three years spent in preparations, Dion, in the summer of 357 B. C., landed on the coast of Sicily with only eight hundred men. The enterprise was favored by an imprudent step on the part of Dionysius, who had recently sailed with a fleet of eighty vessels on an expedition to the coasts of Italy. By a rapid night-march Dion appeared unexpectedly before Syracuse; at dawn his troops were beheld from the walls in the act of crossing the little river Anapus, first crowning their heads with garlands, and sacrificing to the rising sun. Their advance resembled rather the solemn procession of a festival than the march of a hostile army. The inhabitants, filled with joy and enthusiasm, crowded through the gates to welcome Dion as their deliverer, who proclaimed by sound of trumpet that he was come for the purpose of putting down the despotism of Dionysius, and of liberating not only the Syracusans, but all the Sicilian Greeks.

Dion easily rendered himself master of the whole of Syracuse, with the exception of Ortygia, which was still held by the partisans of Dionysius. Such was the state in which that tyrant found his capital on his return from his Italian expedition. Dionysius at first attempted to recover possession of the city by force, but having been defeated in a sea-fight, he determined to quit Syracuse, and sailed away to Locri in Italy, leaving his son Apollocrates in charge of the citadel (B. C. 356). After his departure, dissensions broke out among the besiegers, and Dion was deposed from the command; but the disasters of the Syracusans, arising from the incapacity of their new leaders, soon led to his recall, and to his appointment as sole general with uncontrolled authority. Not long after, Apollocrates was compelled by famine to surrender the citadel.

§ 7. Dion was now master of Syracuse, and in a condition to carry out all those exalted notions of political life which he had sought to instil into the mind of Dionysius. He seems to have contemplated some political changes, probably the establishment of a kind of limited and constitutional monarchy, after the fashion of Sparta, combined perhaps with the oligar-

chical institutions of Corinth. But this scheme of a constitution existed only in his imagination: his immediate and practical acts were tyrannical, and were rendered still more unpopular by his overbearing manners. The Syracusans looked for republican institutions, — for the dismantling of the fortifications of Ortygia, the stronghold of despotism, — and for the destruction of the splendid mausoleum, which had been erected there to the memory of the elder Dionysius, by way of pledge that the despotism was really extinct and overthrown. But Dion did nothing of all this. Nay, he even caused Heracleides, who had proposed the destruction of Ortygia, to be privately assassinated. This act increased to the highest pitch the unpopularity under which he already labored. One of his bosom friends — the Athenian Callippus — seized the opportunity to mount to power by his murder, and, having gained over some of his guards, caused him to be assassinated in his own house. This event took place in 353, about three years after the expulsion of the Dionysian dynasty.

§ 8. Callippus contrived to retain the sovereign power about a twelve month. He was ultimately driven out by Hipparinus, the nephew of Dion (son of the elder Dionysius by Aristomaché), who reigned but two years. Nysæus, another of Dion's nephews, subsequently obtained the supreme authority, and was in possession of it when Dionysius presented himself before Syracuse with a fleet, and became master of the city by treachery, about B. C. 346. Dionysius, however, was not able to re-establish himself firmly in his former power. Most of the other cities of Sicily had shaken off the yoke of Syracuse, and were governed by petty despots: one of these, Hicetas, who had established himself at Leontini, afforded a rallying-point to the disaffected Syracusans, with whom he joined in making war on Syracuse. Meantime, the Carthaginians prepared to take advantage of the distracted condition of Sicily. In the extremity of their sufferings, several of the Syracusan exiles appealed for aid to Corinth, their mother city. The application was granted, and Timoleon was appointed to command an expedition destined for the relief of Syracuse.

§ 9. Timoleon was one of those models of uncompromising patriotism which we sometimes meet with in the history of Greece, and still more frequently in that of Rome, but which, under some of its phases, we in modern times are at a loss whether to approve or to condemn. When a man's country was comprised in a small state or a single city, the feeling of patriotism grew stronger in proportion as it was more condensed; and to this circumstance, as well as to the humanizing effects of Christianity, may perhaps be chiefly attributed the difference between ancient and modern views respecting the duty of a patriot. Timoleon was distinguished for gentleness as well as for courage, but towards traitors and despots his hatred was intense. He had once saved the life of his elder brother Timophanes in battle at the imminent peril of his own; but when Timophanes, availing himself of his situation as commander of the

garrison in the Acrocorinthos, endeavored to enslave his country, Timoleon did not hesitate to consent to his death. Twice before had Timoleon pleaded with his brother, beseeching him not to destroy the liberties of his country; but when Timophanes turned a deaf ear to these appeals, Timoleon connived at the action of his friends who put him to death, whilst he himself, bathed in a flood of tears, stood a little way aloof. The action was not without its censurers even among the Corinthians themselves: but these were chiefly the adherents of the despotic party, whilst the great body of the citizens regarded the conduct of Timoleon with love and admiration. In the mind of Timoleon, however, their approving verdict was far more than outweighed by the reproaches and execrations of his mother. The stings of blood-guiltiness and the maternal curse sunk so deep into his soul, that he endeavored to starve himself to death, and he was only diverted from his purpose by the active interference of his friends. But for many years nothing could prevail upon him to return to public life. He buried himself in the country far from the haunts of men, dragging out the life of a self-condemned criminal and exile, till a chance voice in the Corinthian assembly nominated him as the leader of the expedition against Dionysius.

§ 10. Roused by the nature of the cause, and the exhortations of his friends, Timoleon resolved to accept the post thus offered to him. The prospect however was discouraging. Before he sailed, a message arrived from Sicily to countermand the expedition, Hicetas and the anti-Dionysian party having entered into secret negotiations with the Carthaginians, who refused to allow any Corinthians to land in Sicily. But the responses of the Delphic oracle and the omens of the gods were propitious; especially the circumstance that, in the temple of Delphi itself, a wreath of victory fell from one of the statues upon the head of Timoleon.

The fleet of Timoleon consisted of only ten triremes, but by an adroit stratagem he contrived to elude the Carthaginian fleet of twenty sail, and arrived safely at Tauromenium in Sicily, where he was heartily welcomed by the inhabitants. Hicetas, meanwhile, had made great progress in the war against Dionysius. He had defeated him in battle, and had made himself master of the whole of Syracuse with the exception of Ortygia, in which he kept the despot closely besieged. Hicetas, learning that Timoleon was advancing to occupy Adranum, hastened thither to anticipate him, but was defeated with heavy loss. Timoleon now marched upon Syracuse. Dionysius, who appears to have abandoned all hope of ultimate success, judged it better to treat with Timoleon than with Hicetas, and accordingly surrendered the citadel into the hands of the Corinthian leader on condition of being allowed to depart in safety to Corinth, B. C. 343. Dionysius passed the remainder of his life at Corinth, where he is said to have displayed some remnants of his former luxury by the fastidious taste which he showed in the choice of his viands, unguents, dress, and furni-

ture; whilst his literary inclinations manifested themselves in teaching the public singers and actors, and in opening a school for boys.

Hicetas still had possession of Achradina;* and, since he saw that his selfish plans were on the point of failure, he now called in the aid of the whole Carthaginian force for the reduction of Ortygia. The harbor of Syracuse was occupied by one hundred and fifty Carthaginian ships, whilst an army of sixty thousand Carthaginians was admitted within the walls of Syracuse. But while Hicetas and Magon, the Carthaginian general, marched with a great part of their force to attack the town of Catana, whence the garrison of Ortygia was supplied with provisions, Neon, the Corinthian commander in Ortygia, watching a favorable opportunity, made a sally, defeated the blockading force on all sides, and even obtained possession of the suburb of Achradina. This unexpected success raised the suspicions of Magon, who, fearing that Hicetas meant to betray him, resolved to quit the island, and sailed away with all his forces to Carthage. Notwithstanding the defection of his powerful ally, Hicetas attempted to retain possession of that part of Syracuse which was still in his power, but he was unable to resist the attack of Timoleon, and was obliged to abandon the city and return to Leontini.

§ 11. Thus was the apparently hopeless enterprise of Timoleon crowned with entire success in an incredibly short space of time. It now remained for him to achieve a still greater victory,—a victory over himself. He was master of Syracuse and of Ortygia, with all its means and resources for establishing a despotism in his own favor; but his first public act was to destroy those impregnable fortifications which would have rendered such a usurpation feasible. All the Syracusans were invited to assist in demolishing the walls of Ortygia, and the monument of the elder Dionysius, the record of their former slavery; and on the ruins of these dreaded works Timoleon caused courts of justice to be erected, at once the pledge and instruments of equal laws and future freedom.

Much, however, remained to be done to restore Syracuse to its former prosperity, and Sicily in general to a state of liberty and order. With this view all exiles were invited to return; whilst Corinth was intreated to co-operate in the work of restoration, and to become a second time the founder of Syracuse. Two leading Corinthian citizens were accordingly despatched to assist Timoleon and the Syracusans in recasting their constitution, which was remodelled on the basis of the laws of Diocles.† To remedy the poverty into which Syracuse had been plunged by its misfortunes, new colonists were invited to enroll themselves; and thus a body of ten thousand citizens, including the Syracusan exiles, was collected at Corinth and transported to Syracuse. But larger bodies of Greeks soon poured in from Italy, so that altogether the immigrants are reckoned at sixty thousand.

* See plan of Syracuse, p. 316.

† See p. 45h.

§ 12. Meantime, Timoleon was not idle. He attacked Hicetas in Leontini, and compelled him to capitulate. But the submission of Hicetas was a mere feint in order to gain time for calling in the Carthaginians; who, highly indignant at the precipitate retreat of Magon, were anxious to wipe out the disgrace by some signal act of vengeance. An army of seventy thousand men was accordingly disembarked at Lilybæum. To meet this formidable force, Timoleon could raise only about twelve thousand men; and on his march against the enemy this small force was still further reduced by the defection of about one thousand of his mercenaries. With the remainder Timoleon marched westwards into the Carthaginian province. As he was approaching the Crimesus, or Crimissus, a small river which flows into the Hypsa on the southwestern coast of Sicily, he was saluted by one of those omens which so frequently either raised the courage of the Greeks or sunk them into despondency. The army was met by several mules bearing loads of parsley, the usual ornament of tombs. Perceiving the alarm of his soldiers, Timoleon, with great presence of mind, gave the omen another and a favorable direction. Crowns of parsley were also employed to reward the victors in the Isthmian games; and Timoleon, seizing a handful and making a wreath for his own head, exclaimed, "Behold our Corinthian symbol of victory; its unexpected appearance here affords an unequivocal omen of success." These timely words reanimated his men, who now followed him with alacrity. In the battle which ensued, Timoleon appeared to have been again favored by the gods. In the hottest of the fight a terrific storm of hail, rain, thunder, and lightning beat right in the faces of the Carthaginians, and by the confusion which it created enabled the Greeks to put them to the rout. The same cause occasioned the death of thousands in their retreat, for the river Crimesus, swollen by the sudden rain, carried away a great part of those who attempted to recross it. Ten thousand Carthaginians are said to have perished in the battle, while fifteen thousand more were made prisoners. The remainder fled without stopping to Lilybæum, whence they immediately embarked for Carthage, not without a dread that the anger of the gods would still pursue them at sea.

§ 13. The victory of the Crimesus brought Timoleon such an accession of power and influence, that he now resolved to carry into execution his project of expelling all the despots from Sicily. The Carthaginians sent another expedition to assist these despots, but they were unable to effect anything, and were glad to conclude a treaty with Timoleon in B. C. 338. While the war still continued with the Carthaginians, Timoleon obtained possession of the town of Leontini, as well as of the person of Hicetas, whom he caused to be put to death. Mamercus, despot of Catana, was next deposed and executed by order of the public assembly at Syracuse, and the other despots in Sicily soon shared his fate.

§ 14. Having thus effected the liberation of the island, Timoleon imme-

diately laid down his power. All the reward he received for his great services was a house in Syracuse, and some landed property in the neighborhood of the city. He now sent for his family from Corinth, and became a Syracusan citizen. He continued, however, to retain, though in a private station, the greatest influence in the state. During the latter part of his life, though he was totally deprived of sight, yet, when important affairs were discussed in the assembly, it was customary to send for Timoleon, who was drawn in a car into the middle of the theatre, amid the shouts and affectionate greetings of the assembled citizens. When the tumult of his reception had subsided, he listened patiently to the debate. The opinion which he pronounced was usually ratified by the vote of the assembly; and he then left the theatre amidst the same cheers which had greeted his arrival. A truly gratifying position! and one which must have conferred on Timoleon more real happiness than the possession of the most absolute power could ever have bestowed. In this happy and honored condition he breathed his last, in B. C. 336, a few years after the battle of Crimesus. He was splendidly interred at the public cost, whilst the tears of the whole Syracusan population followed him to the grave.



View of Delphi and Mount Parnassus.

BOOK VI.

THE MACEDONIAN SUPREMACY.

B. C. 359 – 146.

CHAPTER XLII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP TO THE END OF THE SACRED WAR.

§ 1. State of Greece. § 2. Description of Macedonia. § 3. Kings of Macedon. § 4 Character of Philip. § 5. He subdues the Pæonians and Illyrians. § 6. His Military Discipline. § 7. Capture of Amphipolis, and Foundation of Philippi. § 8. The Social War. § 9. Commencement of the Sacred War. The Phocians seize Delphi. § 10. Successes of the Phocians. § 11. Philip interferes in the War. Conquers Thessaly. § 12. Philip in Thrace. Demosthenes. § 13. The Olynthian War. § 14. Character of Phocion. Fall of Olynthus. § 15. Progress of the Sacred War. Embassy to Philip. § 16. Conquest of Phocis by Philip. Sentence of the Amphictyonic Council on the Phocians.

§ 1. The internal dissensions of Greece, which have formed the subject of the two preceding books, are now about to produce their natural fruits; and in the present book we shall have to relate the downfall of her independence, and her subjugation by a foreign power. We have first of all seen Sparta exercising a sort of empire of opinion over the other Grecian states, and looked up to by them with willing obedience as their tradi-

tional and chosen leader. After the Persian wars Athens contests the palm with her, and, through the confederacy of Delos, becomes virtually the head of Greece in material power, if not recognized as such by the public opinion of the nation. But Sparta and most of the other Grecian states, from jealousy of the Athenian supremacy, league together for the purpose of crushing Athens. After a long struggle, Athens falls into the power of her enemies; and Sparta becomes the ruler of Greece. The power which she has thus acquired, she exercises with harshness, cruelty, and corruption; her own allies desert her; and in little more than thirty years after the battle of Ægospotami she is in her turn, not only deprived of the supremacy, but even stripped of a considerable portion of her own ancient territory, chiefly through the power and influence of Thebes. For a little while Thebes becomes the predominant state; but she owes her position solely to the abilities and genius of Epameinondas, and after his death sinks down to her former level. The state of exhaustion into which Greece had been thrown by these protracted intestine dissensions is already shown by her having condescended to throw herself at the feet of Persia, and to make her hereditary enemy the arbiter of her quarrels. Athens alone, during the comparative state of tranquillity afforded her through the mutual disputes of her neighbors, has succeeded in regaining some portion of her former strength, and becomes the leading power in the struggle which now threatens to overwhelm the whole of Greece. This new danger comes from an obscure Northern state, hitherto overlooked and despised, and considered as altogether barbarous, and without the pale of Grecian civilization.

§ 2. Macedonia — for that is the country of which we are speaking — had various limits at different times. Properly, however, it may be regarded as separated from Thessaly on the south by the Cambunian Mountains; from Illyria on the west by the great mountain chain called Scarus and Bernus, and which, under the name of Pindus, also separates Thessaly from Epeirus; from Mœsia on the north by the mountains called Orbelus and Scomius; and from Thrace on the east by the river Strymon. It is drained by three rivers of considerable size, the Axios, the Lydias, and the Haliacmon; each of which has its separate valley, formed by two mountain ranges running southeastwards from the mountains that divide Illyria and Macedonia. All these rivers discharge themselves into the Thermaic Gulf. The origin of the people who inhabited this tract of country has been much disputed. The Greeks themselves looked upon them as barbarians, that is, as not of Hellenic origin. They were probably an Illyrian people, and the similarity of the manners and customs, as well as of the languages, so far as they are known, of the early Macedonians and Illyrians, seems to establish the identity of the races.

§ 3. But though the Macedonians were not Greeks, their sovereigns claimed to be descended from an Hellenic race, namely, that of Temenus

of Argos; and it is said that Alexander I. proved his Argive descent previously to contending at the Olympic games. Perdiccas is commonly regarded as the founder of the monarchy; of the history of which, however, little is known till the reign of Amyntas I., his fifth successor, who was contemporary with the Peisistratidæ at Athens. Under Amyntas, who submitted to the satrap Megabyzus, Macedonia became subject to Persia, and remained so till after the battle of Platæa. The reigns of the succeeding sovereigns down to Philip II. present little that is remarkable, with the exception of that of Archelaus (B. C. 413). This monarch effected much for Macedonia by improving the condition of the army, by erecting fortresses to check the incursions of his barbarous neighbors, by constructing roads, and by endeavoring to diffuse among his subjects a taste for literature and art. He transferred his residence from *Ægæ* to Pella, which thus became the capital, and he employed Zeuxis to adorn his palace there with paintings. He entertained many literary men at his court; such as Agathon and Euripides, the latter of whom ended his days at Pella. Archelaus was assassinated in B. C. 399, and the crown devolved upon Amyntas II., a representative of the ancient line. Amyntas left three sons: Alexander II., who was assassinated by Ptolemy Alorites; Perdiccas III., who recovered his brother's throne by slaying Ptolemy, and who fell in battle against the Illyrians; and lastly, the celebrated Philip, of whom we have now to speak.

§ 4. It has been already mentioned that the youthful Philip was one of the hostages delivered to the Thebans as security for the peace effected by Pelopidas. His residence at Thebes gave him some tincture of Grecian philosophy and literature. It seems probable that he made the personal acquaintance of Plato; and he undoubtedly acquired that command over the Greek language which put him on a level with the best orators of the day. But the most important lesson which he learned at Thebes was the art of war, with all the improved tactics introduced by Epameinondas. At the time of Philip's residence, moreover, Thebes was the centre of political interest, and he must accordingly have had opportunities to become intimately acquainted with the views and policy of the various Grecian powers. The genius and character of Philip were well calculated to derive advantage from these opportunities. He had great natural acuteness and sagacity, so as to perceive at a glance the men to be employed, and the opportunities to be improved. His boundless ambition was seconded by an iron will, which no danger could daunt and no repulse dishearten; and when he had once formed a project, he pursued it with untiring and resistless energy. His handsome person, spontaneous eloquence, and apparently frank deportment were of great assistance to him in the prosecution of his schemes; whilst under these seducing qualities lurked no inconvenient morality to stand between his desires and their gratification. Corruption was his instrument as frequently as force; and

it was one of his favorite boasts, that he had taken more towns with silver than with iron.* Yet when force was necessary no man could wield it better; for with the skill of a general he united a robustness of constitution which enabled him to bear all the hardships of a campaign as well as the meanest soldier.

§ 5. Such was the man who at the age of twenty-three assumed the government of Macedonia (B. C. 359). It had probably been intrusted to him when his brother Perdiccas set out on the expedition against the Illyrians in which he fell; and after that event he became the guardian of his brother's infant son. This minority induced two pretenders to claim the crown: Pausanias, who was supported by the king of Thrace; and Argæus, whose claims were backed by the Athenians with a force of three thousand hoplites, because he had engaged to put them in possession of Amphipolis. But by his promises and address Philip contrived to propitiate both the king of Thrace and the Athenians; to the latter of whom he made the same offers as Argæus had done. The two pretenders, being thus deprived of their supporters, were easily got rid of, and Philip was left at liberty to turn his arms against the Pæonians and Illyrians, who were threatening Macedonia with invasion. The former people were easily subdued, and Philip then marched against the Illyrians with a force of ten thousand men. He was met by Bardylis, the aged chief of Illyria, with an army of about the same strength. This was the first important engagement fought by Philip. He displayed in it the military skill which he had acquired in the school of Epameinondas, and, like that commander, gained the victory by concentrating his forces on one point of the enemy's line. Nearly two thirds of the Illyrian army were destroyed; and they were consequently compelled to submit unconditionally, and to place in the hands of Philip the principal mountain passes between the two countries. It was after these victories that Philip seems to have deposed his nephew, and to have assumed the crown of Macedon. This revolution, however, was unattended with harshness or cruelty. Philip continued to bring up his nephew at court, and ultimately gave him one of his daughters in marriage.

§ 6. It was natural that success acquired with so much ease should prompt a youthful and ambitious monarch to further undertakings. In anticipation of future conquests he devoted the greatest attention to the training and discipline of his army. It was in his Illyrian wars that he is said to have introduced the far-famed Macedonian phalanx. But perhaps the greatest of his military innovations was the establishment of a standing army. We have already noticed certain bodies of this description at

* "Diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo et subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus." — *Hor. Carm. iii. 16. 13.*

Argos and Thebes. Philip, however, seems to have retained on foot the ten thousand men which he had employed against the Illyrians; and this standing force was gradually enlarged to double the number. Among the soldiers discipline was preserved by the severest punishments. Thus we hear of a youth of noble birth being scourged for leaving the ranks to get a draught of wine at a tavern; and of another, who, though a favorite at court, was put to death for a similar offence, aggravated by a breach of positive orders.

§ 7. Philip's views were now turned towards the eastern frontiers of his dominions, where his interests clashed with those of the Athenians. A few years before, the Athenians had made various unavailing attempts to obtain possession of Amphipolis, once the jewel of their empire, but which they had never recovered since its capture by Brasidas in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war. Its situation at the mouth of the Strymon rendered it also valuable to Macedonia, not only as a commercial port, but as opening a passage into Thrace. The Olynthians were likewise anxious to enroll Amphipolis as a member of their confederacy, and accordingly proposed to the Athenians to form an alliance for the purpose of defending Amphipolis against their ~~mutual~~ enemy. An alliance between these two powerful states would have proved an insurmountable obstacle to Philip's views; and it was therefore absolutely necessary to prevent this coalition. Here we have the first instance of Philip's skill and duplicity in negotiation. By secretly promising the Athenians that he would put Amphipolis into their hands, if they would give him possession of Pydna, he induced them to reject the overtures of the Olynthians; and by ceding to the latter the town of Anthemus, he bought off their opposition. He now laid siege to Amphipolis, which, being thus left unaided, fell into his hands (B. C. 358). He then forthwith marched against Pydna, which surrendered to him; but on the ground that it was not the Athenians who had put him in possession of this town, he refused to give up Amphipolis to them.

Philip had now just reason to dread the enmity of the Athenians, and accordingly it was his policy to court the favor of the Olynthians, and to prevent them from renewing their negotiations with the Athenians. In order to separate them more effectually, he assisted the Olynthians in recovering Potidæa, which had formerly belonged to their confederacy, but was now in the hands of the Athenians. On the capture of the town, he handed it over to the Olynthians; but at the same time he treated the Athenian garrison with kindness, and allowed them to return home in safety. Plutarch relates that the capture of Potidæa was accompanied with three other fortunate events in the life of Philip; namely, the prize gained by his chariot at the Olympic games, a victory of his general, Parmenio, over the Illyrians, and the birth of his son Alexander. These events happened in B. C. 356.

Philip now crossed the Strymon, on the left bank of which lay Pangæus, a range of mountains abounding in gold mines. Pangæus properly belonged to the Thracians, but had sometimes been in the possession of the Athenians, and sometimes of the Thasians; and at this time was held by the latter people. Philip conquered the district, and founded there a new town called Philippi, on the site of the ancient Thasian town of Crenides. By improved methods of working the mines he made them yield an annual revenue of one thousand talents, nearly £ 250,000. But it was chiefly as a military post that Philippi was valuable to him, and as a means of pushing his conquests farther eastwards; for which, however, he was not at present prepared.

§ 8. Meanwhile, Athens was engaged in a war with her allies, which has been called the *Social War*; and which was, perhaps, the reason why she was obliged to look quietly on whilst Philip was thus aggrandizing himself at her expense. This war broke out in B. C. 358. The chief causes of it seem to have been the contributions levied upon the allies by the Athenian generals, and the re-establishment of the system of cleruchies, which the Athenians had formally renounced when they were beginning to reconstruct their empire. However this may be, a coalition was formed against Athens, of which either Byzantium or Rhodes was the head, and which was soon joined by Chios, Cos, and other places. The insurgents were also assisted by the Carian prince, Mausölus. The first step taken by the Athenians in order to quell this insurrection was to attack Chios with sixty triremes, under Chares and Chabrias. The expedition proved unsuccessful. Chabrias was slain whilst gallantly leading the way into the harbor of Chios, and the armament was altogether defeated. We next find Timotheus and Iphicrates employed in this war in conjunction with Chares: but the details recorded of it are obscure, and sometimes contradictory. Chares got rid of his two colleagues on a charge of failing to support him in a battle. On this indictment they were subsequently tried, when Iphicrates was acquitted; but Timotheus was condemned, and retired to Chalcis, where he soon afterwards died. Athens thus lost her best commanders; and Chares, having obtained the sole command, entered the service of the satrap Artabazus, who had revolted against Artaxerxes, and was rewarded with a large sum, which enabled him to pay his men. He did not succeed, however, in reducing the refractory allies to obedience; and when Artaxerxes threatened to support them with a fleet of three hundred ships, the Athenians were obliged to consent to a disadvantageous peace, which secured the independence of the more important allies (B. C. 355). The Athenians only succeeded in retaining some of the smaller towns and islands, and their revenue from them was reduced to the moderate sum of forty-five talents.

§ 9. The Social War tended still further to exhaust the Grecian states, and thus pave the way for Philip's progress to the supremacy. Another

war, which had been raging during the same time, produced the same result even to a greater extent. This was the *Sacred War*, which broke out between Thebes and Phocis in the same year as the Social War (B. C. 357). An ill feeling had long subsisted between those two countries. It was with reluctance that the Phocians had joined the Theban alliance. In the last campaign of Epameinondas in the Peloponnesus, they positively refused their assistance; and after the death of that leader, they seem to have committed some actual hostilities against Bœotia. The Thebans now availed themselves of the influence which they possessed in the Amphictyonic Council to take vengeance upon the Phocians, and accordingly induced this body to impose a heavy fine upon the Phocians, because they had cultivated a portion of the Cirrhæan plain, which, after the first sacred war, had been consecrated to the Delphian god,* and was to lie waste for ever. The Phocians pleaded that the payment of the fine would ruin them; but instead of listening to their remonstrances, the Amphictyons doubled the amount, and threatened, in case of their continued refusal, to reduce them to the condition of serfs. Thus driven to desperation, the Phocians resolved to complete the sacrilege with which they had been branded, by seizing the very temple of Delphi itself, to the possession of which they asserted an ancient right, founded on a verse in Homer, in which the "rocky Pytho" was reckoned among the Phocian towns.† If they succeeded in seizing the temple, not only would all its treasures be at their command, but they would even be able to dictate the responses of the oracle. The leader and counsellor of this enterprise was Philomélus, who, with a force of no more than two thousand men, surprised and took Delphi. The Locrians of Amphissa, who came to the rescue of the temple, were defeated by him with great loss. Being now master of the temple, Philomelus destroyed the records containing the sentence of the Amphictyons, and appealed to all Greece against its injustice. At first, however, he carefully abstained from touching the sacred treasure; but he levied large sums on the private property of the Delphians. He then fortified the temple afresh; and, having hired more mercenaries, which swelled his force to five thousand men, invaded the Locrian territory. After some petty skirmishes, the Locrians were finally defeated in a pitched battle; whereupon they applied to the Thebans for assistance.

§ 10. Meanwhile, Philomelus, being master of the oracle, extorted a decree from the priestess sanctioning all that he had done; and sent envoys to the principal Grecian cities, including Thebes, to vindicate his conduct, and to declare that the treasures of Delphi were untouched. The envoys succeeded in obtaining the alliance of Sparta and Athens, but from Thebes they were repulsed with threats. There, however, the

* See p. 48.† *Iliad*, ii. 517.

application of the Locrians met with a ready acquiescence; and messages were sent by the Thebans to stir up the Thessalians and all the Northern tribes which belonged to the Amphictyonic Council. The Locrians now saw themselves threatened by a powerful combination, whilst from Athens, weakened by the Social War, and from Sparta, hampered by Megalopolis and Messêné, they could expect but little aid. In this emergency Philomelus threw off the scruples which he had hitherto assumed, and announced that the sacred treasures should be converted into a fund for the payment of mercenaries. Crowds of adventurers now flocked on all sides to his standard, and he soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men. With these he again invaded Locris, and defeated the Thebans and Thessalians. Subsequently, however, the Thebans obtained large reinforcements, and, having become manifestly the strongest, put to death all Phocian prisoners, as being guilty of sacrilege. The war thus assumed the most barbarous character, and the Phocians, by way of self-preservation, were obliged to retaliate. The details of the struggle are not accurately known, but it appears that a great battle was at length fought, in which the Phocians were defeated and Philomelus killed. The victory, however, does not seem to have been sufficiently decisive to enable the Thebans to obtain possession of Delphi, and they subsequently returned home.

Onomarchus, who succeeded his brother Philomelus in the command, carried on the war with vigor and success. He reduced both the Western and Eastern Locrians, as well as the little state of Doris. He then invaded Bœotia, captured Orchomenus, and laid siege to Chæronea; which, however, the Thebans compelled him to raise, and drove him back with some loss into Phocis.

§ 11. Such was the state of the Sacred War when Philip first began to interfere in it. It was only, however, through his previous conquests in Thessaly that he was enabled to do so. Even before he could enter that country he had to reduce the town of Methôné, which lay between him and the Thessalian frontier; and it was at the siege of this place that he lost his eye by an arrow. After the capture of Methôné, his road lay open into Thessaly; and at the invitation of the Aleuadæ of Larissa, who were disgusted with the tyranny exercised by the successors of Alexander of Pheræ, he undertook an expedition against that state. Alexander himself had been despatched through the machinations of his wife Thebé, who caused him to be murdered by her three half-brothers. These subsequently ascended the throne, and exercised a tyranny as harsh as that of their predecessor. Pheræ, it seems, had shown some disposition to assist the Phocians; and when Onomarchus heard that Philip was marching against it, he sent his brother, Phaÿllus, with a force of seven thousand men, to its assistance. Philip defeated Phaÿllus, but was subsequently routed and compelled to retreat by Onomarchus in person. The latter

then turned his arms against Coronæa, which he reduced; but the news that Philip had re-entered Thessaly, at the head of twenty thousand men, soon compelled him again to march thither. Philip now assumed the character of a champion of the Delphic god, and made his soldiers wear wreaths of laurel, plucked in the groves of Tempé. Onomarchus was at the head of about an equal number of men: but in the encounter which ensued, apparently near the Gulf of Pagasæ, he was slain, and his army totally defeated (B. C. 352). This victory made Philip master of Thessaly. He now directed his march southwards with the view of subduing the Phocians; but upon reaching Thermopylæ, he found the pass guarded by a strong Athenian force, and was compelled, or considered it more prudent, to retreat.

§ 12. After his return from Thessaly, Philip's views were directed towards Thrace and the Chersonese; but he first carried his arms so far into the interior of the country, that the Athenians could learn nothing of his movements. It was at this juncture that Demosthenes stepped forwards as the proclaimed opponent of Philip, and delivered the first of those celebrated orations which from their subject have been called "the Philippics." Since the establishment of democracy at Athens, a certain degree of ability in public speaking was indispensable to a public man. Hitherto, however, the leading men of Athens had, like Cimon and Pericles, been statesmen and warriors, as well as orators. But the great progress made in the art of rhetoric, as well as in the art of war, since the improved tactics introduced by Epameinondas, had now almost completely separated the professions of the orator and the soldier. Phocion, the contemporary of Demosthenes, was the last who combined the provinces of the two. The ears of the Athenians had become fastidious. They delighted in displays of oratorical skill; and it was this period which produced those speakers who have been called by way of eminence "the Attic orators." Demosthenes, the most famous of them all, was born in B. C. 382-381. Having lost his father at the early age of seven, his guardians abused their trust, and defrauded him of the greater part of his paternal inheritance. This misfortune, however, proved one of the causes which tended to make him an orator. Demosthenes, as he advanced towards manhood, perceived with indignation the conduct of his guardians, for which he resolved to make them answerable when the proper opportunity should arrive, by accusing them himself before the dicastery. The weakness of his bodily frame, which unfitted him for the exercises of the gymnasium, caused him to devote himself with all the more ardor to intellectual pursuits. He placed himself under the tuition of Isæus, who then enjoyed a high reputation as an advocate; and when he had acquired a competent degree of skill, he pleaded his cause against his guardians, and appears to have recovered a considerable portion of his estate. This success encouraged him to speak in the public assembly; but his first attempt proved a failure

and he retired from the bema amidst the hootings and laughter of the citizens. The more judicious and candid among his auditors perceived, however, marks of genius in his speech, and rightly attributed his failure to timidity and want of due preparation. Eunomus, an aged citizen, who met him wandering about the Peiræus in a state of dejection at his ill-success, bade him take courage and persevere. "Your manner of speaking," said he, "very much resembles that of Pericles; you fail only through want of confidence. You are too much disheartened by the tumult of a popular assembly, and you do not take any pains even to acquire that strength of body which is requisite for the bema." Struck and encouraged by these remarks, Demosthenes withdrew awhile from public life, and devoted himself perseveringly to remedy his defects. They were such as might be lessened, if not removed, by practice, and consisted chiefly of a weak voice, imperfect articulation, and ungraceful and inappropriate action. He derived much assistance from Satyrus, the actor, who exercised him in reciting passages from Sophocles and Euripides. He studied the best rhetorical treatises and orations, and is said to have copied the work of Thucydides with his own hand no fewer than eight times. He shut himself up for two or three months together in a subterranean chamber, in order to practise composition and declamation. It may also be well supposed that he devoted no inconsiderable part of his attention to the laws of Athens and the politics of Greece. His perseverance was crowned with success; and he, who on the first attempt had descended from the bema amid the ridicule of the crowd, became at last the most perfect orator the world has ever seen.

§ 13. Demosthenes had established himself as a public speaker before the period which we have now reached; but it is chiefly in connection with Philip that we are to view him as a statesman as well as an orator. Philip had shown his ambition by the conquest of Thessaly, and by the part he had taken in the Sacred War; and Demosthenes now began to regard him as the enemy of the liberties of Athens and of Greece. In his first "Philippic," Demosthenes tried to rouse his countrymen to energetic measures against this formidable enemy; but his warnings and exhortations produced little effect, for the Athenians were no longer distinguished by the same spirit of enterprise which had characterized them in the days of their supremacy. It is true they were roused to momentary action, towards the end of B. C. 352, by the news that Philip was besieging the fortress of Heræum on the Propontis; but the armament which they voted, upon receiving the news, did not sail till the autumn of B. C. 351, and then on a reduced scale, under the command of Charidæmus. For the next two years no important step was taken to curb the growing power of Philip; and it was the danger of Olynthus which first induced the Athenians to prosecute the war with a little more energy.

In 350 B. C., Philip having captured a town in Chalcidicé, Olynthus

began to tremble for her own safety, and sent envoys to Athens to crave assistance. Olynthus was still at the head of thirty-two Greek towns, and the confederacy was a sort of counterpoise to the power of Philip. It was on this occasion that Demosthenes delivered his three Olynthiac orations, in which he warmly advocated an alliance with Olynthus.

§ 14. Demosthenes was opposed by a strong party, with which Phocion commonly acted. Phocion is one of the most singular and original characters in Grecian history. Naturally simple, upright, and benevolent, his manners were nevertheless often rendered repulsive by a tinge of misanthropy and cynicism. He viewed the multitude and their affairs with a scorn which he was at no pains to disguise; receiving their anger with indifference, and their praises with contempt. When a response from Delphi announced to the Athenians that, though they were themselves unanimous, there was one man who dissented from them, Phocion stepped forwards, and said: "Do not trouble yourselves to seek for this refractory citizen; — I am he, and I like nothing that you do." On another occasion, when one of his speeches was received with general applause, he turned round to his friends, and inquired: "Have I said anything bad?" Phocion's whole art of oratory consisted in condensing his speeches into the smallest possible compass, without any attention to the smoothness of his periods or the grace of his language. Yet their terse and homely vigor was often heightened by a sort of dry humor, which produced more effect than the most studied efforts of oratory. "What, at your meditations, Phocion?" inquired a friend, who perceived him wrapt up in thought. "Yes," he replied, "I am considering whether I can shorten what I have to say to the Athenians." His known probity also gave him weight with the assembly. He was the only statesman of whom Demosthenes stood in awe; who was accustomed to say, when Phocion rose, "Here comes the pruner of my periods." But Phocion's desponding views, and his mistrust of the Athenian people, made him an ill statesman at a period which demanded the most active patriotism. He doubtless injured his country by contributing to check the more enlarged and patriotic views of Demosthenes; and though his own conduct was pure and disinterested, he unintentionally threw his weight on the side of those who, like Demades and others, were actuated by the basest motives. This division of opinion rendered the operations of the Athenians for the aid of the Olynthians languid and desultory. Town after town of the confederacy fell before Philip; and in B. C. 348, or early in 347, he laid siege to Olynthus itself. The city was vigorously defended; but Philip at length gained admission through the treachery of Lasthenes and Euthykrates, two of the leading men, when he razed it to the ground and sold the inhabitants into slavery. The whole of the Chalcidian peninsula thus became a Macedonian province. Philip celebrated his triumph at Dium, a town on the borders of Thessaly; where, on the occasion of a festival to

the Muses, instituted by Archelaus, he amused the people with banquets, games, and theatrical entertainments.

§ 15. The prospects of Athens now became alarming. Her possessions in the Chersonese were threatened, as well as the freedom of the Greek towns upon the Hellespont. At this juncture Demosthenes endeavored to persuade the Athenians to organize a confederacy among the Grecian states for the purpose of arresting a power which seemed to threaten the liberty of all; and in this he was seconded by some of those politicians who usually opposed him. But though steps were taken towards this object, the attempt entirely failed. The attention of the Athenians was next directed towards a reconciliation with Thebes. The progress of the Sacred War, to which we must now briefly revert, seemed favorable to such a project. After the death of Onomarchus, his brother Phaÿllus had assumed the command of the Phocians; and as the sacred treasure was still unexhausted, he succeeded in obtaining large reinforcements of troops. The Spartans sent one thousand men; the Achæans two thousand; the Athenians five thousand foot and four hundred horse under Nausicles. With these forces Phaÿllus undertook a successful invasion of Bœotia; and afterwards attacked the Epicnemidian Locrians, and took all their towns except Naryæ. But in the course of the year Phaÿllus died, and was succeeded in the conduct of the war by Mnaseas, guardian of Phalæcus, the youthful son of Onomarchus. Mnaseas, however, was soon slain, and Phalæcus himself then assumed the command. Under him the war was continued between the Phocians and Thebans, but without any decisive success on either side. The treasures of Delphi were nearly exhausted, and on the other hand the war was becoming every year more and more burdensome to the Thebans. It was at this juncture that the Athenians, as before hinted, were contemplating a peace with Thebes; nor did it seem improbable that one might be concluded, not only between those two cities, but among the Grecian states generally. It seems to have been this aspect of affairs that induced Philip to make several indirect overtures to the Athenians in the summer of B. C. 347. In spite of subsidies from Delphi the war had been very onerous to them, and they received these advances with joy, yet not without suspicion, as they were quite unable to divine Philip's motives for making them. On the motion of Philocrates, however, it was decreed that ten ambassadors should be despatched to Philip's court. Philocrates himself was at the head of them, and among the rest were the rival orators, Demosthenes and Æschines, and the actor Aristodêmus. We have, however, no particulars on which we can rely respecting this embassy. All that we can gather in relation to it is from the personal recriminations of Demosthenes and Æschines, and we can only infer on the whole that it was a miserable failure. Philip seems to have bribed some of the ambassadors, and to have cajoled the rest by his hospitable banquets and his winning

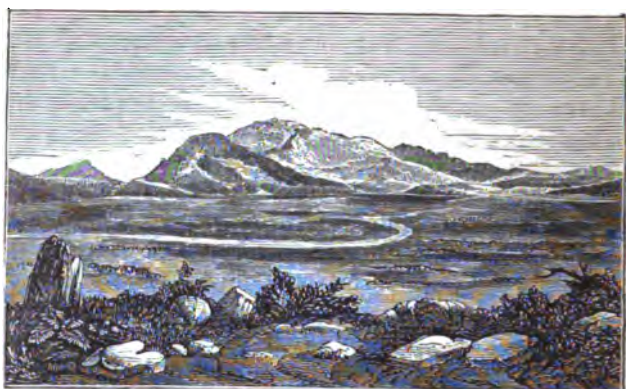
and condescending manners. Nothing decisive was done respecting Amphipolis or the Phocians; and as far as we can learn, the whole fruits of the embassy were some vague promises on the part of Philip to respect the Athenian possessions in Thrace. Soon after the return of Philocrates and his colleagues, Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus, three of Philip's most distinguished generals and statesmen, came on a mission to Athens, where they were entertained by Demosthenes. The basis of a treaty of peace and alliance seems now to have been arranged, in which Philip dictated his own terms. Another embassy, consisting probably of the former ten, was appointed to procure the ratification of this treaty by Philip; and on the news that he was invading the dominions of Kersobleptes,* they were directed to hasten their departure, and to seek that monarch in whatever quarter he might be. With this view they proceeded to the port of Oreus in Eubœa; but instead of following the advice of Demosthenes, and embarking for the Hellespont, which they might have reached in two or three days, they wasted some time at that place, and then proceeded by a circuitous route to Pella: hence they did not reach that city till upwards of three weeks after quitting Athens. Here they met ambassadors from other states concerned in the progress of the Sacred War, as Thebes, Phocis, Sparta, and Thessaly; but Philip was still in Thrace, and they had to wait a month for his return. Even when he arrived at Pella, he delayed the final ratification of the treaty, and persuaded the ambassadors to accompany him on his march to Pheræ in Thessaly, under pretence that he desired their mediation between the Pharsalians and Halus; though his real motive undoubtedly was to gain time for invading Phocis. He at length swore to the treaty in Pheræ; but the Phocians were expressly excluded from it.

§ 16. Scarcely had the Athenian ambassadors returned home, when Philip began his march towards Thermopylæ. Demosthenes, on his return, protested against the acts of his colleagues, and his representations had such an effect, that the ambassadors were not honored with the usual vote of thanks. The main charge which he brought against his colleagues, and against Æschines in particular, was that of having deluded the people with false hopes respecting Philip's views towards Athens. But the opposite party had possession of the popular ear. Not only was nothing done for the Phocians, but a decree was even passed to convey the thanks of Athens to Philip, and to declare that, unless Delphi was delivered up by the Phocians to the Amphictyons, the Athenians would help to enforce that step. The ambassadors were again directed to carry this decree to Philip; but Demosthenes was so disgusted with it that he refused to go, and Æschines also declined, on the plea of ill-health.

The Phocians now lay at the mercy of Philip. As soon as the king

* Kersobleptes was king of Thrace, and an ally of the Athenians. — ED.

had passed the straits of Thermopylæ, Phalæcus secured his own safety by concluding a treaty with Philip, by which he was permitted to retire into the Peloponnesus with eight thousand mercenaries. When Philip entered Phocis, all its towns surrendered unconditionally at his approach. Philip then occupied Delphi, where he assembled the Amphictyons to pronounce sentence upon those who had been concerned in the sacrilege committed there. The Council decreed that all the cities of Phocis, except Abæ, should be destroyed, and their inhabitants scattered into villages containing not more than fifty houses each; and that they should replace by yearly payments the treasures of the temple, estimated at the enormous sum of ten thousand talents, or nearly two millions and a half sterling. Sparta was deprived of her share in the Amphictyonic privileges; the two votes in the Council possessed by the Phocians were transferred to the kings of Macedonia; and Philip was to share with the Thebans and Thessalians the honor of presiding at the Pythian games. These were no slight privileges gained by Philip. A seat in the Amphictyonic Council recognized him at once as a Grecian power, and would afford him occasion to interfere in the affairs of Greece. Thebes recovered the places which she had lost in Bœotia. Such was the termination of the Sacred War (B. C. 346).



The Plain of Chæroneia.

CHAPTER XLIII.

FROM THE END OF THE SACRED WAR TO THE DEATH OF PHILIP.

§ 1. Results of the Sacred War. § 2. Macedonian Embassy to Athens. Second *Philippic*. § 3. Philip's Expedition into Thrace. § 4. Third *Philippic*. Progress of Philip. Siege of Perinthus. § 5. Phocion's Successes in Eubœa. § 6. Declaration of War between Athens and Macedon. Phocion compels Philip to evacuate the Chersonese. § 7. Charge of Sacrilege against the Amphissians. § 8. Philip appointed General by the Amphictyons, to conduct the War against Amphissa. § 9. He seizes Elatea. League between Athens and Thebes. § 10. Battle of Chæroneia. § 11. Philip's extravagant Joy for his Victory. § 12. Congress at Corinth. Philip's Progress through the Peloponnesus. § 13. Philip's Domestic Quarrels. § 14. Preparations for the Persian Expedition. § 15. Assassination of Philip.

§ 1. The result of the Sacred War rendered Macedon the leading state in Greece. Philip at once acquired by it military glory, a reputation for piety, and an accession of power. His ambitious designs were now too plain to be mistaken. The eyes of the blindest among the Athenians were at last opened; the promoters of the peace which had been concluded with Philip incurred the hatred and suspicion of the people; whilst on the other hand Demosthenes rose higher than ever in public favor. They showed their resentment against Philip by omitting to send their usual deputation to the Pythian games at which the Macedonian monarch presided.

It was either this omission, or the unwillingness of the Athenians to acknowledge Philip as a member of the Amphictyonic league, that induced him to send an embassy to Athens for the purpose of settling a point which neither his dignity nor his interest would permit to lie in abeyance. It was generally felt that the question was one of peace or war. Yet the

Athenians were so enraged against Philip, that those who were for maintaining peace with him could hardly obtain a hearing in the assembly. On this occasion we have the remarkable spectacle of Æschines and Demosthenes speaking on the same side, though from widely different motives. The former adhered to his usual corrupt policy in favor of Philip; whilst Demosthenes, in supporting him, was actuated only by views of the most sagacious and disinterested policy. These he detailed and enforced in his Oration *On the Peace*, in which he persuaded the Athenians not to expose themselves at that time to the risk of a war with Philip, supported, as he would be, by the greater part of Greece.

§ 2. Philip had now succeeded to the position lately occupied by Thebes, and in virtue of it prepared to exercise the same influence which that state had previously enjoyed in the Peloponnesus. He declared himself the protector of the Messenians, and the friend and ally of the Megalopolitans and Argives. Demosthenes was sent into Peloponnesus to endeavor to counteract Philip's proceedings in the peninsula; but his mission led to no result. During his stay there, he had openly accused Philip of perfidy; and that monarch now sent an embassy to Athens, accompanied by envoys from Argos and Messêné, to complain of so grievous an accusation. It was on this occasion that the *Second Philippic* of Demosthenes was delivered, which was chiefly directed against the orators who supported Philip (B. C. 344). In the following year a prosecution was instituted against Æschines and Philocrates for "malversation in their embassy" to the Macedonian court. The latter, conscious of his guilt, evaded the trial by flight; and Æschines, who defended himself with great skill, was acquitted by only thirty votes.*

§ 3. Meanwhile, in B. C. 344, Philip overran and ravaged Illyria; and subsequently employed himself in regulating the affairs of Thessaly, where he occupied Phæræ with a permanent Macedonian garrison. He was likewise busied with preparations for the still vaster projects which he contemplated, and which embraced an attack upon the Athenian colonies, as well as upon the Persian empire. For this purpose he had organized a considerable naval force, as well as an army; and in the spring of 342 B. C. he set out on an expedition against Thrace. His progress soon appeared to menace the Chersonese and the Athenian possessions in that quarter; and at length the Athenian troops under Diopithes came into actual collision with the Macedonians, whilst the former were engaged in defending their allies from the encroachments of the Cardians, who were under the protection of Philip. Diopithes likewise invaded that part of Thrace which had submitted to Philip, and, besides committing several acts of violence, seized a Macedonian envoy, who had come to treat for

* See the speeches of Demosthenes and Æschines *περὶ παραπροσβέτας*.

the release of some prisoners, and refused to dismiss him without a considerable ransom.

§ 4. Philip despatched a letter of complaint and remonstrance to the Athenians on the subject of these attacks, which gave occasion to the speech of Demosthenes *On the Chersonese* (B. C. 341), in which he directed the attention of the people from the more immediate subject of the character and proceedings of Diopeithes to the more general question of the best means of resisting Philip. This oration was soon followed by the *Third Philippic*, a still more vigorous call to action. Our accounts of Philip's movements at this time are scanty and uncertain. Diopeithes was retained in the command of the Athenian troops; and Philip must have continued gradually to push his conquests, since in this year (341) we find him beginning to attack the Greek cities north of the Hellespont. He first besieged and captured Selymbria on the Propontis, and then turned his arms against Perinthus. The latter city was not only strong by nature, being seated on a lofty promontory surrounded on two sides by the sea, but also well fortified. It was built on a series of terraces rising one above another; so that when Philip, by means of the improved artillery which he employed on this occasion, had succeeded in battering down the outer wall, he found himself in front of a fresh rampart, formed by houses standing on higher ground, and connected together by a wall carried across the streets. In this siege Philip was assisted by his fleet, which had previously intercepted and captured twenty Athenian vessels laden with corn. But all his efforts to capture Perinthus proved unavailing, as both the Byzantines and the Persians — the latter probably at the instigation of the Athenians — continually found means to supply it with arms and provisions. Finding his progress thus checked, Philip left half of his army to prosecute the siege, and with the remainder proceeded to the attack of Byzantium itself, which he hoped to find unprepared.

§ 5. Meanwhile, the arms of Athens, under the conduct of Phocion, had been successful in Eubœa, whither Demosthenes had roused his countrymen to send an expedition in the autumn of 341 B. C., for the purpose of counteracting the influence of Macedon in that quarter, and thus erecting another barrier against the encroachments of Philip. Oreus and Eretria, two of the principal cities in the island, were in the hands of despots supported by Philip; but Callias of Chalcis having formed a plan to reduce all Eubœa under his own dominion, Demosthenes seized the opportunity to unite the Athenian arms with his; and Phocion, with the assistance of Callias, expelled the despots Cleitarchus and Philistides from Eretria and Oreus. For his advice on this occasion the Athenians honored Demosthenes with a golden crown. The same Callias, or perhaps an Athenian commander of that name, also did good service at this time by a naval expedition into the Gulf of Pagasæ, when he took the towns on the coast, and made prize of a considerable quantity of Macedonian merchantmen.

§ 6. Although Athens and Macedon were still nominally at peace, it is evident that the state of things just described was incompatible with its further maintenance. Philip addressed a long letter, or rather manifesto, to the Athenians, (which has come down to us,) in which he complained of the acts by which they had violated the existing treaty, recapitulated the legitimate grounds which he had for hostility, and concluded with a sort of declaration of war. Demosthenes was not behindhand in accepting this challenge. He excited his countrymen to pass a decree for war, to take down the column on which the treaty had been inscribed, and to equip a fleet for the immediate relief of Byzantium, then besieged by Philip. The expedition was intrusted to Chares, in whose hands it proved a miserable failure; though he perfectly succeeded in making both himself and the Athenian name odious and suspected among the allies, by his oppressions, and by the large sums which he extorted under the name of *benevolences*. The orators of the Macedonian party took occasion from the ill success of Chares to disgust the Athenians with the war, and they began to repent of having sent any succors to Byzantium. But Phocion, who did not act with those orators on this occasion, stood up and told the people, that they should not be angry at the distrust of their allies, but rather at their own generals, who were altogether unworthy of confidence. It is they, said he, who cause you to be suspected by the very people who cannot be saved without your help. The Athenians were so struck with these representations, that they immediately superseded Chares, and appointed Phocion in his place. Phocion sailed with one hundred and twenty triremes; and his high reputation for probity and honor caused him to be immediately admitted with his forces within the walls of Byzantium. Philip was now forced to raise the siege, not only of that town, but of Perinthus also, and finally to evacuate the Chersonesus altogether. For these acceptable services the grateful Byzantians erected a colossal statue in honor of Athens.

After his repulse from the Chersonesus, Philip marched to the aid of Atheas, king of the Scythians, who had invoked his assistance against the tribes on the banks of the Danube. Before he arrived, however, the danger had ceased, and Atheas dismissed him with an insulting message. Hereupon Philip crossed the Danube, defeated the Scythians, and returned with an immense booty. But as he was passing through the country of the Triballi they demanded a share of the spoil; and upon being refused, gave battle to the Macedonians, in which Philip was so severely wounded that he was reported to be dead. Probably Philip's chief object in undertaking this expedition was to withdraw the attention of the Greeks from his ambitious projects, and to delude them into the belief that other affairs were now engaging his attention. But meanwhile his partisans were not idle, and events soon occurred which again summoned him into the heart of Greece.

§ 7. In the spring of 339 B. C. Æschines was appointed with three others to represent Athens in the Amphictyonic Council. In this assembly the deputies of the Locrians of Amphissa, stimulated, it is said, by the Thebans, charged the Athenians with sacrilege, for having, in commemoration of their victory over the Persians and Thebans, dedicated some golden shields in a chapel at Delphi before it had been regularly consecrated. The Locrians themselves, however, were, it seems, amenable to a similar charge, for having cultivated and used for their own benefit the very land which had been the subject of the Sacred War against the Phocians; and Æschines, irritated by the language of the deputies from Amphissa, denounced them as guilty of sacrilege. A proclamation was in consequence issued requiring all the Delphians, as well as the members of the Amphictyonic Council, to assemble and vindicate the honor of the god; and on the following day they marched down to Cirrha with spades and pickaxes, and destroyed some buildings which the Amphissians had erected there. But as they returned, the Amphissians lay in wait for them, and they narrowly escaped with their lives. Hereupon, the Amphictyons issued a decree, naming a certain day on which the Council was to assemble at Thermopylæ, for the purpose of bringing the Amphissians to justice.

§ 8. Æschines was strongly suspected of having adopted the conduct which he pursued on this occasion in order to play into the hands of Philip. Demosthenes procured a decree, preventing any Athenians from attending the Council at Thermopylæ; and the Thebans, who were friendly to the Amphissians, also absented themselves. But, with these exceptions, the meeting was attended by deputies from the other Grecian states; war was declared against the Amphissians; and Cottyphus was appointed to lead an army against them. Demosthenes asserts that this expedition failed; but according to other accounts it was successful, and a fine was laid upon the Amphissians, which, however, they refused to pay. Accordingly, at the next ordinary meeting of the Amphictyons, either in the autumn of 339 or spring of 338, Philip, who had now returned from Thrace, was elected their general for the purpose of carrying out the decree against Amphissa.

§ 9. Early in 338 Philip marched southwards; but instead of proceeding in the direction of Amphissa, he suddenly seized Elatæa, the chief town in the eastern part of Phocis, and began to restore its fortifications; thus showing clearly enough that his real design was against Bœotia and Attica. Intelligence of this event reached Athens at night, and caused extraordinary alarm. The market was cleared of the retail dealers, who commonly occupied it; their wicker booths were burned, and the whole city prepared as if for an immediate siege. At daybreak, on the following morning, the Five Hundred met in the senate-house, and the people assembled in the Pnyx, where the news was formally repeated. The herald then gave the usual invitation to speak, but nobody was inclined to

come forwards. At length Demosthenes ascended the bema, and calmed the fears of the people by pointing out that Philip was evidently not acting in concert with the Thebans, as appeared from the fact of his having thought it necessary to secure Elatea. He then pressed upon the assembly the necessity for making the most vigorous preparations for defence, and especially recommended them to send an embassy to Thebes, in order to persuade the Thebans to unite with them against the common enemy. This advice was adopted, and ten envoys were appointed to proceed to Thebes, amongst whom was Demosthenes himself. A counter-embassy had already arrived in that city from Macedonia and Thessaly, and it was with great difficulty that the Athenian envoys at length succeeded in persuading the Thebans to shut their gates against Philip. Athens had made vigorous preparations, and had ten thousand mercenaries in her service. Philip, on the other hand, was at the head of thirty thousand men; but after the conclusion of the alliance between Thebes and Athens he did not deem it prudent to march directly against the latter city, and therefore proceeded towards Amphissa, as if in prosecution of the avowed object of the war. He sent a manifesto to his allies in Peloponnesus, requiring their assistance in what he represented as a purely religious object; but his application was coldly received.

§ 10. The details of the war that followed are exceedingly obscure. Philip appears to have again opened negotiations with the Thebans, which failed; and we then find the combined Theban and Athenian armies marching out to meet the Macedonians. The former gained some advantage in two engagements; but the decisive battle was fought on the 7th of August, in the plain of Chæronæa in Bœotia, near the frontier of Phocis. In the Macedonian army was Philip's son, the youthful Alexander, who was intrusted with the command of one of the wings; and it was a charge made by him on the Theban sacred band, that decided the fortune of the day. The sacred band was cut to pieces, without flinching from the ground which it occupied, and the remainder of the combined army was completely routed. Demosthenes, who was serving as a foot-soldier in the Athenian ranks, has been absurdly reproached with cowardice because he participated in the general flight. An interesting memorial of this battle still remains. The Thebans who fell in the engagement were buried on the spot, and their sepulchre was surmounted by a lion in stone, as an emblem of their courageous spirit. This lion was still seen by Pausanias, when he visited Chæronæa in the second century of the Christian era. It afterwards disappeared, though the site of the sepulchre continued to be marked by a large mound of earth; but a few years ago this tumulus was excavated, and a colossal lion discovered, deeply imbedded in its interior.*

* This marble lion is in fragments. It is of remarkably fine workmanship. The head lies on the ground, looking upwards, and the noble expression given to it by the artist is still very impressive and significant. — ED.

The battle of Chæronëa crushed the liberties of Greece, and made it in reality a province of the Macedonian monarchy.

To Athens herself the blow was almost as fatal as that of *Ægospotami*. Such was the consternation it created in that city, that many of the wealthier citizens prepared for immediate flight; and it was found necessary to arrest emigration by a decree which made it a capital offence. Demosthenes roused his fellow-citizens by his energy and eloquence to adopt the most vigorous measures for defending the city, and contributed three talents out of his own private fortune towards the repair of the walls. He was appointed to pronounce the funeral oration over those slain at Chæronëa; a proof that the Athenians did not consider him guilty of any dereliction of duty in that engagement; but Lysicles, the Athenian general, was brought to trial, and condemned to death.

§ 11. The exultation of Philip at his victory knew no bounds. He celebrated his triumph with drunken orgies; and, reeling from the banquet to the field of battle, he danced over the dead, at the same time singing and beating time to the opening words of the decree of Demosthenes, which happened to have the rhythm of a comic Iambic verse.* It is said that the orator Demades put an end to this ridiculous and unroyal exhibition by reminding Philip, "that, though fortune had placed him in the position of Agamemnon, he preferred playing the part of Thersites." But when Philip had returned to his sober senses, the manner in which he used his victory excited universal surprise. He dismissed the Athenian prisoners, not only without ransom, but with all their baggage, and some of them he even provided with new apparel. He then voluntarily offered a peace on terms more advantageous than the Athenians themselves would have ventured to propose. They were, indeed, required to relinquish a part of their foreign dependencies; but they were in some degree compensated for this by being put in possession of Oropus, of which the Thebans were now deprived. Philip, indeed, seems to have regarded Athens with a sort of love and respect, as the centre of art and refinement, for his treatment of the Thebans was very different, and marked by great harshness and severity. They were compelled to recall their exiles, in whose hands the government was placed, whilst a Macedonian garrison was established in the Cadmëa. They were also deprived of their sovereignty over the Bœotian towns, and Platæa and Orchomenus were restored, and again filled with a population hostile to Thebes.

§ 12. But the mildness of Philip's conduct towards Athens, though it bore the appearance of magnanimity, and afforded matter for triumph to the orators of the peace party, was, after all, perhaps in no small degree the result of policy. It was by no means certain that, if Philip laid siege to Athens, he would be able to take the city; at all events, the siege

* Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανίδος τὰδ' εἶπεν.

would be a protracted one ; the exasperated Thebans lay in his rear ; and the attempt would certainly delay the more brilliant enterprise which he had long meditated against Persia. For this latter purpose he now convened a congress of the Grecian states at Corinth, though its ostensible object was the settlement of the affairs of Greece. Sparta was the only state unrepresented in this assembly. War was declared against Persia, Philip was appointed generalissimo of the expedition, and each state was assessed in a certain contingent of men or ships. But before he returned to the North of Greece, he determined to chastise Sparta for her ill-disguised hostility. His march through Peloponnesus, and back by the western coast, though he here and there met with resistance, resembled rather a royal progress than an expedition into a hostile country. The western states north of the isthmus now submitted to his authority, and a Macedonian garrison was placed in Ambracia. Byzantium also executed a treaty with Philip, which was virtually an act of subjection. Having thus established his authority throughout Greece, he returned to Macedonia in the autumn of B. C. 338, in order to prepare for his Persian expedition.

§ 13. But the fortune of Philip, which had triumphed over all his foreign enemies, was destined to be arrested by the feuds which arose in the bosom of his own family. Soon after his return to Macedonia, and probably in the spring of 337, he celebrated his nuptials with Cleopatra, the beautiful niece of Attalus, one of his generals. He had already several wives, for he had adopted the Eastern custom of polygamy ; but it was Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, king of Epeirus, by whom Philip had become the father of Alexander, who regarded herself as his legitimate queen ; a violent and imperious woman, who prided herself on the ancient nobility of her family, which traced its descent from Pyrrhus, son of Achilles. The banquet which followed the wedding was marked by an extraordinary scene. When the cup had freely circulated, and wine had begun to unlock the hearts of the guests, Attalus uncautiously disclosed the ambitious views with which his daughter's marriage had inspired him, by calling upon the company to invoke the gods to bless the union they were celebrating with a *legitimate* heir to the throne. Fired at this expression, which seemed to convey a reflection on his birth, the young prince Alexander hurled his goblet at Attalus, exclaiming, "Am I then called a bastard ?" Philip at these words started from his couch, and, seizing his sword, rushed towards Alexander, whom he would probably have slain, had not his foot slipped and caused him to fall. Alexander rose and left the banqueting-hall ; but as he withdrew levelled a taunt at his prostrate parent. "Behold the man," he exclaimed, "who was about to pass from Europe to Asia, but who has been overthrown in going from one couch to another !"

Alexander and his mother Olympias now hastened to quit Macedonia.

The latter found refuge at the court of her brother Alexander, king of Epeirus, whilst the former took up his abode in Illyria. The fugitives appear to have stirred up both these countries to wage war against Philip, who however at length contrived to effect a show of reconciliation. Through the mediation of a friend, he induced Alexander to return to Pella, and he averted the hostility of his brother-in-law, the king of Epeirus, by offering him the hand of his daughter, Cleopatra. Olympias was now compelled to return to Philip's court; but both she and Alexander harbored an implacable resentment against him.

§ 14. These domestic disturbances delayed Philip's expedition during the year 337; but in the following spring he appears to have sent some forces into Asia, under the command of Attalus, Parmenio, and Amyntas. These were designed to engage the Greek cities of Asia in the expedition, and to support the disaffected subjects of Persia. But before quitting Macedonia, Philip determined to provide for the safety of his dominions by celebrating the marriage of his daughter with Alexander of Epeirus. It was solemnized at *Ægæ*, the ancient capital of Macedonia, with much pomp, including banquets, and musical and theatrical entertainments. Most of the Grecian towns sent their deputies to the festival, bringing crowns of gold and other presents to the king. But a terrible catastrophe was impending, which several omens are said to have predicted. The oracle of Delphi, when consulted by Philip, as head of the Amphictyons, respecting the issue of his Eastern expedition, responded with its usual happy ambiguity,—“The bull is crowned, everything is ready, and the sacrificer is at hand.” And the player, Neoptolemus, who had been engaged to recite some verses during the nuptial banquet, chose an ode which spoke of power, pride, and luxury, and of the rapid and stealthy approach of death, which terminates in a moment the most ambitious expectations.

§ 15. The day after the nuptials was dedicated to theatrical entertainments. The festival was opened with a procession of the images of the twelve Olympian deities, with which was associated that of Philip himself. The monarch took part in the procession, dressed in white robes, and crowned with a chaplet. A little behind him walked his son and his new son-in-law, whilst his body-guards followed at some distance, in order that the person of the sovereign might be seen by all his subjects. Whilst thus proceeding through the city, a youth suddenly rushed out of the crowd, and, drawing a long sword which he had concealed under his clothes, plunged it into Philip's side, who fell dead upon the spot. The assassin was pursued by some of the royal guards, and, having stumbled in his flight, was despatched before he could reach the place where horses had been provided for his escape. His name was Pausanias. He was a youth of noble birth, and we are told that his motive for taking Philip's life was that the king had refused to punish an outrage which Attalus had committed against him. Both Olympias and her son Alexander were suspected

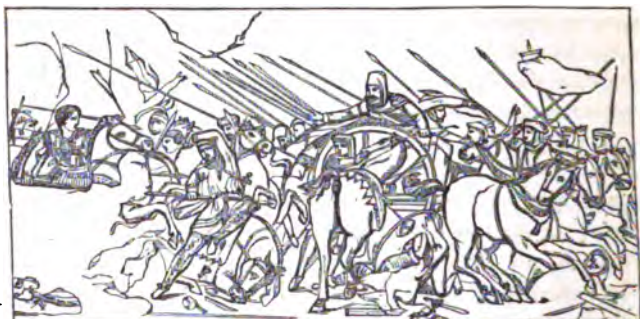
of being concerned in the murder. Olympias is said to have prepared the horses for the escape of the assassin ; and it is certain that she manifested an extravagant satisfaction at Philip's death. The suspicion that Olympias was privy to her husband's assassination is considerably strengthened by the improbability that Pausanias, without incitement from some other quarter, should have avenged himself on Philip rather than on Attalus, the actual perpetrator of the injury which he had received. With regard to Alexander, however, there is no evidence worth a moment's attention to inculcate him ; and though an eminent historian * has not scrupled to condemn him as a parricide, yet we should hesitate to brand him, on such slender suspicions, with a crime which seems foreign to his character.

Thus fell Philip of Macedon in the twenty-fourth year of his reign and forty-seventh of his age (B. C. 336). When we reflect upon his achievements, and how, partly by policy and partly by arms, he converted his originally poor and distracted kingdom into the mistress of Greece, we must acknowledge him to have been an extraordinary, if not a great man, in the better sense of that term. His views and his ambition were certainly as large as those of his son Alexander, but he was prevented by a premature death from carrying them out ; nor would Alexander himself have been able to perform his great achievements had not Philip handed down to him all the means and instruments which they required.

* Niebuhr.



Bust of Demosthenes.



Battle of Issus. From a Mosaic at Pompeii, now in the Museo Borbonico at Naples.

CHAPTER XLIV.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

- § 1. Education of Alexander. § 2. Rejoicings at Athens for Philip's death. Movements in Greece. § 4. Alexander overawes the Malecontents, and is appointed Generalissimo for the Persian War. § 4. Alexander subdues the Triballians, Getæ, Illyrians, and Taulantians. § 5. Revolt and Destruction of Thebes. § 6. Alexander prepares to invade Persia. Nature of that Empire. § 7. Alexander crosses the Hellespont. § 8. Battle of the Granicus. § 9. Alexander overruns Asia Minor. The Gordian Knot. § 10. March through Cilicia. Battle of Issus. Victory. § 11. Conquest of Phœnicia. Siege of Tyre. § 12. Alexander marches into Egypt. Foundation of Alexandria. Oracle of Ammon. § 13. Battle of Arbela. § 14. Alexander takes Possession of Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. § 15. March to Ecbatana, and Pursuit of Darius. Death of Darius. § 16. March through Hyrcania, Asia, and Drangiana. Conspiracy of Philotas. § 17. Alexander crosses the Oxus. Death of Bessus. Reduction of Sogdiana. Alexander marries Roxana. § 18. Murder of Clitus. § 19. Plot of the Pages. Alexander invades the Penjâb, and defeats Porus. Marches as far as the Hyphasis. § 20. Descent of the Hydaspes and Indus. § 21. March through Gedrosia. Voyage of Nearchus. § 22. Arrival at Susa. Intermariages of the Greeks and Persians. Mutiny of the Army. § 23. Death of Hephæstion. Alexander takes up his Residence at Babylon. His Death. § 24. Character.

§ 1. NOTWITHSTANDING the suspicions of Olympias and Alexander, it does not appear that Philip had ever really entertained the design of depriving Alexander of the throne. At the time of his father's death he was in his twentieth year, having been born in B. C. 356. At a very tender age he displayed a spirit which endeared him to his father. His early education was intrusted to Leonidas, a kinsman of his mother, a man of severe and parsimonious character, who trained him with Spartan simplicity and hardihood; whilst Lysimachus, a sort of under-governor, early inspired the young prince with ambitious notions, by teaching him to love and emulate the heroes of the Iliad. According to the traditions of his family, the blood of Achilles actually ran in the veins of Alexander; and

Lysimachus nourished the feeling which that circumstance was calculated to awaken, by giving him the name of that hero, whilst he called Philip Peleus, and himself Phoenix. But the most striking feature in Alexander's education was, that he had Aristotle for his teacher, and that thus the greatest conqueror of the material world received the instructions of him who has exercised the most extensive empire over the human intellect. It was probably at about the age of thirteen that he first received the lessons of Aristotle, and they can hardly have continued more than three years, for Alexander soon left the schools for the employments of active life. At the age of sixteen we find him regent of Macedonia during Philip's absence; and at eighteen we have seen him filling a prominent military post at the battle of Chæronëa.

§ 2. On succeeding to the throne, Alexander announced his intention of prosecuting his father's expedition into Asia; but it was first necessary for him to settle the affairs of Greece, where the news of Philip's assassination, and the accession of so young a prince, had excited in several states a hope of shaking off the Macedonian yoke. Athens was the centre of these movements. Demosthenes, who was informed of Philip's death by a special messenger, resolved to avail himself of the superstition of his fellow-citizens by a pious fraud. He went to the senate-house and declared to the Five Hundred that Zeus and Athena had forewarned him in a dream of some great blessing that was in store for the commonwealth. Shortly afterwards public couriers arrived with the news of Philip's death. Demosthenes, although in mourning for the recent loss of an only daughter, now came abroad dressed in white, and crowned with a chaplet, in which attire he was seen sacrificing at one of the public altars. He also moved a decree that Philip's death should be celebrated by a public thanksgiving, and that religious honors should be paid to the memory of Pausanias. Phocion certainly showed a more generous spirit in disapproving of these proceedings. "Nothing," he observed, "betrays a more dastardly turn of mind than expressions of joy for the death of an enemy. And truly you have fine reason to rejoice, when the army you fought with at Chæronëa is only reduced by one man!" In this last remark, indeed, he depreciated the abilities of Philip, as much as Demosthenes was inclined to under-rate the abilities of Alexander. During his embassy to Pella, the Athenian orator had conceived a mean opinion of the youthful prince, whom he now compared to Homer's Margites, and assured the Athenians that he would spend all his time in either prosecuting his studies, or inspecting the entrails of victims. At the same time Demosthenes made vigorous preparations for action. He was already in correspondence with the Persian court for the purpose of thwarting Philip's projected expedition into Asia; and he now despatched envoys to the principal Grecian states for the purpose of exciting them against Macedon. Sparta, and the whole Peloponnesus, with the exception of Megalopolis and Messenia, seemed inclined to

shake off their compulsory alliance. Even the Thebans rose against the dominant oligarchy, although the Cadmæa was in the hands of the Macedonians.

§ 3. But the activity of Alexander disconcerted all these movements. He retained the Thessalians in obedience partly by flattery, partly by a display of force, and having marched through their territory, he assembled the Amphictyonic Council at Thermopylæ, who conferred upon him the command with which they had invested his father during the Sacred War. He then advanced rapidly upon Thebes, and thus prevented the meditated revolution. The Athenians were now seized with alarm, and sent an embassy to deprecate the wrath of Alexander, and to offer to him the same honors and privileges which they had before conferred upon Philip. Demosthenes was appointed one of the envoys, but when he had proceeded as far as the confines of Attica, he was filled with apprehension respecting Alexander's intentions, and found a pretence for returning home. The other ambassadors were graciously received, and their excuses accepted. Alexander then convened a general congress at Corinth, which, as on the former occasion, was attended by all the Grecian states except Sparta. Here he was appointed generalissimo for the Persian war in place of his father. Most of the philosophers and persons of note near Corinth came to congratulate him on this occasion; but Diogenes of Sinopé, who was then living in one of the suburbs of Corinth, did not make his appearance. Alexander therefore resolved to pay a visit to the eccentric Cynic, whom he found basking in the sun. On the approach of Alexander with a numerous retinue, Diogenes raised himself up a little, and the monarch affably inquired how he could serve him? "By standing out of my sunshine," replied the churlish philosopher. Alexander was struck with surprise at a behavior to which he was so little accustomed; but whilst his courtiers were ridiculing the manners of the cynic, he turned to them and said, "Were I not Alexander, I should like to be Diogenes."

§ 4. The result of the congress might be considered a settlement of the affairs of Greece. Alexander could very well afford to despise Sparta's obsolete pretensions to the supremacy of Greece, and did not deem it worth while to undertake an expedition for the purpose of bringing her to reason. He then returned to Macedonia, in the hope of being able to begin his Persian expedition in the spring of B. C. 335; but reports of disturbances among the Thracians and Triballians diverted his attention to that quarter. He therefore crossed Mount Hæmus (the Balkan) and marched into the territory of the Triballians, defeated their forces, and pursued them to the Danube, where they fortified themselves in an island. Leaving them in that position, Alexander crossed the river by means of a fleet which he had caused to be sent from Byzantium, and proceeded to attack the Getæ. The barbarians fled at his approach, and Alexander, who had acquired a large booty, regained the banks of the Danube, where he re-

ceived the submissions of the Danubian tribes, and admitted them into the Macedonian alliance. Thence he marched against the Illyrians and Taulantians, who were meditating an attack upon his kingdom, and speedily reduced them to obedience.

§ 5. During Alexander's absence on these expeditions, no tidings were heard of him for a considerable time, and a report of his death was industriously spread in Southern Greece. The Thebans rose and besieged the Macedonian garrison in the Cadmēa, at the same time inviting other states to declare their independence. Demosthenes was active in aiding the movement. He persuaded the Athenians to furnish the Thebans with subsidies, and to assure them of their support and alliance. But the rapidity of Alexander again crushed the insurrection in the bud. Before the Thebans discovered that the report of his death was false, he had already arrived at Onchestus in Bœotia. Alexander was willing to afford them an opportunity for repentance, and marched slowly to the foot of the Cadmēa. But the leaders of the insurrection, believing themselves irretrievably compromised, replied with taunts to Alexander's proposals for peace, and excited the people to the most desperate resistance. An engagement was prematurely brought on by one of the generals of Alexander, in which some of the Macedonian troops were put to the rout; but Alexander, coming up with the phalanx whilst the Thebans were in the disorder of pursuit, drove them back in turn and entered the gates along with them, when a fearful massacre ensued, committed principally by the Thracians in Alexander's service. Six thousand Thebans are said to have been slain, and thirty thousand were made prisoners. The doom of the conquered city was referred to the allies, who decreed her destruction. The grounds of the verdict bear the impress of a tyrannical hypocrisy. They rested on the conduct of the Thebans during the Persian war, on their treatment of Plataea, and on their enmity to Athens. The inhabitants were sold as slaves, and all the houses, except that of Pindar, were levelled with the ground. The Cadmēa was preserved to be occupied by a Macedonian garrison. Thebes seems to have been thus harshly treated as an example to the rest of Greece, for towards the other states, which were now eager to make their excuses and submission, Alexander showed much forbearance and lenity. The conduct of the Athenians exhibits them deeply sunk in degradation. When they heard of the chastisement inflicted upon Thebes, they immediately voted, on the motion of Demosthenes, that ambassadors should be sent to congratulate Alexander on his safe return from his Northern expeditions, and on his recent success. Alexander in reply wrote a letter, demanding that eight or ten of the leading Athenian orators should be delivered up to him. At the head of the list was Demosthenes. In this dilemma, Phocion, who did not wish to speak upon such a question, was loudly called upon by the people for his opinion; when he rose and said that the persons whom Alexander de-

manded had brought the state into such a miserable plight that they deserved to be surrendered, and that for his own part he should be very happy to die for the commonwealth. At the same time he advised them to try the effect of intercession with Alexander; and it was at last only by his own personal application to that monarch, with whom he was a great favorite, that the orators were spared. According to another account, however, the wrath of Alexander was appeased by the orator Demades, who received from the Athenians a reward of five talents for his services. It was at this time that Alexander is said to have sent a present of one hundred talents to Phocion. But Phocion asked the persons who brought the money, "Why he should be selected for such a bounty?" "Because," they replied, "Alexander considers you the only just and honest man." "Then," said Phocion, "let him suffer me to be what I seem, and to retain that character." And when the envoys went to his house and beheld the frugality with which he lived, they perceived that the man who refused such a gift was wealthier than he who offered it.

§ 6. Having thus put the affairs of Greece on a satisfactory footing, Alexander marched for the Hellespont in the spring of B. C. 334, leaving Antipater regent of Macedonia in his absence, with a force of twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. Alexander's own army consisted of only about thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. Of the infantry about twelve thousand were Macedonians, and these composed the pith of the celebrated Macedonian phalanx. Such was the force with which he proposed to attack the immense but ill-cemented empire of Persia, which, like the empires of Turkey and Austria in modern times, consisted of various nations and races, with different religions and manners, and speaking different languages; the only bond of union being the dominant military power of the ruling nation, which itself formed only a small numerical portion of the empire. The remote provinces, like those of Asia Minor, were administered by satraps and military governors, who enjoyed an almost independent authority, frequently transmitting their provinces, like hereditary fiefs, to their heirs, and sometimes, as we have already seen in the course of this history, defying their sovereign or their brother satraps in open war. The expedition of Cyrus, and the subsequent retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, had shown how easy it was for a handful of resolute and well-disciplined men to penetrate into the very heart of an empire thus weakened by disunion, and composed for the most part of an unwarlike population, and we are not therefore surprised at the confidence with which Alexander set out upon his expedition. Before he departed he distributed most of the crown property among his friends, and when Perdicas asked him what he had reserved for himself, he replied, "My hopes."

§ 7. A march of sixteen days brought Alexander to Sestos, where a large fleet and a number of transports had been collected for the embar

kation of his army. Alexander steered with his own hand the vessel in which he sailed towards the very spot where the Achæans were said to have landed when proceeding to the Trojan war. When half the passage had been completed, he propitiated Poseidon and the Nereids with the sacrifice of a bull and with libations from a golden goblet; and as his trireme neared the shore, he hurled his spear towards the land, by way of claiming possession of Asia. He was, as we have said, a great admirer of Homer, a copy of whose works he always carried with him; and on landing on the Asiatic coast, he made it his first business to visit the plain of Troy. A temple of Athena still existed there, and the very altar was pointed out to him at which Neoptolemus was said to have slain Priam. Alexander then proceeded to Sigëum, where he crowned with a garland the pillar said to mark the tumulus of his mythical ancestor, Achilles, and, according to custom, ran round it naked with his friends, whilst Hephæstion paid similar honors to the tomb of Patroclus. ~~XX~~

§ 8. Alexander then rejoined his army at Arisbé, near Abydos, and marched northwards along the coast of the Propontis. The satraps of Lydia and Ionia, together with other Persian generals, were encamped near Zelëa, a town on the Granicus, with a force of twenty thousand Greek mercenaries, and about an equal number of native cavalry, with which they prepared to dispute the passage of the river. A Rhodian, named Memnon, had the chief command. The veteran general Parmenio advised Alexander to delay the attack till the following morning; to which he replied, that it would be a bad omen at the beginning of his expedition, if, after passing the Hellespont, he should be stopped by a paltry stream. He then directed his cavalry to cross the river, and followed himself at the head of the phalanx. The passage, however, was by no means easy. The stream was in many parts so deep as to be hardly fordable, and the opposite bank was steep and rugged. The cavalry had great difficulty in maintaining their ground till Alexander came up to their relief. He immediately charged into the thickest of the fray, and exposed himself so much, that his life was often in imminent danger, and on one occasion was only saved by the interposition of his friend Cleitus. Having routed the Persians, Alexander next attacked the Greek mercenaries, two thousand of whom were made prisoners, and the rest nearly all cut to pieces. In this engagement Alexander killed two Persian officers with his own hand. After the battle he visited the wounded, and granted immunity from all taxation to the families of the slain. He also sent three hundred suits of Persian armor to Athens, to be dedicated to Athena in the Acropolis; a proceeding by which he hoped, perhaps, further to identify his cause as the common cause of Hellas against the barbarians, as well as to conciliate the Athenians, from whose genius he wished to receive an adequate memorial of his exploits.

§ 9. Alexander now marched southwards towards Sardis, which sur-

rendered before he came within sight of its walls. Having left a garrison in that city, he arrived after a four days' march before Ephesus, which likewise capitulated on his approach. Magnesia, Tralles, and Miletus next fell into his hands, the last after a short siege. Halicarnassus made more resistance. It was defended by Ephialtes, an Athenian exile, supported by Memnon, whose head-quarters were now in the island of Cos. It was necessary that the city should be regularly approached; but at length Memnon, finding it no longer tenable, set fire to it in the night, and crossed over to Cos. Alexander caused it to be razed to the ground, and leaving a small force to reduce the garrison, which had taken refuge in the citadels and forts, pursued his march along the southern coast of Asia Minor, with a view of seizing those towns which might afford shelter to a Persian fleet. The winter was now approaching, and Alexander sent a considerable part of his army under Parmenio into winter-quarters at Sardis. He also sent back to Macedonia such officers and soldiers as had been recently married, on condition that they should return in the spring with what reinforcements they could raise; and with the same view he despatched an officer to recruit in the Peloponnesus. Meanwhile he himself with a chosen body proceeded along the coasts of Lycia and Pamphylia, having instructed Parmenio to rejoin him in Phrygia in the spring, with the main body. After he had crossed the Xanthus, most of the Lycian towns tendered their submission, and Phaselis presented him with a golden crown. On the borders of Lycia and Pamphylia, Mount Climax, a branch of the Taurus range, runs abruptly into the sea, leaving only a narrow passage at its foot, which is frequently overflowed. This was the case at the time of Alexander's approach. He therefore sent his main body by a long and difficult road across the mountains to Pergé; but he himself, who loved danger for its own sake, proceeded with a chosen band along the shore, wading through water that was breast-high for nearly a whole day. From Pergé he advanced against Aspendus and Sidé, which he reduced; and then, forcing his way northwards through the barbarous tribes which inhabited the mountains of Pisidia, he encamped in the neighborhood of Gordium in Phrygia. Here he was rejoined by Parmenio and by the new levies from Greece. Gordium had been the capital of the early Phrygian kings, and in it was preserved with superstitious veneration the chariot or wagon in which the celebrated Midas, the son of Gordius, together with his parents, had entered the town, and in conformity with an oracle had been elevated to the monarchy. An ancient prophecy promised the sovereignty of Asia to him who should untie the knot of bark which fastened the yoke of the wagon to the pole. Alexander repaired to the Acropolis, where the wagon was preserved, to attempt this adventure. Whether he undid the knot by drawing out a peg, or cut it through with his sword, is a matter of doubt; but that he had fulfilled the prediction was placed beyond dispute that very night by a great storm of thunder and lightning.

§ 10. In the spring of 333, Alexander pursued his march eastwards, and on arriving at Ancyra received the submission of the Paphlagonians. He then advanced through Cappadocia without resistance; and forcing his way through the passes of Mount Taurus (the *Pylæ Ciliciæ*), he descended into the plains of Cilicia. Hence he pushed on rapidly to Tarsus, which he found abandoned by the enemy. Whilst still heated with the march, Alexander plunged into the clear but cold stream of the Cydnus, which runs by the town. The result was a fever, which soon became so violent as to threaten his life. An Acarnanian physician, named Philip, who accompanied him, prescribed a remedy; but at the same time Alexander received a letter informing him that Philip had been bribed by Darius, the Persian king, to poison him. He had, however, too much confidence in the trusty Philip to believe the accusation, and handed him the letter whilst he drank the draught. Either the medicine or Alexander's youthful constitution at length triumphed over the disorder. After remaining some time at Tarsus, he continued his march along the coast to Mallus, where he first received certain tidings of the great Persian army, commanded by Darius in person. It is said to have consisted of six hundred thousand fighting men, besides all that train of attendants which usually accompanied the march of a Persian monarch. This immense force was encamped on the plains of Sochi, where Amyntas, a Greek renegade, advised Darius to await the approach of Alexander. But Darius, impatient of delay, and full of vainglorious confidence in the number of his forces, rejected this advice, and resolved to cross the mountains in quest of his foe. Alexander had mean time passed through Issus; had secured the whole country from that place to the maritime pass called the Gates of Syria and Cilicia, and had pushed forwards to Myriandrus, where he was detained by a great storm of wind and rain. Meanwhile Darius had crossed Mount Amānus, more to the north, at a pass called the Amanic Gates, and had thus got into Alexander's rear; who heard with joy that the Persians were moving along the coast to overtake him. By this movement, however, Issus had fallen into the hands of the Persians. Alexander now retraced his steps to meet Darius, whom he found encamped on the right bank of the little river Pinārus. The Persian monarch could hardly have been caught in a more unfavorable position, since the narrow and rugged plain between Mount Amanus and the sea afforded no scope for the evolutions of large bodies, and thus entirely deprived him of the advantage of his numerical superiority. Alexander reoccupied the pass between Syria and Cilicia at midnight, and at day-break began to descend into the plain of the Pinarus, ordering his troops to deploy into line as the ground expanded, and thus to arrive in battle array before the Persians. Darius had thrown thirty thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry across the river, to check the advance of the Macedonians; whilst on the right bank were drawn up his choicest Per-

sian troops to the number of sixty thousand, together with thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, who formed the centre, and on whom he chiefly relied. These, it appears, were all that the breadth of the plain allowed to be drawn up in line. The remainder of the vast host were posted in separate bodies in the farther parts of the plain, and were unable to take any share in the combat. Darius took his station in the centre of the line, in a magnificent state chariot. The banks of the Pinarus were in many parts steep, and where they were level Darius had caused them to be intrenched. As Alexander advanced, the Persian cavalry which had been thrown across the river were recalled; but the twenty thousand infantry had been driven into the mountains, where Alexander held them in check with a small body of horse. The left wing of the Macedonians, under the command of Parmenio, was ordered to keep near the sea, to prevent being outflanked. The right wing was led by Alexander in person, who at first advanced slowly; but when he came within shot of the Persian arrows he gave the order to charge, rushed impetuously into the water, and was soon engaged in close combat with the Persians. The latter were immediately routed; but the impetuosity of the charge had disarranged the compact order of the Macedonian phalanx, and the Greek mercenaries took advantage of this circumstance to attack them. This manœuvre, however, was defeated by Alexander, who, after routing the Persians, wheeled and took the Greeks in flank. But what chiefly decided the fortune of the day was the timidity of Darius himself, who, on beholding the defeat of his left wing, immediately took to flight. His example was followed by his whole army; and even the Persian cavalry, which had crossed the river, and was engaging the Macedonian left with great bravery, was compelled to follow the example. One hundred thousand Persians are said to have been left upon the field. On reaching the hills Darius threw aside his royal robes, his bow and shield, and, mounting a fleet courser, was soon out of reach of pursuit. The Persian camp became the spoil of the Macedonians; but the tent of Darius, together with his chariot, robes, and arms, was reserved for Alexander himself. It was now that the Macedonian king first had ocular proof of the nature of Eastern royalty. One compartment of the tent of Darius had been fitted up as a bath, which steamed with the richest odors; whilst another presented a magnificent pavilion, containing a table richly spread for the banquet of Darius. But from an adjoining tent issued the wail of female voices, where Sisymbria, the mother, and Statira, the wife of Darius, were lamenting the supposed death of the Persian monarch. Alexander sent to assure them of his safety, and ordered them to be treated with the most delicate and respectful attention.

§ 11. Such was the memorable battle of Issus, fought in November, B. C. 333. A large treasure, which Parmenio was sent forward with a detachment to seize, fell into the hands of the Macedonians at Damascus.

Another favorable result of the victory was that it suppressed some attempts at revolt from the Macédonian power, which, with the support of Persia, had been manifested in Greece. But in order to put a complete stop to all such intrigues, which chiefly depended on the assistance of a Persian fleet, Alexander resolved to seize Phœnicia and Egypt, and thus to strike at the root of the Persian maritime power.

Meanwhile, Darius, attended by a body of only four thousand fugitives, had crossed the Euphrates at Thapsăcus. Before he had set out from Babylon, the whole forces of the empire had been summoned; but he had not thought it worth while to wait for what he deemed a merely useless encumbrance; and the more distant levies, which comprised some of the best troops of the empire, were still hastening towards Babylon. In a short time, therefore, he would be at the head of a still more numerous host than that which had fought at Issus; yet he thought it safer to open negotiations with Alexander than to trust to the chance of arms. With this view he sent a letter to Alexander, who was now at Marăthus in Phœnicia, proposing to become his friend and ally; but Alexander rejected all his overtures, and told him that he must in future be addressed, not in the language of an equal, but of a subject.

As Alexander advanced southwards, all the towns of Phœnicia hastened to open their gates; the inhabitants of Sidon even hailed him as their deliverer. Tyre, also, sent to tender her submission; but coupled with reservations by no means acceptable to a youthful conqueror in the full tide of success. Alexander affected to receive their offer, which was accompanied with a present of a golden crown and provisions for his army, as an unconditional surrender, and told them that he would visit their city and offer sacrifices to Melcart, a Tyrian deity, who was considered as identical with the Grecian Hercules. This brought the matter to an issue. The Tyrians now informed him that they could not admit any foreigners within their walls, and that, if he wished to sacrifice to Melcart, he would find another and more ancient shrine in Old Tyre, on the mainland. Alexander indignantly dismissed the Tyrian ambassadors, and announced his intention of laying siege to their city. The Tyrians probably deemed it impregnable. It was by nature a place of great strength, and had been rendered still stronger by art. The island on which it stood was half a mile distant from the mainland; and though the channel was shallow near the coast, it deepened to three fathoms near the island. The shores of the island were rocky and precipitous, and the walls rose from the cliffs to the height of one hundred and fifty feet in solid masonry. The city was abundantly supplied with fresh water; was well furnished with arms and provisions; possessed an intelligent and warlike population; and though the greater part of the fleet was absent in the Persian service, it had in its two harbors a competent number of vessels of war. As Alexander possessed no ships, the only method by which he could approach the town

was by constructing a causeway, the materials for which were collected from the forests of Libānus and the ruins of Old Tyre. Through the shallow part of the water the work proceeded rapidly; but as it approached the town the difficulties increased, both from the greater depth of the water, and from the workmen being exposed to missiles from the town and from the Tyrian galleys. To obviate the latter inconvenience, Alexander caused two wooden towers, covered with hides, to be built at the head of the mole, which would serve both to protect the workmen, and to keep assailants at a distance by the missiles hurled from engines at the top of the towers. The Tyrians, however, contrived to burn these towers, by seizing the opportunity of a favorable breeze to drive against them a vessel filled with dry wood, besmeared with pitch, and other combustible materials. The Macedonians being thus driven from the mole, the Tyrians came off in boats, and destroyed such parts of it as the flames had spared. But Alexander was so far from being discouraged by this mishap, that he began the work again on a larger scale. He also procured ships from Sidon and other places in order to protect it, and in a little time had collected a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, which he exercised in nautical manœuvres; and thus forced the Tyrian galleys, which had previously molested the progress of the work, to keep within their harbor. After overcoming many difficulties, the mole was at length pushed to the foot of the walls, which were now assailed with engines of a novel description. The besieged on their side resorted to many ingenious methods of defence, among which was the discharging of heated sand on the besiegers, which, penetrating beneath the armor, occasioned great torment. But it now began to grow evident that the city must fall; and as soon as Alexander had effected a practicable breach, he ordered a general assault both by land and sea. The breach was stormed under the immediate inspection of Alexander himself; and though the Tyrians made a desperate resistance, they were at length overpowered, when the city became one wide scene of indiscriminate carnage and plunder. The siege had lasted seven months, and the Macedonians were so exasperated by the difficulties and dangers they had undergone, that they granted no quarter. Eight thousand of the citizens are said to have been massacred; and the remainder, with the exception of the king and some of the principal men, who had taken refuge in the temple of Melcart, were sold into slavery, to the number of thirty thousand. Tyre was taken in the month of July, B. C. 332.

Whilst Alexander was engaged in the siege of Tyre, Darius made him further and more advantageous proposals. He now offered ten thousand talents as the ransom of his family, together with all the provinces west of the Euphrates, and his daughter Barsiné in marriage, as the conditions of a peace. When these offers were submitted to the Council, Parmenio was not unnaturally struck with their magnificence, and observed, that, were he Alexander, he would accept them. "And so would I," replied the king,

"were I Parmenio." Had Alexander's views been bounded by the political advantage of Macedonia, he would doubtless have adopted the advice of his veteran general. But his ambition was wholly of a personal nature. He felt more pleasure in acquiring than in possessing; and as his prospects expanded with his progress, he was unwilling to accept what he considered as only an instalment of the vast empire which he was destined to attain. Darius, therefore, prepared himself for a desperate resistance.

§ 12. After the fall of Tyre, Alexander marched with his army towards Egypt, whilst his fleet proceeded along the coast. Gaza, a strong fortress on the sea-shore, obstinately held out, and delayed his progress three or four months. According to a tradition preserved in Josephus, it was at this time that Alexander visited Jerusalem, and, struck with its pious priests and holy rites, endowed the city with extraordinary privileges, and the priesthood with ample gifts; but this story does not appear in any other ancient author. After the capture of Gaza, Alexander met his fleet at Pelusium, and ordered it to sail up the Nile as far as Memphis, whither he himself marched with his army across the desert. Alexander conciliated the affection of the Egyptians by the respect with which he treated their national superstitions, whilst the Persians by an opposite line of conduct had incurred their deadliest hatred. Alexander then sailed down the western branch of the Nile, and at its mouth traced the plan of the new city of Alexandria, which for many centuries continued to be not only the grand emporium of Europe, Africa, and India, but also the principal centre of intellectual life. Being now on the confines of Libya, Alexander resolved to visit the celebrated oracle of Zeus Ammon, which lay in the bosom of the Libyan wilderness, and which was reported to have been consulted by his two heroic ancestors, Hercules and Perseus. As he marched towards the oasis in which it was situated, he was met by envoys from Cyréné, bringing with them magnificent presents, amongst which were five chariots and three hundred war-horses. After marching along the coast for about two hundred miles, Alexander struck to the southeast into the desert; when a five days' journey over pathless sands and under a scorching sun brought him to the well-watered and richly-wooded valley, containing the renowned and ancient temple of Ammon. The conqueror was received by the priests with all the honors of sacred pomp. He consulted the oracle in secret, and is said never to have disclosed the answer which he received; though that it was an answer that contented him appeared from the magnificence of the offerings which he made to the god. Some say that Ammon saluted him as the son of Zeus.

§ 13. Alexander returned to Phœnicia in the spring of 331. He then directed his march through Samaria, and arrived at Thapsacus on the Euphrates about the end of August. After crossing the river, he struck to the northeast through a fertile and well-supplied country. On his march he

was told that Darius was posted with an immense force on the left bank of the Tigris; but on arriving at that river, he found nobody to dispute his passage. He then proceeded southwards along its banks, and after four days' march fell in with a few squadrons of the enemy's cavalry. From some of these who were made prisoners Alexander learned that Darius was encamped with his host on one of the extensive plains between the Tigris and the mountains of Kurdistan, near a village called Gaugamēla (the Camel's House). The town of Arbēla, after which the battle that ensued is commonly named, lay at about twenty miles' distance, and there Darius had deposited his baggage and treasure. That monarch had been easily persuaded that his former defeat was owing solely to the nature of the ground; and therefore he now selected a wide plain for an engagement, where there was abundant room for his multitudinous infantry, and for the evolutions of his horsemen and charioteers. Alexander, after giving his army a few days' rest, set out to meet the enemy soon after mid night, in order that he might come up with them about daybreak. On ascending some sand-hills the whole array of the Persians suddenly burst upon the view of the Macedonians, at the distance of three or four miles. Darius, as usual, occupied the centre, surrounded by his body-guard and chosen troops. In front of the royal position were ranged the war-chariots and elephants, and on either side the Greek mercenaries, to the number, it is said, of fifty thousand. Alexander spent the first day in surveying the ground and preparing for the attack; he also addressed his troops, pointing out to them that the prize of victory would not be a mere province, but the dominion of all Asia. Yet so great was the tranquillity with which he contemplated the result, that at daybreak on the following morning, when the officers came to receive his final instructions, they found him in a deep slumber. His army, which consisted only of forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, was drawn up in the order which he usually observed, namely, with the phalanx in the centre in six divisions, and the Macedonian cavalry on the right, where Alexander himself took his station. And as there was great danger of being outflanked, he formed a second line in the rear, composed of some divisions of the phalanx and a number of light troops and cavalry, which were to act in any quarter threatened by the enemy. The Persians, fearful of being surprised, had stood under arms the whole night, so that the morning found them exhausted and dispirited. Some of them, however, fought with considerable bravery; but when Alexander had succeeded in breaking their line by an impetuous charge, Darius mounted a fleet horse and took to flight, as at Issus, though the fortune of the day was yet far from having been decided. At length, however, the rout became general. Whilst daylight lasted, Alexander pursued the flying enemy as far as the banks of the Lycus, or Greater Zab, where thousands of the Persians perished in the attempt to pass the river. After resting his men a few hours, Alexander continued

the pursuit at midnight, in the hope of overtaking Darius at Arbēla. The Persian monarch, however, had continued his flight without stopping; but the whole of the royal baggage and treasure was captured at Arbēla.

§ 14. Finding any further pursuit of Darius hopeless, Alexander now directed his march towards Babylon. At a little distance from the city the greater part of the population came out to meet him, headed by their priests and magistrates, tendering their submission, and bearing with them magnificent presents. Alexander then made his triumphant entry into Babylon, riding in a chariot at the head of his army. The streets were strewn with flowers, incense smoked on either hand on silver altars, and the priests celebrated his entry with hymns. Nor was this the mere display of a compulsory obedience. Under the Persian sway the Chaldaean religion had been oppressed and persecuted; the temple of Belus had been destroyed and still lay in ruins; and both priests and people consequently rejoiced at the downfall of a dynasty from which they had suffered so much wrong. Alexander, whose enlarged views on the subject of popular religion had probably been derived from Aristotle, observed here the same politic conduct which he had adopted in Egypt. He caused the ruined temples to be restored, and proposed to offer personally, but under the direction of the priests, a sacrifice to Belus. He then made arrangements for the safety and government of the city. He appointed Mazæus, the Persian officer who had been left in charge of it, satrap of Babylon; but he occupied the citadel with a garrison of one thousand Macedonians and other Greeks, whilst the collection of the revenues was also intrusted to a Greek named Asclepiodorus. Alexander contemplated making Babylon the capital of his future empire. His army was rewarded with a large donative from the Persian treasury; and, after being allowed to indulge for some time in the luxury of Babylon, was again put in motion, towards the middle of November, for Susa. It was there that the Persian treasures were chiefly accumulated, and Alexander had despatched Philoxenus to take possession of the city immediately after the battle of Arbēla. It was surrendered without a blow by the satrap Abulites. The treasure found there amounted to forty thousand talents in gold and silver bullion, and nine thousand in gold Darics. But among all these riches the interest of the Greeks must have been excited in a lively manner by the discovery of the spoils carried off from Greece by Xerxes. Among them were the bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, which Alexander now sent back to Athens, and which were long afterwards preserved in the Cerameicus.

At Susa Alexander received reinforcements of about fifteen thousand men from Greece. Amyntas, who conducted them, brought tidings of disturbances in Greece, fomented by Sparta; and to assist in quelling them Alexander transmitted a considerable sum to the regent Antipater. He then directed his march southeastwards towards Persepolis. His road

lay through the mountainous territory of the Uxians, who refused him a passage unless he paid the usual tribute which they were in the habit of extorting even from the Persian kings. But Alexander routed them with great slaughter. The difficult mountain defile called the "Persian Gates," forming the entrance into Persis, still remained to be passed, which was defended by Ariobarzanes, the satrap of that district, with forty thousand foot and seven hundred horse. Ariobarzanes had also built a wall across the pass; but Alexander turned the position by ascending the heights with part of his army, whilst the remainder stormed and carried the wall; and the Persians were nearly all cut to pieces. He then advanced rapidly to Persepolis, whose magnificent ruins still attest its ancient splendor. It was the real capital of the Persian kings, though they generally resided at Susa during the winter, and at Ecbatāna in summer. The treasure found there exceeded that both of Babylon and Susa, and is said to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand talents, or nearly thirty million pounds sterling.* It was here that Alexander is related to have committed an act of senseless folly, by firing with his own hand the ancient and magnificent palace of the Persian kings; of which the most charitable version is that he committed the act when heated with wine at the instigation of Thais, an Athenian courtesan. By some writers, however, the story is altogether disbelieved, and the real destruction of Persepolis referred to the Mohammedan epoch. Whilst at Persepolis, Alexander visited the tomb of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, which was situated at a little distance, at a city called Pasargadæ.

§ 15. Thus, in between three and four years after crossing the Hellespont, Alexander had established himself on the Persian throne. But Darius was not yet in his power. After the battle of Arbēla, that monarch had fled to Ecbatāna, the ancient capital of Media, where he seemed disposed to watch the turn of events, and whence, if he should be again threatened, he meditated flying farther north across the Oxus. It was not till about four months after the battle of Arbēla, and consequently early in 330, that Alexander quitted Persepolis to resume the pursuit of Darius. On approaching Ecbatāna, he learned that the Persian monarch had already fled with the little army which still adhered to him. On arriving at that place, Alexander permitted the troops of the allies to return home if they wished, as the main object of the expedition had been accomplished; but many volunteered to remain with him, and the rest were dismissed with a handsome share of booty, in addition to their pay. The treasures which had been conveyed from Persepolis were lodged in the citadel of Ecbatāna, under the guard of six thousand Macedonians, besides cavalry and light troops. Alexander, with his main body, then pursued Darius through Media by forced marches, and reached Rhagæ, a distance of three

* About \$ 125,000,000. — Ed.

hundred miles from Ecbatāna, in eleven days. Such was the rapidity of the march, that many men and horses died of fatigue. At Rhagæ he heard that Darius had already passed the defile called the "Caspian Gates," leading into the Bactrian provinces; and, as that pass was fifty miles distant, urgent pursuit was evidently useless. He therefore allowed his troops five days' rest, and then resumed his march. Soon after passing the Gates he learned that Darius had been seized and loaded with chains by his own satrap, Bessus, who entertained the design of establishing himself in Bactria as an independent sovereign. This intelligence stimulated Alexander to make still further haste with part of his cavalry and a chosen body of foot. On the fourth day he succeeded in overtaking the fugitives with his cavalry, having been obliged to leave the infantry behind, with directions to follow more at leisure. The enemy, who did not know his real strength, were struck with consternation at his appearance, and fled precipitately. Bessus and his adherents now endeavored to persuade Darius to fly with them, and provided a fleet horse for that purpose. But the Persian monarch, who had already experienced the generosity of Alexander in the treatment of his captive family, preferred to fall into his hands, whereupon the conspirators mortally wounded him in the chariot in which they kept him confined, and then took to flight. Darius expired before Alexander could come up, who threw his own cloak over the body. He then ordered him to be magnificently buried in the tomb of his ancestors, and provided for the fitting education of his children.

§ 16. Alexander next invaded Hyrcania, a province of the Persian empire, on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, and took possession of Zadracarta, the chief town in the country. From thence he undertook an expedition against the Mardians, a warlike tribe in the western part of Hyrcania, who, thinking themselves secure amidst their forests and mountains, had refused to make their submission. After chastising the Mardians, Alexander quitted Zadracarta, and pursued his march eastwards through the province of Aria. Near Artacoana, the capital of Aria, he founded a city on the banks of the river Arius, called after him (*Alexandria Ariorum*), and which, under the name of *Herat*, is still one of the chief cities in Central Asia. Hence he proceeded southwards to Prophthasia, the capital of Drangiana, where his stay was signalized by a supposed conspiracy against his life, formed by Philōtas, the son of Parmenio. Alexander had long entertained suspicions of Philotas. Whilst still in Egypt he had discovered that Philōtas had spoken disparagingly of his exploits, and had boasted that, without the aid of his father and himself, Alexander would never have been able to achieve his conquests. He had also ridiculed the oracle respecting Alexander's supernatural birth, and had more recently opposed the inclination which that monarch now began to display to assume all the pomp and state of a Persian king. But the immediate subject of accusation against him was, that he had not revealed

a conspiracy which was reported to be forming against Alexander's life, and which he had deemed too contemptible to notice. He was consequently suspected of being implicated in it; and on being put to the torture, he not only confessed his own guilt in his agonies, but also implicated his father. Philôtas was executed, and an order was sent to Ecbatana, where Parmenio then was, directing that veteran general to be put to death. A letter, purporting to be from his son, was handed to him; and whilst the old man was engaged in reading it, Polydamas, his intimate friend, together with some others of Alexander's principal officers, fell upon and slew him. His head was carried to Alexander. Hephæstion, who had been active in exciting the king's suspicion against Philotas, was rewarded with a share of the command vacated by his death; but the horse-guards were now divided into two regiments, one of which was given to Hephæstion and the other to Cleitus.

§ 17. Late in the year 330, Alexander directed his march southwards, to the banks of the Etymandrus (the *Helmund*), where he remained sixty days. Hence he penetrated into Arachosia, and founded there another Alexandria, which is supposed to be the modern city of *Candahar*. He then crossed the lofty mountains of Paropamisus, called Caucasus by the Greeks (now *Hindoo-Koosh*), which were covered with deep snow, and so barren that they did not even afford firewood for his army. At the foot of one of the passes of these mountains Alexander founded another city called Alexandria ad Caucasum, situated probably about fifty miles northwest of *Cabul*.

Alexander now entered Bactria; but Bessus did not wait his approach, and fled across the Oxus into Sogdiana. Early in the summer of 329, Alexander followed him across the Oxus; and shortly afterwards Bessus was betrayed by two of his own officers into the hands of Alexander. Bessus was carried to Zariaspa, the capital of Bactria, where he was brought before a Persian court, and put to death in a cruel and barbarous manner.

Alexander next took possession of Maracanda (now *Samarcand*), the capital of Sogdiana, from whence he advanced to the river Jaxartes (*Sir*), which he designed to make the boundary of his empire against the Scythians. On the banks of that river he founded the city of Alexandria Eschate (the *last* or *farthest*), probably the modern *Khojend*. After crossing the river and defeating the Scythians, who menaced him on the opposite bank, he returned into winter-quarters at Zariaspa.

Sogdiana, however, was not yet subdued, and accordingly, in the following year, 328, Alexander again crossed the Oxus. He divided his army into five bodies, ordering them to scour the country in different directions. With the troops under his own command he marched against the fortress called the Sogdian Rock, seated on an isolated hill, so precipitous as to be deemed inaccessible, and so well supplied with

provisions as to defy a blockade. The summons to surrender was treated with derision by the commander, who inquired whether the Macedonians had wings? But a small body of Macedonians having succeeded in scaling some heights which overhung the fortress, the garrison became so alarmed that they immediately surrendered. To this place a Bactrian, named Oxyartes, an adherent of Bessus, had sent his daughters for safety. One of them, named Roxāna, was of surpassing beauty, and Alexander made her the partner of his throne.

§ 18. Alexander now returned to Maracanda, where he was joined by the other divisions of his army, and while remaining at this place he appointed his friend Cleitus satrap of Bactria. On the eve of the parting of the two friends, Alexander celebrated a festival in honor of the Dioscūri, though the day was sacred to Dionysus. The banquet was attended by several parasites and literary flatterers, who magnified the praises of Alexander with extravagant and nauseous flattery. Cleitus, whom wine had released from all prudent reserve, sternly rebuked their fulsome adulation; and, as the conversation turned on the comparative merits of the exploits of Alexander and his father Philip, he did not hesitate to prefer the exploits of the latter. He reminded Alexander of his former services, and, stretching forth his hand, exclaimed, "It was this hand, Alexander, which saved your life at the battle of the Granicus!" The king, who was also flushed with wine, was so enraged by these remarks, that he rushed at Cleitus with the intention of killing him on the spot, but he was held back by his friends, whilst Cleitus was at the same time hurried out of the room. Alexander, however, was no sooner released, than, snatching a spear, he sprang to the door, and meeting Cleitus, who was returning in equal fury to brave his anger, ran him through the body. But when the deed was done, he was seized with repentance and remorse. He flung himself on his couch and remained for three whole days in an agony of grief, refusing all sustenance, and calling on the names of Cleitus and of his sister Lanice, who had been his nurse. It was not till his bodily strength began to fail through protracted abstinence that he at last became more composed, and consented to listen to the consolations of his friends, and the words of the soothsayers; who ascribed the murder of Cleitus to a temporary frenzy with which Dionysus had visited him as a punishment for neglecting the celebration of his festival.

§ 19. After reducing the rest of the fortresses of Sogdiana, Alexander returned into Bactria in 327, and began to prepare for his projected expedition into India. Whilst he was thus employed, a plot was formed against his life by the royal pages, incited by Hermolaus, one of their number, who had been punished with stripes for anticipating the king during a hunting party in slaying a wild boar. Hermolaus and his associates, among whom was Callisthenes, a pupil of Aristotle, were first

tortured, and then put to death. It seems certain that a conspiracy existed; but no less certain, that the growing pride and haughtiness of Alexander were gradually alienating from him the hearts of his followers.

Alexander did not leave Bactria till late in the spring. He crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats near Taxila, the present *Attock*, where the river is about one thousand feet broad, and very deep. He is said to have entered India at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, the greater part of whom must necessarily have been Asiatics. He now found himself in the district at present called the *Penj-âb* (or the *Five Rivers*). Taxiles, the sovereign of the district, at once surrendered Taxila, his capital, and joined the Macedonian force with five thousand men. Hence Alexander proceeded with little resistance to the river Hydaspes (*Behut* or *Jelum*). On the opposite bank, Porus,* a powerful Indian king, prepared to dispute his progress with a numerous and well-appointed force. Alexander, however, by a skilful stratagem, conveyed his army safely across the river. An obstinate battle then ensued. In the army of Porus were many elephants, the sight and smell of which frightened the horses of Alexander's cavalry. But these unwieldy animals ultimately proved as dangerous to the Indians as to the Greeks; for when driven into a narrow space, they became unmanageable, and created great confusion in the ranks of Porus. By a few vigorous charges the Indians were completely routed, with the loss of twelve thousand slain and nine thousand prisoners. Among the latter was Porus himself, who was conducted into the presence of Alexander. The courage which he had displayed in the battle had excited the admiration of the Macedonian king. Mounted on an enormous elephant, he retreated leisurely when the day was lost, and long rejected every summons to surrender; till at length, overcome by thirst and fatigue, he permitted himself to be taken. Even in this situation Porus still retained his majestic bearing, the effect of which was increased by the extraordinary height of his stature. On Alexander's inquiring how he wished to be treated, he replied, "Like a king." "And have you no other request?" asked Alexander. "No," answered Porus; "everything is comprehended in the word king." Struck by his magnanimity, Alexander not only restored him to his dominions, but also considerably enlarged them; seeking by these means to retain him as an obedient and faithful vassal.

Alexander rested a month on the banks of the Hydaspes, where he celebrated his victory by games and sacrifices, and founded two towns, one of which he named Nicæa, and the other Bucephala, in honor of his

* Porus is probably a corruption of the Sanscrit word "Paurusha," which signifies a "hero."

gallant charger Bucephalus, which is said to have died here. He then overran the whole of the Penj-âb, as far as the Hyphâsis (*Gharra*), its southern boundary. The only resolute resistance he experienced was from the warlike tribe of the Cathæi, whose capital, Sangala, was probably the modern *Lahore*. They were subdued, and their territory divided amongst the other Indian tribes. Upon reaching the Hyphasis, the army, worn out by fatigues and dangers, positively refused to proceed any farther; although Alexander passionately desired to attack a monarch still more powerful than Porus, whose dominions, he heard, lay beyond the river. All his attempts to induce his soldiers to proceed proving ineffectual, he prepared to submit with a good grace to an alternative which he perceived to be unavoidable. Pretending that the sacrifices were unfavorable for the passage of the Hyphasis, he gave the order for retreat; having first erected on its banks twelve colossal altars to mark the boundary of his conquests in that direction.

§ 20. When Alexander again arrived at his newly founded cities of Nicæa and Bucephala on the Hydaspes, he divided his army into three detachments. Two of these, under the command of Hephæstion and Cratærus, were ordered to descend the Hydaspes on its opposite banks; whilst he himself, at the head of eight thousand men, embarked on board a fleet of about two thousand vessels, which he had ordered to be prepared with the view of sailing down the Indus to its mouth. The ignorance which prevailed among the Macedonians respecting the geography of the region to be traversed, may be estimated from the circumstance that Alexander at first considered the Indus to be a branch of the Nile.

The army began to move in November, 327. The navigation lasted several months, but was accomplished without any serious opposition, except from the tribe of the Malli, who are conjectured to have occupied the site of the present Mooltan. At the storming of their town the life of Alexander was exposed to imminent danger. He was the first to scale the walls of the citadel, and was followed by four officers; but before a fifth man could mount, the ladder broke, and Alexander was left exposed on the wall to the missiles of the enemy. From this situation there were only two methods of escape; either by leaping down among his own army, or into the citadel among the enemy. Alexander chose the latter; and, alighting on his feet, placed his back to the wall, where he succeeded in keeping the enemy at bay, and slew two of their chiefs who had ventured within reach of his sword. But an arrow which pierced his corslet brought him to the ground, fainting with the loss of blood. Two of his followers who had jumped down after him now stood over and defended him; till at length, more soldiers having scaled the walls, and opened one of the gates, sufficient numbers poured in not only to rescue their monarch, but to capture the citadel; when every living being within the place was

put to the sword. Alexander's life was long in great danger ; but when he was sufficiently recovered, he was again placed in his vessel, and dropped down the Hydraotes (*Rave*) to its confluence with the Acesines. Here his army was encamped ; and the soldiers testified by shouts and tears their joy at again beholding their commander. Hence Alexander pursued his course to the point where the four rivers, now united into one stream, the Acesines (*Chenab*), join the Indus. At their confluence he ordered dock-yards to be constructed, and another Alexandria to be built. Hence he pursued his voyage to the Indian Ocean, all the towns on either bank of the river submitting at his approach. When he arrived at the mouth of the Indus, he explored its estuaries, and, accompanied by a few horsemen, skirted the margin of the Delta next the sea. Nearchus with the fleet was directed to explore the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates, with the view of establishing a maritime communication between India and Persia. We have hitherto beheld Alexander only as a conqueror ; but these cares exhibit him in the more pleasing light of a geographical discoverer, and of a sovereign solicitous for the substantial benefit of his subjects.

§ 21. From this point Alexander proceeded with his army, in the autumn of 326, through the burning deserts of Gedrosia towards Persepolis ; marching himself on foot, and sharing the privations and fatigues of the meanest soldier. In these regions the very atmosphere seems to be composed of a fine dust, which on the slightest wind penetrates into the mouth and nose, whilst the soil affords no firm footing to the traveller. The march through this inhospitable region lasted sixty days, during which numbers of the soldiers perished from fatigue or disease. At length they emerged into the fertile province of Carmania. Whilst in this country, Alexander was rejoined by Nearchus, who had arrived with his fleet at Harmozia (*Ormuz*) ; but who subsequently prosecuted his voyage to the head of the Persian Gulf. The main body of the army under Hephæstion was directed to march along the shores of the Gulf ; whilst Alexander himself, with his horse-guards and light infantry, took a shorter route through Pasargadæ and Persepolis. During his stay in the latter city, he remedied the disorders which had been committed since he left it, and executed summary justice on the delinquent satraps who had oppressed the provinces of Persis. It was thus that he caused his empire to be respected, as much by the equity of his administration as by the irresistible force of his arms.

§ 22. From Persepolis Alexander pursued his march to Susa (B.C. 325), where the soldiers were allowed to repose from their fatigues, and were amused with a series of brilliant festivities. It was here that he adopted various measures with the view of consolidating his empire. One of the most important was to form the Greeks and Persians into one people by means of intermarriages. He himself celebrated his nuptials with Stateira,

the eldest daughter of Darius, and bestowed the hand of her sister, Drypetis, on Hephæstion. Other marriages were made between Alexander's officers and Asiatic women, to the number, it is said, of about a hundred; whilst no fewer than ten thousand of the common soldiers followed their example and took native wives. As another means of amalgamating the Europeans and Asiatics, he caused numbers of the latter to be admitted into the army, and to be armed and trained in the Macedonian fashion. But these innovations were regarded with a jealous eye by most of the Macedonian veterans; and this feeling was increased by the conduct of Alexander himself, who assumed every day more and more of the state and manners of an Eastern despot. At first, indeed, the growing discontent was repressed by the large bounties distributed among the soldiers, and by the discharge of all their debts. But at length their long stifled dissatisfaction broke out into open mutiny and rebellion at a review which took place at Opis on the Tigris. Alexander here proposed to dismiss such Macedonians as were wounded or otherwise disabled; but though they had clamored for their discharge whilst on the other side of the Indus, they now regarded this proposal as an insult, and called out "that the king had better dismiss them all,—his father Ammon would fight his battles." But the mutiny was quelled by the decisive conduct of Alexander. He immediately ordered thirteen of the ringleaders to be seized and executed, and then, addressing the remainder, pointed out to them how, by his own and his father's exertions, they had been raised from the condition of scattered herdsmen to be the masters of Greece and the lords of Asia; and that whilst he had abandoned to them the richest and most valuable fruits of his conquests, he had reserved nothing but the diadem for himself, as the mark of his superior labors and more imminent perils. He then secluded himself for two whole days, during which his Macedonian guard was exchanged for a Persian one, whilst nobles of the same nation were appointed to the most confidential posts about his person. Overcome by these marks of alienation on the part of their sovereign, the Macedonians now supplicated with tears to be restored to favor. A solemn reconciliation was effected, and ten thousand veterans were dismissed to their homes under the conduct of Craterus. That general was also appointed to the government of Macedonia in place of Antipater, who was ordered to repair to Asia with fresh reinforcements.

§ 23. Soon after these occurrences, Alexander proceeded to Ecbatāna, where during the autumn he solemnized the festival of Dionysus with extraordinary splendor. The best actors and musicians in Greece, to the number, it is said, of three thousand, were assembled for the occasion; whilst the natives flocked from all quarters to the Median capital, to witness what was to them a novel spectacle. But Alexander's enjoyment was suddenly converted into bitterness by the death of Hephæstion, who was carried off by a fever. This event threw Alexander into a deep mel-

ancholy, from which he never entirely recovered. The memory of Hephæstion was honored by extravagant marks of public mourning, and his body was conveyed to Babylon, to be there interred with the utmost magnificence. His name was still retained as commander of a division of the cavalry; and the officer who actually discharged the duties of the post was only regarded as his lieutenant.

Alexander entered Babylon in the spring of 324, notwithstanding the warnings of the priests of Belus, who predicted some serious evil to him if he entered the city at that time. Babylon was now to witness the consummation of his triumphs and of his life. As in the last scene of some well-ordered drama, all the results and tokens of his great achievements seemed to be collected there to do honor to his final exit. Ambassadors from all parts of Greece, from Libya, Italy, and probably from still more distant regions, were waiting to salute him, and to do homage to him as the conqueror of Asia; the fleet under Nearchus had arrived, after its long and enterprising voyage, and had been augmented by other vessels constructed in Phœnicia, and thence brought overland to Thapsacus, and down the river to Babylon; whilst for the reception of this navy, which seemed to turn the inland capital of his empire into a port, a magnificent harbor was in process of construction. A more melancholy, and, it may be added, a more useless monument of his greatness, was the funeral pile now rising for Hephæstion, which was constructed with such unparalleled splendor, that it is said to have cost ten thousand talents. The mind of Alexander was still occupied with plans of conquest and ambition; his next design was the subjugation of Arabia; which, however, was to be only the stepping stone to the conquest of the whole known world. He despatched three expeditions to survey the coast of Arabia; ordered a fleet to be built to explore the Caspian Sea; and engaged himself in surveying the course of the Euphrates, and in devising improvements of its navigation. The period for commencing the Arabian campaign had already arrived; solemn sacrifices were offered up for its success, and grand banquets were given previous to departure. At these carousals Alexander drank deep; and at the termination of the one given by his favorite, Medius, he was seized with unequivocal symptoms of fever. For some days, however, he neglected the disorder, and continued to occupy himself with the necessary preparations for the march. But in eleven days the malady had gained a fatal strength, and terminated his life on the 28th of June, B. C. 323, at the early age of thirty-two. Whilst he lay speechless on his death-bed his favorite troops were admitted to see him; but he could offer them no other token of recognition than by stretching out his hand.

§ 24. Few of the great characters of history have been so differently judged as Alexander. Of the magnitude of his exploits, indeed, and of the justice with which, according to the usual sentiments of mankind, they

confer upon him the title of "Great," there can be but one opinion: it is his motives for undertaking them that have been called in question. An eminent writer * brands him as an "adventurer"; an epithet which, to a certain extent, must be allowed to be true, but which is not more true of him than of most other conquerors on a large scale. His military renown, however, consists more in the seemingly extravagant boldness of his enterprises, than in the real power of the foes whom he overcame. The resistance he met with was not greater than that which a European army experiences in the present day from one composed of Asiatics; and the empire of the East was decided by the two battles of Issus and Arbēla. His chief difficulties were the geographical difficulties of distance, climate, and the nature of the ground traversed. But this is no proof that he was incompetent to meet a foe more worthy of his military skill; and his proceedings in Greece before his departure show the reverse.

His motives, it must be allowed, seem rather to have sprung from the love of personal glory and the excitement of conquest, than from any wish to benefit his subjects. The attention which he occasionally devoted to commerce, to the foundation of new cities, and to other matters of a similar kind, form rather episodes in his history, than the real objects at which his aims were directed; and it was not by his own prudence, but through the weariness of his army, that his career of conquest was at length arrested, which he wished to prosecute before he had consolidated what he had already won. Yet on the whole his achievements, though they undoubtedly occasioned great partial misery, must be regarded as beneficial to the human race; the families of which, if it were not for some such movements, would stagnate in solitary listlessness and poverty. By the conquests of Alexander the two continents were put into closer communication with one another; and both, but particularly Asia, were the gainers. The language, the arts, and the literature of Greece were introduced into the East; and after the death of Alexander Greek kingdoms were formed in the western parts of Asia, which continued to exist for many generations.

* Niebuhr.



Bust of the Poet Menander.



The Group of Niobe. From the collection in the Uffizi Palace at Florence.

CHAPTER XLV.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE BATTLE OF IPSUS.

§ 1. Division of the Provinces after Alexander's Death. § 2. Retrospective View of Grecian Affairs. Revolt of Agis. Demosthenes *de Corona*. § 3. Arrival of Harpalus at Athens. Accusation and Exile of Demosthenes. § 4. The Lamian War. Defeat of Antipater, and Siege of Lamia. § 5. Defeat and Death of Leonnatus. Battle of Crannon. End of the Lamian War. § 6. Death of Demosthenes. § 7. Ambitious Projects of Perdiccas. His Invasion of Egypt, and Death. § 8. Fresh Division of the Provinces at Triparadisus. Death of Antipater. Polysperchon becomes Regent, and conciliates the Grecian States. Death of Phocion. § 9. War between Polysperchon and Cassander. Ill-success of Polysperchon. Cassander becomes Master of Macedonia, and puts Olympias to Death. § 10. Coalition against Antigonus. Peace concluded in B. C. 311. Murder of Roxana and her Son. § 11. Renewal of the War against Antigonus. Demetrius Poliorcetes expels the Macedonians from Athens. § 12. Demetrius Poliorcetes at Cyprus. Battle of Salamis. Attempt on Egypt. Siege of Rhodes. § 13. Battle of Ipsus, and Death of Antigonus.

§ 1. THE unexpected death of Alexander threatened to involve both his extensive dominions and his army in inextricable confusion. On the day after his death a military council assembled to decide on the course to be pursued. Alexander on his death-bed is said to have given his signet-ring to Perdiccas, but he had left no legitimate heir to his throne, though his wife Roxana was pregnant. In the discussions which ensued in the council, Perdiccas assumed a leading part; and after much debate, and a quarrel between the cavalry and infantry, which at first threatened the most serious consequences, an arrangement was at length effected on the following basis: That Philip Arrhidæus, a young man of weak intellect, the half-brother of Alexander (being the son of Philip by a Thessa-

lian woman named Philinna), should be declared king, reserving, however, to the child of Roxana, if a son should be born, a share in the sovereignty; that the government of Macedonia and Greece should be divided between Antipater and Cratærus; that Ptolemy, who was reputed to be connected with the royal family, should preside over Egypt and the adjacent countries; that Antigonus should have Phrygia Proper, Lycia, and Pamphylia, that the Hellespontine Phrygia should be assigned to Leonnätus; that Eumènes should have the satrapy of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which countries, however, still remained to be subdued; and that Thrace should be committed to Lysimachus. Perdiccas reserved for himself the chiliarchy, or command of the horse-guards, the post before held by Hephæstion, in virtue of which he became the guardian of Philip Arrhidæus, the nominal sovereign. It was not till some time after these arrangements had been completed, that the last rites were paid to Alexander's remains. They were conveyed to Alexandria, and deposited in a cemetery which afterwards became the burial-place of the Ptolemies. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the funeral car, which was adorned with ornaments of massive gold, and so heavy, that more than a year was occupied in conveying it from Babylon to Syria, though drawn by eighty-four mules. In due time Roxana was delivered of a son, to whom the name of Alexander was given, and who was declared the partner of Arrhidæus in the empire. Roxana had previously inveigled Stateira and her sister Drypetis to Babylon, where she caused them to be secretly assassinated.

§ 2. It is now necessary to take a brief retrospective glance at the affairs of Greece. Three years after Alexander had quitted Europe, the Spartans made a vigorous effort to throw off the Macedonian yoke. They were joined by most of the Peloponnesian states, but the Athenians kept aloof. In B. C. 331, the Spartans took up arms under the command of their king, Agis; but though they met with some success at first, they were finally defeated with great slaughter by Antipater, near Megalopolis. Agis fell in the battle, and the chains of Greece were riveted more firmly than ever. This victory, and the successes of Alexander in the East, encouraged the Macedonian party in Athens to take active measures against Demosthenes; and Æschines trumped up an old charge against him which had lain dormant for several years. Soon after the battle of Chæronæa, Ctesiphon had proposed that Demosthenes should be presented with a golden crown in the theatre during the great Dionysiac festival, on account of the services he had conferred upon his country. For proposing this decree Æschines indicted Ctesiphon; but though the latter was the nominal defendant, it was Demosthenes who was really put upon his trial.*

* By the Attic law, a citizen proposing a *ψήφισμα* or decree might be indicted for violation of existing laws, by the process called *γραφὴ παρανόμων*; provided the prosecutor entered his complaint before the decree had been adopted by the popular assembly, and so

The case was decided in 330 B. C., and has been immortalized by the memorable and still extant speeches of Æschines "Against Ctesiphon," and of Demosthenes "On the Crown." Æschines, who did not obtain a fifth part of the votes, and consequently became himself liable to a penalty, was so chagrined at his defeat that he retired to Rhodes.

§ 3. In B. C. 325, Harpālus arrived in Athens. Harpalus was a great favorite with Alexander, as he had embraced his side during his quarrel with his father, Philip. When Alexander, after the conquest of Persia and Media, determined to push on into the interior of Asia, in pursuit of Darius, he left Harpalus at Ecbatana, with six thousand Macedonian troops, in charge of the royal treasures. From thence he removed to Babylon, and appears to have held the important satrapy of that province, as well as the administration of the treasury. It was here that, during the absence of Alexander in India, he gave himself up to the most extravagant luxury and profusion, squandering the treasures intrusted to him, at the same time that he alienated the people subject to his rule by his lustful excesses and extortions. He had probably thought that Alexander would never return from the remote regions of the East into which he had penetrated; but when he at length learnt that the king was on his march back to Susa, and had visited with unsparing rigor those of his officers who had been guilty of any excesses during his absence, he at once saw that his only resource was in flight. Collecting together all the treasures which he could, and assembling a body of six thousand mercenaries, he hastened to the coast of Asia, and from thence crossed over to Attica. He seems to have reckoned on a favorable reception at Athens, as during the time of his prosperity he had made the city a large present of corn, in return for which he had received the right of citizenship. At first, however, the Athenians refused to receive him; but bribes administered to some of the principal orators induced them to alter their determination. Such a step was tantamount to an act of hostility against Macedonia itself; and accordingly Antipater called upon the Athenians to deliver up Harpalus, and to bring to trial those who had accepted his bribes. The Athenians did not venture to disobey these demands. Harpalus was put into confinement, but succeeded in making his escape from prison. Demosthenes was among the orators who were brought to trial for corruption. He was declared to be guilty, and was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents. Not being able to raise that sum, he was thrown into prison; but he contrived to make his escape, and went into exile. There are, however, good grounds for doubting his guilt; and it is more probable that he fell a vic-

had become a law. If the charge was proved to be well founded, the proposer of the decree was liable to a penalty. Ctesiphon was prosecuted by Æschines on this process. The proposal to crown Demosthenes is attacked on three principal points:—1. Demosthenes had not yet settled the accounts of his office. 2. The proposed place was illegal. 3. His political course was unworthy of such a distinguished honor.—ED.

tim to the implacable hatred of the Macedonian party. Upon quitting Athens, Demosthenes resided chiefly at Ægina or Trœzen, in sight of his native land, and whenever he looked towards her shores it was observed that he shed tears.

§ 4. When the news of Alexander's death reached Athens, the anti-Macedonian party, which, since the exile of Demosthenes, was led by Hypereides, carried all before it. The people in a decree declared their determination to support the liberty of Greece; a fleet of two hundred and forty triremes was ordered to be equipped; all citizens under forty years of age were commanded to enroll themselves for service; and Leosthenes was directed to levy an army of mercenaries. Envoys were despatched to all the Grecian states to announce the determination of Athens, and to exhort them to struggle with her for their independence. This call was responded to in the Peloponnesus only by the smaller states, whilst Sparta, Arcadia, and Achaia kept aloof. In Northern Greece the confederacy was joined by most of the states except the Bœotians; and Leosthenes was appointed commander-in-chief of the allied forces.

Phocion, as usual, was opposed to this war, thinking the forces of Athens wholly inadequate to sustain it. Leosthenes scoffed at him, and asked him "what he had ever done for his country during the long time that he was general." "Do you reckon it nothing," answered Phocion, "that the Athenians are buried in the sepulchres of their forefathers?" And when Leosthenes continued his pompous harangues, Phocion said, "Young man, your speeches resemble cypress-trees, which are indeed large and lofty, but produce no fruit." "Tell us, then," interrupted Hypereides, "what will be the proper time for the Athenians to make war." Phocion answered, "Not till young men keep within the bounds of decorum, the rich contribute with liberality, and the orators desist from robbing the people."

The allied army assembled in the neighborhood of Thermopylæ. Antipater now advanced from the north, and offered battle in the vale of the Sperchæus; but being deserted by his Thessalian cavalry, who went over to his opponents during the heat of the engagement, he was obliged to retreat, and threw himself into Lamia, a strong fortress on the Malian Gulf. Leosthenes, desirous to finish the war at a blow, pressed the siege with the utmost vigor; but his assaults were repulsed, and he was compelled to resort to the slower method of a blockade. From this town the contest between Antipater and the allied Greeks has been called the Lamian War.

§ 5. The novelty of a victory over the Macedonian arms was received with boundless exultation at Athens, and this feeling was raised to a still higher pitch by the arrival of an embassy from Antipater to sue for peace. Phocion was bantered unmercifully. He was asked whether he would not like to have done such great things as Leosthenes? "Cer-

tainly," said he; "but I should not have advised the attempting of them." And when messenger after messenger announced the successes of the Athenian arms, he exclaimed sarcastically, "When shall we have done conquering?" The Athenians were so elated with their good fortune, that they would listen to no terms but the unconditional surrender of Antipater. Meantime Demosthenes, though still an exile, exerted himself in various parts of the Peloponnesus in counteracting the envoys of Antipater, and in endeavoring to gain adherents to the cause of Athens and the allies. The Athenians, in return, invited Demosthenes back to his native country, and a ship was sent to convey him to Peiræus, where he was received with extraordinary honors.

Meanwhile Leonnatus, governor of the Hellespontine Phrygia, had appeared on the theatre of war with an army of twenty thousand foot and twenty-five hundred horse. Leosthenes had been slain at Lamia in a sally of the besieged; and Antiphilus, on whom the command of the allied army devolved, hastened to offer battle to Leonnatus before he could arrive at Lamia. The hostile armies met in one of the plains of Thessaly, where Leonnatus was killed and his troops defeated. Antipater, as soon as the blockade of Lamia was raised, had pursued Antiphilus, and on the day after the battle he effected a junction with the beaten army of Leonnatus.

Shortly afterwards, Antipater was still further reinforced by the arrival of Craterus with a considerable force from Asia; and being now at the head of an army which outnumbered the forces of the allies, he marched against them, and gained a decisive victory over them near Crannon in Thessaly, on the 7th of August, B. C. 322. The allies were now compelled to sue for peace; but Antipater refused to treat with them except as separate states, foreseeing that by this means many would be detached from the confederacy. The result answered his expectations. One by one, the various states submitted, till at length all had laid down their arms. Athens, the original instigator of the insurrection, now lay at the mercy of the conqueror. As Antipater advanced, Phocion used all the influence which he possessed with the Macedonians in favor of his countrymen; but he could obtain no other terms than an unconditional surrender. On a second mission, Phocion received the final demands of Antipater; which were that the Athenians should deliver up a certain number of their orators, among whom were Demosthenes and Hypereides; that their political franchise should be limited by a property qualification; that they should receive a Macedonian garrison in Munychia; and that they should defray the expenses of the war. Such was the result of the Lamian War.

§ 6. After the return of the envoys bringing the ultimatum of Antipater, the sycophant Demades procured a decree for the death of the denounced orators. Demosthenes and the other persons compromised made their escape from Athens before the Macedonian garrison arrived. Ægina was

their first place of refuge, but they soon parted in different directions. Hypereides fled to the temple of Demeter at Hermione in Peloponnesus, whilst Demosthenes took refuge in that of Poseidon in the isle of Calauræa, near Trœzen. But the satellites of Antipater, under the guidance of a Thurian named Archias, who had formerly been an actor, tore them from their sanctuaries. Hypereides was carried to Athens, and it is said that Antipater took the brutal and cowardly revenge of ordering his tongue to be cut out, and his remains to be thrown to the dogs. Demosthenes contrived at least to escape the insults of the tyrannical conqueror. Archias at first endeavored to entice him from his sanctuary by the blandest promises. But Demosthenes, forewarned, it is said, by a dream, fixing his eyes intently on him, exclaimed, "Your acting, Archias, never touched me formerly, nor do your promises now." And when Archias began to employ threats, "Good," said Demosthenes; "now you speak as from the Macedonian tripod; before you were only playing a part. But wait awhile, and let me write my last directions to my family." So, taking his writing materials, he put the reed into his mouth and bit it for some time, as was his custom when composing; after which he covered his head with his garment and reclined against a pillar. The guards who accompanied Archias, imagining this to be a mere trick, laughed, and called him coward, whilst Archias began to renew his false persuasions. Demosthenes, feeling the poison work, — for such it was that he had concealed in the reed, — now bade him lead on. "You may now," said he, "enact the part of Creon, and cast me out unburied; but at least, O gracious Poseidon, I have not polluted thy temple by my death, which Antipater and his Macedonians would not have scrupled at." But whilst he was endeavoring to walk out, he fell down by the altar and expired.

§ 7. The course of events now carries us back to the East. Perdiccas possessed more power than any of Alexander's generals, and was regarded as the regent of the empire. He had the custody of the infant Alexander, the son of Alexander the Great, and the weak Philip Arrhidæus was a puppet in his hands. Perdiccas had at first courted the alliance of Antipater, and had even married his daughter Nicæa. But when Olympias offered him the hand of her daughter Cleopatra, if he would assist her against Antipater, Perdiccas resolved to divorce Nicæa at the first convenient opportunity, and espouse Cleopatra in her stead, believing that such an alliance with the royal family would pave his way to the Macedonian throne, to which he was now aspiring. His designs, however, were not unknown to Antigonus and Ptolemy; and when he attempted to bring Antigonus to trial for some offence in the government of his satrapy, that general made his escape to Macedonia, where he revealed to Antipater the full extent of the ambitious schemes of Perdiccas, and thus at once induced Antipater and Craterus to unite in a league with him and Ptolemy, and openly declare war against the regent. Thus assailed on all sides,

Perdiccas resolved to direct his arms in the first instance against Ptolemy. In the spring of B. C. 321 he accordingly set out on his march against Egypt, at the head of a formidable army, and accompanied by Philip Arrhidæus, and Roxana and her infant son. He advanced without opposition as far as Pelusium, but he found the banks of the Nile strongly fortified and guarded by Ptolemy, and was repulsed in repeated attempts to force the passage of the river; in the last of which, near Memphis, he lost great numbers of men, by the depth and rapidity of the current. Perdiccas had never been popular with the soldiery, and these disasters completely alienated their affections. A conspiracy was formed against him, and some of his chief officers murdered him in his tent.

§ 8. The death of Perdiccas was followed by a fresh distribution of the provinces of the empire. At a meeting of the generals held at Triparadisus in Syria, towards the end of the year 321 B. C., Antipater was declared regent, retaining the government of Macedonia and Greece; Ptolemy was continued in the government of Egypt; Seleucus received the satrapy of Babylon; whilst Antigonus not only retained his old province, but was rewarded with that of Susiana.

Antipater did not long survive these events. He died in the year 318, at the advanced age of eighty, leaving Polysperchon, one of Alexander's oldest generals, regent; much to the surprise and mortification of his son Cassander, who received only the secondary dignity of Chiliarch, or commander of the cavalry. Cassander was now bent on obtaining the regency; but seeing no hope of success in Macedonia, he went over to Asia to solicit the assistance of Antigonus.

Polysperchon, on his side, sought to conciliate the friendship of the Grecian states by proclaiming them all free and independent, and by abolishing the oligarchies which had been set up by Antipater. In order to enforce these measures, Polysperchon prepared to march into Greece, whilst his son Alexander was despatched beforehand with an army towards Athens, to compel the Macedonian garrison under the command of Nicanor to evacuate Munychia. Nicanor, however, refused to move without orders from Cassander, whose general he declared himself to be. Phocion was supposed to be intriguing in favor of Nicanor, and, being accused of treason, fled to Alexander, now encamped before the walls of Athens. Alexander sent Phocion and the friends who accompanied him to his father, who was then in Phocis; and at the same time an Athenian embassy arrived in Polysperchon's camp to accuse Phocion. A sort of mock trial ensued, the result of which was that Phocion was sent back to Athens in chains, to be tried by the Athenian people. The theatre, where his trial was to take place, was soon full to overflowing. Phocion was assailed on every side by the clamors of his enemies, which prevented his defence from being heard, and he was condemned to death by a show of hands. To the last Phocion maintained his calm and dignified, but some-

what contemptuous bearing. When some wretched man spat upon him as he passed to the prison, "Will no one," said he, "check this fellow's indecency?" To one who asked him whether he had any message to leave for his son Phocus, he answered, "Only that he bear no grudge against the Athenians." And when the hemlock which had been prepared was found insufficient for all the condemned, and the jailer would not furnish more unless he was paid for it, "Give the man his money," said Phocion to one of his friends, "since at Athens one cannot even die for nothing." He died in B. C. 317, at the age of eighty-five. The Athenians afterwards repented of their conduct towards Phocion. His bones, which had been cast out on the frontiers of Megara, were subsequently brought back to Athens, and a bronze statue was erected to his memory.

§ 9. Whilst Alexander was negotiating with Nicanor about the surrender of Munychia, Cassander arrived in the Peiræus with a considerable army, with which Antigonus had supplied him; and though Polysperchon himself soon came up with a large force, he found the fortifications of Peiræus too strong for him. Leaving, therefore, his son to blockade the city, Polysperchon advanced with the greater part of his army into the Peloponnesus. Here he laid siege to Megalopolis; but that town was defended with such extraordinary efforts, that Polysperchon was compelled to withdraw. His ill-success, as well as the destruction of his fleet by the fleet of Cassander, produced an unfavorable turn in the disposition of the Greek states towards Polysperchon, and Athens in particular abandoned his alliance for that of Cassander, who established an oligarchical government in the city under the presidency of Demetrius of Phalerus.

At the same time Eurydice, the active and intriguing wife of Philip Arrhidaeus, conceived the project of throwing off the yoke of the regent, and concluded an alliance with Cassander, while she herself assembled an army with which she obtained for a time the complete possession of Macedonia. But in the spring of 317, Polysperchon, having united his forces with those of Æacides, king of Epeirus, invaded Macedonia, accompanied by Olympias. Eurydice met them with equal daring; but when the mother of Alexander appeared on the field, surrounded by a train in bacchanalian style, the Macedonians at once declared in her favor, and Eurydice, abandoned by her own troops, fled to Amphipolis, where she soon fell into the hands of Olympias, who put both her and her husband to death, with circumstances of the greatest cruelty. She next wreaked her vengeance on the family of Antipater, and on the adherents of Cassander. These events determined Cassander to proceed with all haste into Macedonia. At his approach Olympias threw herself into Pydna, together with Roxana and her son. Cassander forthwith laid siege to this place; and after a blockade of some months it surrendered, in the spring of 316. Olympias had stipulated that her life should be spared, but Cassander soon afterwards caused her to be murdered. After the fall of Pydna all

Macedonia submitted to Cassander; who, after shutting up Roxana and her son in the citadel of Amphipolis, married Thessalonica, a half-sister of Alexander the Great, with the view of strengthening his pretensions to the throne.

Shortly afterwards Cassander marched into Greece, and began the restoration of Thebes (B. C. 315), in the twentieth year after its destruction by Alexander, a measure highly popular with the Greeks.

§ 10. A new war now broke out in the East. Antigonus had become the most powerful of Alexander's successors. He had conquered Eumenes, who had long defied his arms, and he now began to dispose of the provinces as he thought fit. His increasing power and ambitious projects led to a general coalition against him, consisting of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, the governor of Thrace. The war began in the year 315, and was carried on with great vehemence and alternate success in Syria, Phœnicia, Asia Minor, and Greece. After four years all parties became exhausted with the struggle, and peace was accordingly concluded in 311, on condition that the Greek cities should be free, that Cassander should retain his authority in Europe till Alexander came of age, that Ptolemy and Lysimachus should keep possession of Thrace and Egypt respectively, and that Antigonus should have the government of all Asia. The name of Seleucus does not occur in the treaty.

This hollow peace, which had been merely patched up for the convenience of the parties concerned, was not of long duration. It seems to have been the immediate cause of another of those crimes which disgrace the history of Alexander's successors. Alexander, who had now attained the age of sixteen, was still shut up with his mother Roxana in Amphipolis; and his partisans, with injudicious zeal, loudly expressed their wish that he should be released and placed upon the throne. In order to avert this event, Cassander contrived the secret murder both of the mother and the son.

§ 11. This abominable act, however, does not appear to have caused a breach of the peace. Ptolemy was the first to break it (B. C. 310), under the pretext that Antigonus, by keeping his garrisons in the Greek cities of Asia and the islands, had not respected that article of the treaty which guaranteed Grecian freedom. After the war had lasted three years, Antigonus resolved to make a vigorous effort to wrest Greece from the hands of Cassander and Ptolemy, who held all the principal towns in it. Accordingly, in the summer of 307 B. C. he despatched his son Demetrius from Ephesus to Athens, with a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, and five thousand talents in money. Demetrius, who afterwards obtained the surname of "Poliorcètes," or "Besieger of Cities," was a young man of ardent temperament and great abilities. Upon arriving at the Peiræus, he immediately proclaimed the object of his expedition to be the liberation of Athens and the expulsion of the Macedonian garrison. Supported by the

Macedonians, Demetrius the Phalerean had now ruled Athens for a period of more than ten years. Of mean birth, Demetrius the Phalerean owed his elevation entirely to his talents and perseverance. His skill as an orator raised him to distinction among his countrymen; and his politics, which led him to embrace the party of Phocion, recommended him to Cassander and the Macedonians. He cultivated many branches of literature, and was at once an historian, a philosopher, and a poet; but none of his works have come down to us. During the first period of his administration he appears to have governed wisely and equitably, to have improved the Athenian laws, and to have adorned the city with useful buildings.* But in spite of his pretensions to philosophy, the possession of uncontrolled power soon altered his character for the worse, and he became remarkable for luxury, ostentation, and sensuality. Hence he gradually lost the popularity which he had once enjoyed, and which had prompted the Athenians to raise to him no fewer than three hundred and sixty bronze statues, most of them equestrian. The Athenians heard with pleasure the proclamations of the son of Antigonus; his namesake, the Phalerean, was obliged to surrender the city to him, and to close his political career by retiring to Thebes. The Macedonian garrison in Munychia offered a slight resistance, which was soon overcome. Demetrius Poliorcetes then formally announced to the Athenian assembly the restoration of their ancient constitution, and promised them a large donative of corn and ship-timber. This munificence was repaid by the Athenians with the basest and most abject flattery. Both Demetrius and his father were deified, and two new tribes, those of Antigonias and Demetrias, were added to the existing ten which derived their names from the ancient heroes of Attica.

§ 12. Demetrius Poliorcetes did not, however, remain long at Athens. Early in 306 B. C. he was recalled by his father, and, sailing to Cyprus, undertook the siege of Salamis. Ptolemy hastened to its relief with one hundred and forty vessels and ten thousand troops. The battle that ensued was one of the most memorable in the annals of ancient naval warfare, more particularly on account of the vast size of the vessels engaged. Ptolemy was completely defeated; and so important was the victory deemed by Antigonus, that on the strength of it he assumed the title of king, which he also conferred upon his son. This example was followed by Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus.

Encouraged by their success at Cyprus, Antigonus and Demetrius made an attempt upon Egypt, which, however, proved a disastrous failure. By way of revenge, Demetrius undertook an expedition against Rhodes, which had refused its aid in the attack upon Ptolemy. It was from the

* A census which Demetrius took of the population of Attica, probably in 309 B. C., the year of his archonship, gave 21,000 freemen, 10,000 metics, or resident aliens, and the amazing number of 400,000 slaves. The wives and families of the free population must of course be added.

memorable siege of Rhodes that Demetrius obtained his name of "Poliorcètes." After in vain attempting to take the town from the sea-side, by means of floating batteries, from which stones of enormous weight were hurled from engines with incredible force against the walls, he determined to alter his plan and invest it on the land-side. With the assistance of Epimachus, an Athenian engineer, he constructed a machine which, in anticipation of its effect, was called Helepōlis, or "the city-taker." This was a square wooden tower, one hundred and fifty feet high, and divided into nine stories, filled with armed men, who discharged missiles through apertures in the sides. When armed and prepared for attack, it required the strength of two thousand three hundred men to set this enormous machine in motion. But though this formidable engine was assisted by the operation of two battering-rams, each one hundred and fifty feet long and propelled by the labor of one thousand men, the Rhodians were so active in repairing the breaches made in their walls, that, after a year spent in the vain attempt to take the town, Demetrius was forced to retire and grant the Rhodians peace.

§ 13. Whilst Demetrius was thus employed, Cassander had made great progress in reducing Greece. He had taken Corinth, and was besieging Athens, when Demetrius entered the Euripus. Cassander immediately raised the siege, and was subsequently defeated in an action near Thermopylæ. When Demetrius entered Athens, he was received as before with the most extravagant flatteries. He remained two or three years in Greece, during which his superiority over Cassander was decided, though no great battle was fought.

In the spring of 301 B. C. he was recalled by his father Antigonus, who stood in need of his assistance against Lysimachus and Seleucus. In the course of the same year the struggle between Antigonus and his rivals was brought to a close by the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, in which Antigonus was killed, and his army completely defeated. Antigonus had attained the age of eighty-one at the time of his death. Demetrius retreated with the remnant of the army to Ephesus, whence he sailed to Cyprus, and afterwards proposed to go to Athens; but the Athenians, alienated by his ill-fortune at Ipsus, refused to receive him. Seleucus and Lysimachus shared between them the possessions of Antigonus. Lysimachus seems to have had the greater part of Asia Minor, whilst the whole country from the coast of Syria to the Euphrates, as well as a part of Phrygia and Cappadocia, fell to the share of Seleucus. The latter founded on the Orontes a new capital of his empire, which he named after his father Antioch. The fall of Antigonus secured Cassander in the possession of Greece, though it does not appear that any formal treaty was entered into for that purpose.



Group of Dirce. From the Museum at Naples.

CHAPTER XLVI.

FROM THE BATTLE OF IPSUS TO THE CONQUEST OF GREECE BY THE ROMANS.

§ 1. Proceedings of Demetrius Poliorcetes. He captures Athens. § 2. Obtains the Macedonian Crown. His Flight and Death. § 3. Lysimachus reigns over Macedonia. He is defeated and slain by Seleucus. § 4. Seleucus assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus. Invasion of the Celts, and Death of Ptolemy Ceraunus. § 5. Antigonus Gonatas ascends the Macedonian Throne. Death of Pyrrhus of Epeirus. Chremonidean War. § 6. The Achæan League. § 7. State of Sparta. Reforms of Agis and Cleomenes. The Cleomenic War. § 8. The Ætolian League. § 9. The Social War. § 10. War between Philip and the Romans. § 11. Philopœmen. § 12. Second War between Philip and the Romans. Battle of Cynoscephalæ. § 13. Defeat of Antiochus, and Subjugation of the Ætolians by the Romans. § 14. Extension of the Achæan League. Conquest of Sparta. Death of Philopœmen. § 15. War between Perseus and the Romans. Conquest of Macedonia. § 16. Proceedings of the Romans in Greece. § 17. Athens and Oropus. War between the Achæans and Spartans. § 18. The Spartans appeal to the Romans, who reduce Greece into a Roman Province.

§ 1. AFTER his repulse from Athens, Demetrius proceeded towards Peloponnesus, but found that his allies in that quarter had also abandoned him and embraced the cause of Cassander. He was, however, neither ruined nor discouraged. On leaving the Peloponnesus (B. C. 300) he proceeded to the Thracian Chersonese, and ravaged the territory of Lysimachus. Whilst engaged in this expedition he was agreeably surprised by receiving an embassy from Seleucus, by which that monarch solicited his daughter Stratonice in marriage. Demetrius gladly granted the request, and found himself so much strengthened by this alliance, that in the spring of the year 296 he was in a condition again to attack Athens,

which he captured after a long siege, and drove out the bloodthirsty tyrant Lachares, who had been established there by Cassander. Such was the extremity of famine to which the Athenians had been reduced, that we are told of a father and son quarrelling for a dead mouse; and the philosopher Epicurus supported himself, and the society over which he presided, by dividing amongst them daily a small quantity of beans. On becoming master of the city, Demetrius, much to the surprise of the Athenians, treated them with great lenity and indulgence, and, in consideration of their distresses, made them a present of a large quantity of corn.

§ 2. Meanwhile Cassander had died shortly before the siege of Athens, and was succeeded on the throne of Macedon by his eldest son, Philip IV.* But that young prince died in 295, and the succession was disputed between his two brothers, Antipater and Alexander. Their mother Thessalonica, a daughter of the great Philip, seems to have been their guardian, and to have attempted to arrange their disputes by dividing the kingdom between them; but Antipater, thinking that she favored Alexander, slew her with his own hand in a fit of jealous rage. Alexander now called in the aid of Pyrrhus, king of Epeirus, as well as of Demetrius, who was in the Peloponnesus with his army. Pyrrhus, as the nearest, was the first to respond to this call, and effected a partition of Macedonia between the two brothers; an arrangement, which, as it weakened a neighboring kingdom, was favorable to his own interests. Shortly afterwards (294) Demetrius, who saw in the distracted state of Macedonia an opening for his own ambitious designs, appeared in that country with his forces. Alexander having joined him with his army, Demetrius caused that young prince to be assassinated, and was saluted king by the troops. Demetrius reigned over Macedonia, and the greater part of Greece, about seven years. He aimed at recovering the whole of his father's dominions in Asia; but before he was ready to take the field, his adversaries, alarmed at his preparations, determined to forestall him. In the spring of B. C. 287, Ptolemy sent a powerful fleet against Greece, while Pyrrhus on the one side and Lysimachus on the other simultaneously invaded Macedonia. Demetrius had completely alienated his own subjects by his proud and haughty bearing, and by his lavish expenditure on his own luxuries; while Pyrrhus, by his generosity, affability, and daring courage, had become the hero of the Macedonians, who looked upon him as a second Alexander. The appearance of Pyrrhus was the signal for revolt: the Macedonian troops flocked to his standard, and Demetrius was compelled to fly. Pyrrhus now ascended the throne of Macedonia; but his reign was of brief duration; and at the end of seven months he was in turn driven out by Lysimachus. Demetrius made several attempts to regain his power in Greece, and then set sail for Asia,

* Philip Arrhidæus is called Philip III.

where he successively endeavored to establish himself in the territories of Lysimachus, and of his son-in-law, Seleucus. Falling at length into the hands of the latter, he was kept in a kind of magnificent captivity in a royal residence in Syria; where, in 283, at the early age of fifty-five, his checkered career was brought to a close, partly by chagrin, and partly by the sensual indulgences with which he endeavored to divert it.

§ 3. The history of Alexander's successors continued to be marked to the end by the same ambition, the same dissensions, and the same crimes which had stained it from the first. The power of Lysimachus had been greatly increased by the acquisition of Macedonia; and he now found himself in possession of all the dominions in Europe that had formed part of the Macedonian monarchy, as well as of the greater part of Asia Minor. Of Alexander's immediate successors, Lysimachus and Seleucus were the only two remaining competitors for power; and with the exception of Egypt, those two sovereigns divided Alexander's empire between them. In Egypt the aged Ptolemy had abdicated in 285 in favor of his son by Berenice, afterwards known as Ptolemy Philadelphus, and to the exclusion of his eldest son, Ptolemy Ceraunus, by his wife Eurydice. Ptolemy Ceraunus quitted Egypt in disgust, and fled to the court of Lysimachus: and although Arsinoë, the wife of Lysimachus, was own sister to his rival, Ptolemy Philadelphus, he succeeded in gaining her entire confidence. Arsinoë, jealous of her step-son Agathocles, the heir apparent to the throne, and desirous of securing the succession for her own children, conspired with Ptolemy Ceraunus against his life. She even procured the consent of Lysimachus to his murder; and after some vain attempts to make away with him by poison, he was flung into prison, where Ptolemy Ceraunus despatched him with his own hand. Lysandra, the mother of Agathocles, fled with the rest of her family to Seleucus, to demand from him protection and vengeance; and Seleucus, induced by the hopes of success inspired by the discontent and dissensions which so foul an act had excited among the subjects of Lysimachus, espoused her cause. The hostilities which ensued between him and Lysimachus were brought to a termination by the battle of Corupedion, fought near Sardis in 281, in which Lysimachus was defeated and slain. By this victory, Macedonia, and the whole of Alexander's empire, with the exception of Egypt, Southern Syria, Cyprus, and part of Phœnicia, fell under the sceptre of Seleucus.

§ 4. That monarch, who had not beheld his native land since he first joined the expedition of Alexander, now crossed the Hellespont to take possession of Macedonia. Ptolemy Ceraunus, who after the battle of Corupedion had thrown himself on the mercy of Seleucus, and had been received with forgiveness and favor, accompanied him on this journey. The murder of Agathocles had not been committed by Ptolemy merely to oblige Arsinoë. He had even then designs upon the supreme

power, which he now completed by another crime. As Seleucus stopped to sacrifice at a celebrated altar near Lysimachia in Thrace, Ptolemy treacherously assassinated him by stabbing him in the back (280). After this base and cowardly act, Ptolemy Ceraunus, who gave himself out as the avenger of Lysimachus, was, by one of those movements wholly inexplicable to our modern notions, saluted king by the army; but the Asiatic dominions of Seleucus fell to his son Antiochus, surnamed Soter. The crime of Ptolemy, however, was speedily overtaken by a just punishment. In the very same year his kingdom of Macedonia and Thrace was invaded by an immense host of Celts, and Ptolemy fell at the head of the forces which he led against them. A second invasion of the same barbarians compelled the Greeks to raise a force for their defence, which was intrusted to the command of the Athenian Callippus (B.C. 279). On this occasion the Celts, attracted by the report of treasures which were now perhaps little more than an empty name, penetrated as far southwards as Delphi, with the view of plundering the temple. The god, it is said, vindicated his sanctuary on this occasion in the same supernatural manner as when it was attacked by the Persians; it is at all events certain that the Celts were repulsed with great loss, including that of their leader, Brennus. Nevertheless some of their tribes succeeded in establishing themselves near the Danube; others settled on the sea-coast of Thrace; whilst a third portion passed over into Asia, and gave their name to the country called Galatia.

§ 5. After the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus, Macedonia fell for some time into a state of anarchy and confusion, and the crown was disputed by several pretenders. At length, in 278, Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, succeeded in establishing himself on the throne of Macedonia; and with the exception of two or three years (274–272) during which he was temporarily expelled by Pyrrhus, he continued to retain possession of it till his death in 239. The struggle between Antigonus and Pyrrhus was brought to a close at Argos, in 272. Pyrrhus had marched into the Peloponnesus with a large force in order to make war upon Sparta, but with the collateral design of reducing the places which still held out for Antigonus. Pyrrhus, having failed in an attempt to take Sparta, marched against Argos, where Antigonus also arrived with his forces. Both armies entered the city by opposite gates; and in a battle which ensued in the streets, Pyrrhus was struck from his horse by a tile hurled by a woman from a house-top, and was then despatched by some soldiers of Antigonus. Such was the inglorious end of one of the bravest and most warlike monarchs of antiquity; whose character for moral virtue, though it would not stand the test of modern scrutiny, shone out conspicuously in comparison with that of contemporary sovereigns; but whose enterprises, undertaken rather from the love of action than from any well-directed ambition, were rendered abortive by their desultory nature.

Antigonus Gonatas now made himself master of the greater part of Peloponnesus, which he governed by means of tyrants whom he established in various cities. He then applied himself to the reduction of Athens, whose defence was assisted by an Egyptian fleet and a Spartan army. This war, which is sometimes called the Chremonidean War from the Athenian Chremonides, who played a conspicuous part in defending the city, lasted six or seven years, and reduced the Athenians to great misery. Athens was at length taken, probably in 262.

§ 6. While all Greece, with the exception of Sparta, seemed hopelessly prostrate at the feet of Macedonia, a new political power, which sheds a lustre on the declining period of Grecian history, arose in a small province in Peloponnesus, of which the very name has been hitherto rarely mentioned since the heroic age. In Achaia, a narrow slip of country upon the shores of the Corinthian Gulf, a league, chiefly for religious purposes, had existed from a very early period among the twelve chief cities of the province. This league, however, had never possessed much political importance, and it had been finally suppressed by the Macedonians. At the time of which we are speaking, Antigonus Gonatas was in possession of all the cities formerly belonging to the league, either by means of his garrisons or of the tyrants who were subservient to him. It was, however, this very oppression that led to a more efficient revival of the league. The Achæan towns, now only ten in number, as two had been destroyed by earthquakes, began gradually to coalesce again; a process which was much facilitated after Antigonus had withdrawn from Greece to take up his residence at Pella, where the affairs of Macedonia chiefly occupied his attention. But Aratus of Sicyon, one of the most remarkable characters of this period of Grecian history, was the man who, about the year 251 B. C., first called the new league into active political existence. Aratus was one of those characters who, though not deficient in boldness and daring, seem incapable of exerting these qualities except in stratagems and ambuscades. He had long lived in exile at Argos, whilst his native city groaned under the dominion of a succession of tyrants. Having collected a band of exiles, Aratus surprised Sicyon in the night-time, and drove out the last and most unpopular of these tyrants. Instead of seizing the tyranny for himself, as he might easily have done, Aratus consulted only the advantage of his country, and with this view united Sicyon with the Achæan league. The accession of so important a town does not appear to have altered the constitution of the confederacy. The league was governed by a *Strategus*, or general, whose functions were both military and civil; a *Grammateus*, or secretary; and a council of ten *demiurgi*. The sovereignty, however, resided in the general assembly, which met twice a year in a sacred grove near Ægium. It was composed of every Achæan who had attained the age of thirty, and possessed the right of electing the officers of the league, and of deciding all questions of war,

peace, foreign alliances, and the like. In the year 245 B. C. Aratus was elected *Strategus* of the league, and again in 243. In the latter of these years he succeeded in wresting Corinth from the Macedonians by another nocturnal surprise, and uniting it to the league. The confederacy now spread with wonderful rapidity. It was soon joined by Træzen, Epidaurus, Hermioné, and other cities; and ultimately embraced Athens, Megara, Ægina, Salamis, and the whole Peloponnesus, with the exception of Sparta, Elis, and some of the Arcadian towns.

§ 7. Sparta, it is true, still continued to retain her independence, but without a shadow of her former greatness and power. The primitive simplicity of Spartan manners had been completely destroyed by the collection of wealth into a few hands, and by the consequent progress of luxury. The number of Spartan citizens had been reduced to seven hundred; but even of these there were not above a hundred who possessed a sufficient quantity of land to maintain themselves in independence. The Spartan kings had ceased to be the patriotic servants and generals of their country. Like the *Condottieri* of more modern times, they were accustomed, since the time of Alexander the Great, to let out their services to the highest bidder; and, no longer content with the simple habits of their forefathers, they repaired to foreign courts in order to squander the wealth thus acquired in luxuries which they could not procure at home. The young king, Agis IV., who succeeded to the crown in 244, attempted to revive the ancient Spartan virtue, by restoring the institutions of Lycurgus, by cancelling all debts, and by making a new distribution of lands; and with this view he relinquished all his own property, as well as that of his family, for the public good. These reforms, though promoted by one of the Ephors, were opposed by Leonidas, the colleague of Agis in the monarchy, who rallied the majority of the more wealthy citizens around him. Agis and his party succeeded, however, in deposing Leonidas, and for a time his plans promised to be successful; but having undertaken an expedition to assist Aratus against the Ætolians, the opposite party took advantage of his absence to reinstate Leonidas, and when Agis returned, he was put to death (241). But a few years afterwards, Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, succeeded in effecting the reforms which had been contemplated by Agis; a course which he was probably induced to take by the widow of Agis, whom he had married. It was his military successes that enabled Cleomenes to carry out his political views. Aratus, in his zeal for extending the Achæan confederacy, attempted to seize the Arcadian towns of Orchomenus, Tegea, and Mantinæ, which the Ætolians had ceded to Sparta, whereupon a war ensued (227–226) in which the forces of the league were defeated by Cleomenes. The latter then suddenly returned home at the head of his victorious army, and, after putting the Ephors to death, proceeded to carry out the reforms projected by Agis, as well as several others which regarded military discipline. The effect of these

new measures soon became visible in the increased success of the Spartan arms. Aratus was so hard pressed that he was compelled to solicit the assistance of the Macedonians. Both Antigonus Gonatas and his son Demetrius II. — who had reigned in Macedonia from 239 to 226 B. C. — were now dead, and the government was administered by Antigonus Dōsōn, as guardian of Philip, the youthful son of Demetrius II. Antigonus Dōsōn, who obtained the latter surname from his readiness in making promises, was the grandson of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and the nephew of Antigonus Gonatas. The Macedonians compelled him to accept the crown: but he remained faithful to his trust as guardian of Philip, whose mother he married; and though he had children of his own by her, yet Philip succeeded him on his death. It was to Antigonus Dōsōn that Aratus applied for assistance; and in 223 the Macedonian king marched into the Peloponnesus and compelled Cleomenes to retire into Laconia. This war between Cleomenes and Aratus, which is called the Cleomenic war, lasted altogether about six years. It broke out in 227, and was not brought to a close till two years after the intervention of Dōsōn. After his defeat, Cleomenes raised a considerable sum by allowing six thousand Helots to purchase their freedom; and having thus recruited his army, he in the following year attacked and destroyed Megalopolis. He afterwards pushed his successes up to the very walls of Argos; but in 221 he was totally defeated by Antigonus Dōsōn in the fatal battle of Sellasia in Laconia. The army of Cleomenes was almost totally annihilated; he himself was obliged to fly to Egypt; and Sparta, which for many centuries had remained unconquered, fell into the hands of the victor.

§ 8. Antigonus, however, did not live long to enjoy his success. Before the end of the year he was recalled to Macedonia by an invasion of the Illyrians, which he repelled; but he shortly afterwards died of a consumption. He was succeeded by Philip V., the son of Demetrius II., who was then about sixteen or seventeen years of age. His youth encouraged the Ætolians to make predatory incursions into the Peloponnesus. That people were a species of freebooters, and the terror of their neighbors; yet they were united, like the Achæans, in a confederacy or league. The Ætolian League was a confederation of tribes instead of cities, like the Achæan. Its history is involved in obscurity; but it must at all events have had a fixed constitution even in the time of Philip and Alexander the Great, since Aristotle wrote a treatise on it; and after the death of Alexander we find the League taking a prominent part in the Lamian war. The diet or council of the league, called the Panætolicum, assembled every autumn, generally at Thermon, to elect the Strategus and other officers; but the details of its affairs were conducted by a committee called *Apocleti*, who seem to have formed a sort of permanent council. The Ætolians had availed themselves of the disorganized state of Greece consequent upon the death of Alexander to extend their power, and had

gradually made themselves masters of Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, together with portions of Acarnania, Thessaly, and Epeirus. Thus both the Amphictyonic Council and the oracle of Delphi were in their power. They had early wrested Naupactus from the Achæans, and had subsequently acquired several Peloponnesian cities.

§ 9. Such was the condition of the Ætolians at the time of Philip's accession. Soon after that event we find them, under the leadership of Dorimachus, engaged in a series of freebooting expeditions in Messenia, and other parts of Peloponnesus. Aratus marched to the assistance of the Messenians at the head of the Achæan forces, but was totally defeated in a battle near Caphyæ. The Achæans now saw no hope of safety except through the assistance of Philip. That young monarch was ambitious and enterprising, possessing considerable military ability and much political sagacity. He readily listened to the application of the Achæans, and in 220 entered into an alliance with them. The war which ensued between the Ætolians on one side, and the Achæans, assisted by Philip, on the other, and which lasted about three years, has been called the Social War. Philip gained several victories over the Ætolians, but he concluded a treaty of peace with them in 217, because he was anxious to turn his arms against another and more formidable power.

§ 10. The great struggle, now going on between Rome and Carthage, attracted the attention of the whole civilized world. It was evident that Greece, distracted by intestine quarrels, must soon be swallowed up by whichever of those great states might prove successful; and of the two, the ambition of the Romans, who had already gained a footing on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, was by far the more formidable to Greece. Philip's inclination to take part in the great struggle in the west was increased by the news of the overthrow of the Romans at the lake of Trasimene; and he therefore readily listened to the advice and solicitations of Demetrius of Pharos, who had been driven by the Romans from his Illyrian dominions, and who now appealed to him for assistance. After the conclusion of the peace with the Ætolians, Philip prepared a large fleet, which he employed to watch the movements of the Romans, and in the following year (216) he concluded a treaty with Hannibal, which, among other clauses, provided that the Romans should not be allowed to retain their conquests on the eastern side of the Adriatic. He even meditated an invasion of Italy, and with that view endeavored to make himself master of Apollonia and Oricum. But though he succeeded in taking the latter city, the Romans, under M. Valerius Lævinus, surprised his camp whilst he was besieging Apollonia; and as they had likewise blockaded the mouth of the river Aous with their fleet, Philip was compelled to burn his ships and retire. Meanwhile Philip had acted in a most arbitrary manner in the affairs of Greece; and when Aratus remonstrated with him respecting his proceedings, he got rid of his former friend and counsellor by means of a slow and secret poison (B. C. 213).

When the affairs of the Romans had begun to recover in Italy, they directed their attention more seriously towards Greece, and in the year 211 concluded an alliance with the Ætolians, who were now weary of peace, and, declared war against Philip. Before the end of the year, the Romans made themselves masters of Zacynthus, with the exception of the capital; and, having also wrested Cœniadæ and Naxos from the Acarnanians, transferred these acquisitions to the Ætolians, and retained the booty for themselves, agreeably to the treaty. In the following year the town of Anticyra and the island of Ægina were treated in a similar manner.

§ 11. In B. C. 209, the Achæans, being hard pressed by the Ætolians, were again induced to call in the aid of Philip. The spirit of the Achæans was at this time revived by Philopœmen, one of the few noble characters of the period, and who has been styled by Plutarch "the last of the Greeks." He was a native of Megalopolis in Arcadia, and had already distinguished himself in the Cleomonic war, and especially at the battle of Sellasia, which was mainly won by a decisive charge which he made, without orders, at the head of the Megalopolitan horse. In 210 he was appointed to the command of the Achæan cavalry, and in 208 he was elected Strategus of the League. In both these posts Philopœmen made great alterations and improvements in the arms and discipline of the Achæan forces, which he assimilated to those of the Macedonian phalanx. These reforms, as well as the public spirit with which he had inspired the Achæans, were attended with the most beneficial results. In 207 Philopœmen gained at Mantinæa a signal victory over the Lacedæmonians, who had joined the Roman alliance; four thousand of them were left upon the field, and among them Machanidas, who had made himself tyrant of Sparta. This decisive battle, combined with the withdrawal of the Romans, who, being desirous of turning their undivided attention towards Carthage, had made peace with Philip (205), secured for a few years the tranquillity of Greece. It also raised the fame of Philopœmen to its highest point; and in the next Nemean festival, being a second time general of the league, he was hailed by the assembled Greeks as the liberator of their country.

§ 12. Upon the conclusion of the second Punic war, the Romans renewed their enterprises in Greece, for which the conduct of Philip, who had assisted the Carthaginians, afforded them ample pretence. Philip's attempts in the Ægean Sea and in Attica had also caused many complaints to be lodged against him at Rome; and in B. C. 200 the Romans declared war against him. Athens, which he had besieged, was relieved by a Roman fleet; but before he withdrew, Philip, prompted by anger and revenge, displayed his barbarism by destroying the gardens and buildings in the suburbs, including the Lycæum and the tombs of the Attic heroes; and in a second incursion which he made, with large reinforcements, he committed still greater excesses. For some time, however

the war lingered on without any decided success on either side. But in 198 the Consul T. Quinctius Flamininus succeeded in gaining over the Achæan league to the Roman alliance; and as the Ætolians had previously deserted Philip, both those powers fought for a short time on the same side. In 197 the struggle between the Romans and Philip was brought to a termination by the battle of Cynoscephalæ, near Scotussa, in Thessaly, which decided the fate of the Macedonian monarchy. Philip was obliged to sue for peace, and in the following year (196) a treaty was ratified, by which the Macedonians were compelled to renounce their supremacy, to withdraw their garrisons from the Grecian towns, to surrender their fleet, and to pay a thousand talents for the expenses of the war. At the ensuing Isthmian games, Flamininus solemnly proclaimed the freedom of the Greeks, and was received by them with overwhelming joy and gratitude. The Romans, however, still held the fortresses of the Acrocorinthos, Demetrias, and Chalcis; and it was not till 194 that they showed any real intention of carrying out their promises by withdrawing their armies from Greece.

§ 13. The Ætolians, dissatisfied with these arrangements, endeavored to persuade Nabis, who had succeeded Machanidas as tyrant of Sparta, Antiochus III., king of Syria, as well as Philip, to enter into a league against the Romans. But Antiochus alone, at whose court Hannibal was then residing as a refugee, ventured to listen to these overtures. He passed over into Greece with a wholly inadequate force, and was defeated by the Romans at Thermopylæ (B. C. 191). The Ætolians were now compelled to make head against the Romans by themselves. After some ineffectual attempts at resistance, they were reduced to sue for peace, which they at length obtained, but on the most humiliating conditions (B. C. 189). These, as dictated to them in Ambracia, by M. Fulvius Nobilior, differed but little from an unconditional surrender. They were required to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, to renounce all the conquests they had recently made, to pay an indemnity of five hundred talents, and to engage in future to aid the Romans in their wars. The power of the Ætolian league was thus for ever crushed, though it seems to have existed, in name at least, till a much later period.

§ 14. The Achæan league still subsisted, but was destined before long to experience the same fate as its rival. At first, indeed, it enjoyed the protection of the Romans, and even acquired an extension of members through their influence; but this protectorate involved a state of almost absolute dependence. Philopœmen also had succeeded, in the year 192, in adding Sparta to the league, which now embraced the whole of Peloponnesus. But Sparta having displayed symptoms of insubordination, Philopœmen marched against it in 188, and captured the city; when he put to death eighty of the leading men, commanded all the inhabitants who had been enfranchised by the recent tyrants to leave the place by a

fixed day, razed the walls and fortifications, abolished the institutions of Lycurgus, and compelled the citizens to adopt the democratic constitution of the Achæans. Meanwhile, the Romans regarded with satisfaction the internal dissensions of Greece, which they foresaw would only render her an easier prey, and neglected to answer the appeals of the Spartans for protection. In 183 the Messenians, under the leadership of Dinocrates, having revolted from the league, Philopœmen, who had now attained the age of seventy, led an expedition against them; but having fallen from his horse in a skirmish of cavalry, he was captured, and conveyed with many circumstances of ignominy to Messêné, where, after a sort of mock trial, he was executed. His fate was avenged by Lycortas, the commander of the Achæan cavalry, the father of the historian Polybius. In the following year, Lycortas, now Strategus, captured Messêné, and having compelled those who had been concerned in the death of Philopœmen to put an end to their own lives, conveyed the ashes of that general to Megalopolis, where they were interred with heroic honors.

§ 15. In B. C. 179 Philip died, and was succeeded by his son Perseus, the last monarch of Macedonia. The latter years of the reign of Philip had been spent in preparations for a renewal of the war, which he foresaw to be inevitable; and when Perseus ascended the throne, he found himself amply provided with men and money for the impending contest. But, whether from a sincere desire of peace, or from irresolution of character, he sought to avert an open rupture as long as possible, and one of the first acts of his reign was to obtain from the Romans a renewal of the treaty which they had concluded with his father. It is probable that neither party was sincere in the conclusion of this peace, at least neither could entertain any hope of its duration; yet a period of seven years elapsed before the mutual enmity of the two powers broke out into open hostilities. Meanwhile, Perseus was not idle; he secured the attachment of his subjects by equitable and popular measures, and formed alliances, not only with the Greeks and the Asiatic princes, but also with the Thracian, Illyrian, and Celtic tribes which surrounded his dominions. The Romans naturally viewed these proceedings with jealousy and suspicion; and at length, in 172, Perseus was formally accused before the Roman Senate, by Eumenes, king of Pergamus, in person, of entertaining hostile designs against the Roman power. The murder of Eumenes near Delphi, on his return homewards, of which Perseus was suspected, aggravated the feeling against him at Rome, and in the following year war was declared against him.

Perseus was at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, but of all his allies only Cotys, king of the Odrysians, ventured to support him against so formidable a foe. Yet the war was protracted three years without any decisive result; nay, the balance of success seemed on the whole to incline in favor of Perseus, and many states, which before were wavering,

now showed a disposition to join his cause. But his ill-timed parsimony restrained him from taking advantage of their offers, and in 168 the arrival of the Consul L. Æmilius Paulus completely changed the aspect of affairs. Perseus was driven from a strong position which he had taken up on the banks of the Enipeus, forced to retreat to Pydna, and finally to accept an engagement near that town. At first the serried ranks of the phalanx seemed to promise superiority; but its order having been broken by the inequalities of the ground, the Roman legionaries penetrated into the disordered mass, and committed fearful carnage, to the extent, it is said, of twenty thousand men. Perseus fled first to Pella, then to Amphipolis, and finally to the sanctuary of the sacred island of Samothrace, but was at length obliged to surrender himself to a Roman squadron. He was carried to Rome to adorn the triumph of Paulus (167), and was afterwards cast into a dungeon; from whence, however, he was liberated at the intercession of his conqueror, and permitted to spend the remainder of his life in a sort of honorable captivity at Alba. Such was the end of the Macedonian empire, which was now divided into four districts, each under the jurisdiction of an oligarchical council.

§ 16. The Roman commissioners deputed to arrange the affairs of Macedonia did not confine their attention to that province, but evinced their designs of bringing all Greece under the Roman sway. In these views they were assisted by various despots and traitors in different Grecian cities, and especially by Callicrates, a man of great influence among the Achæans, and who for many years lent himself as the base tool of the Romans to effect the enslavement of his country. After the fall of Macedonia, Callicrates denounced more than a thousand leading Achæans who had favored the cause of Perseus. These, among whom was Polybius the historian, were apprehended and sent to Rome for trial. Polybius was one of the survivors, who, after a captivity of seventeen years, were permitted to return to their native country. A still harder fate was experienced by Ætolia, Bœotia, Acarnania, and Epeirus. In the last-named country, especially, no fewer than seventy of the principal towns were abandoned by Paulus to his soldiers for pillage, and a hundred and fifty thousand persons are said to have been sold into slavery.

§ 17. An obscure quarrel between Athens and Oropus was the remote cause which at length afforded the Romans a pretence for crushing the small remains of Grecian independence by the destruction of the Achæan league. For some time Athens had been reduced to a sort of political mendicancy, and was often fain to seek assistance in her distress from the bounty of the Eastern princes or of the Ptolemies of Egypt. In the year 156 the poverty of the Athenians became so urgent, that they were induced to make a piratical expedition against Oropus for the purposes of plunder. On the complaint of the Oropians, the Roman Senate assigned the adjudication of the matter to the Sicyonians, who condemned the

Athenians to pay the large fine of five hundred talents. In order to obtain a mitigation of this fine the Athenians despatched to Rome (in 151) the celebrated embassy of the three philosophers, — Diogenes the Stoic, Critolaüs the Peripatetic, and Carneades, the founder of the third Academy. The ambassadors were nominally successful, since they obtained a reduction of the fine to a hundred talents; a sum, however, still much greater than the Athenians were in a condition to pay. The subsequent relations between Athens and Oropus are obscure; but in 150 we find the Oropians complaining of a fresh aggression, which consisted in an attack upon some of their citizens by the Athenian soldiers. On this occasion the Oropians appealed for protection to the Achæan league, which, however, at first declined to interfere. The Oropians now bribed a Spartan named Menalcidas, who was at that time Strategus, with a present of ten talents; and Menalcidas employed the corrupt influence of Callicrates to procure the intervention of the league. Menalcidas having subsequently defrauded Callicrates of the sum which he had promised him, the latter accused him of having advised the Romans during his administration to effect the detachment of Sparta from the league. Menalcidas escaped condemnation by bribing Diæus, his successor in the office of Strategus. But such was the obloquy incurred by Diæus through this transaction, that, in order to divert public attention from himself, he incited the Achæans to violent measures against Sparta, which ultimately involved the league in a fatal struggle with Rome. His pretext for making war on the Spartans was, that, instead of appealing to the league respecting a boundary question, as they ought to have done, they had violated its laws by sending a private embassy to Rome.

§ 18. The Spartans, feeling themselves incompetent to resist this attack, appealed to the Romans for assistance; and in 147 two Roman commissioners were sent to Greece to settle these disputes. These commissioners decided that not only Sparta, but Corinth, and all the other cities except those of Achaia, should be restored to their independence. This decision occasioned serious riots at Corinth. All the Spartans in the town were seized, and even the Roman commissioners narrowly escaped violence. On their return to Rome a fresh embassy was despatched to demand satisfaction for these outrages. But the violent and impolitic conduct of Critolaüs, then Strategus of the league, rendered all attempts at accommodation fruitless, and after the return of the ambassadors the Senate declared war against the league. The cowardice and incompetence of Critolaüs as a general were only equalled by his previous insolence. On the approach of the Romans under Metellus from Macedonia, he did not even venture to make a stand at Thermopylæ; and being overtaken by them near Scarpheä in Locris, he was totally defeated, and never again heard of. Diæus, who succeeded him as Strategus, displayed rather more energy and courage. But a fresh Roman force under Mummius having

landed on the isthmus, **Diaëus** was overthrown in a battle near **Corinth**; and that city was immediately evacuated, not only by the troops of the league, but also by the greater part of the inhabitants. On entering it **Mummius** put the few males who remained to the sword; sold the women and children as slaves; and, having carried away all its treasures, consigned it to the flames (B. C. 146). **Corinth** was filled with masterpieces of ancient art; but **Mummius** was so insensible of their surpassing excellence, as to stipulate with those who contracted to convey them to Italy, that, if any were lost in the passage, they should be replaced by others of equal value! **Mummius** then employed himself in chastising and regulating the whole of Greece; and ten commissioners were sent from **Rome** to settle its future condition. The whole country, to the borders of **Macedonia** and **Epeirus**, was formed into a Roman province, under the name of **Achaia**, derived from that confederacy which had made the last struggle for its political existence.



Apollo Citharædus. From the collection in the Vatican.



Group of the Laocoön in the Vatican.

CHAPTER XLVII.

HISTORY OF GRECIAN ART FROM THE END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN
WAR TO ITS DECLINE.

§ 1. Later School of Athenian Sculpture. § 2. Scopas. § 3. Praxiteles. § 4. Sicyonian School of Sculpture. Euphranor, Lysippus. § 5. Sicyonian School of Painting. Eupompus, Pamphilus, Apelles. § 6. Architecture. § 7. Period after Alexander the Great. School of Rhodes. § 8. Plunder of Greek Works of Art by the Romans.

§ 1. AFTER the close of the Peloponnesian war, what is called the second or later school of Attic sculpture still continued to assert its pre-eminence. In style and character, however, it presented a marked difference from the school of the preceding age. The excitement and misfortunes which had attended the war had worked a great change in the Athenians. This was communicated to their works of art, which now manifested an expression of stronger passion and of deeper feeling. The serene and composed majesty which had marked the gods and heroes of the earlier artists altogether vanished. The new school of sculptors preferred to take other deities for their subjects than those which had been selected by their predecessors; and Zeus, Hera, and Athēna gave place to gods characterized by more violent feelings and passions, such as Dionysus, Aphrodité, and Eros. These formed the favorite subjects of the later Athenian school, and received from it that stamp and character of representation which they retained through the succeeding period of classic art. A change is also observable in the materials employed, and in the technical handling of

them. The magnificently adorned *chryso-elephantine* statues almost wholly disappear; marble becomes more frequently used, especially by the Athenian statuary, and the whole execution is softer and more flowing.

§ 2. The only two artists of this school whom it will be necessary to mention are Scopas and Praxiteles. Scopas was a native of Paros, and flourished in the first half of the fourth century B. C. His exact date cannot be ascertained, nor is there anything known of his life, except in connection with his works, of which some specimens still remain. Among these are the bas-reliefs on the frieze of the peristyle which surrounded the Mausoleum, or tomb of Mausolus, at Halicarnassus (*Budrum*), some of which are now deposited in the British Museum (*Budrum Marbles*). Their style is very similar to that of the sculptures on the frieze of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, which is of the same period of art.* Both are of high excellence, but inferior to the frieze of the Parthenon. Scopas, however, was more famous for single statues and detached groups than for architectural sculpture. His statues of Aphrodité were very celebrated in antiquity. That of the Victorious Aphrodité (Venus Victrix) in the Louvre at Paris is ascribed to his chisel by many competent judges. But the most esteemed of all his works was a group representing Achilles conducted by the marine deities to the island of Leucé. It consisted of figures of Poseidon, Thetis, and Achilles, surrounded by Nereids on dolphins, huge fishes, and hippocampi, and attended by Tritons and sea-monsters. In the treatment of the subject, heroic grandeur is said to have been combined with grace. A group better known in modern times, from a copy of it preserved in the Museum at Florence, is that of Niobé and her children slain by the hands of Artemis and Apollo.† There can be no doubt that it filled the pediment of a temple. At a later period it was preserved in the temple of Apollo Sosianus at Rome, but it was a disputed point among the Romans whether it was from the hands of Scopas or Praxiteles. In the noble forms of the countenances grief and despair are portrayed without distortion. Another celebrated work of Scopas was the statue of the Pythian Apollo playing on the lyre, which Augustus placed in the temple which he built to Apollo on the Palatine, in thanksgiving for his victory at Actium. The copy of this statue in the Vatican is figured on p. 538. Scopas was an architect as well as a statuary, and built the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, in Arcadia, one of the largest and most magnificent in the Peloponnesus.

§ 3. Praxiteles was contemporary with Scopas, though perhaps somewhat younger. Nothing is positively known of his history, except that he was at least a citizen, if not a native, of Athens, and that his career as an artist was intimately connected with that city. He excelled in representing the softer beauties of the human form, and especially the female

* See below, p. 544.

† See drawing on p. 514.

figure. But art had now sunk from its lofty and ideal majesty. The Cnidian Aphrodité, the masterpiece of Praxiteles, expressed only sensual charms, and was avowedly modelled from the courtesan Phryné. Yet such was its excellence that many made a voyage to Cnidos on purpose to behold it; and so highly did the Cnidians prize it, that they refused to part with it to King Nicomedes, although he offered to pay off their public debt in exchange for it. In this work Aphrodité was represented either as just entering or just quitting the bath; and it is said to have been the first instance in which any artist had ventured to represent the goddess entirely divested of drapery. At the same time he made a draped statue of the goddess for the Coans, which however never enjoyed so much reputation as the former, though Praxiteles obtained the same price for it. He also made two statues of Eros, one of which he deemed his masterpiece. It is related that, in his fondness for Phryné, he promised to give her any statue she might choose, but was unwilling to tell her which he considered his masterpiece. In order to ascertain this point Phryné sent a message to Praxiteles that his house was on fire; at which news he rushed out, exclaiming that he was undone if the fire had touched his Satyr or his Eros. He also excelled in representing Dionysus with his fauns and satyrs. A statue of Apollo, known as Apollo Sauroctonos, or the lizard-killer, was among his most famous pieces. It was in bronze, and numerous copies of it are still extant.

§ 4. The later Athenian school of sculpture was succeeded by the Sicyonian school. It is characterized by representations of heroic strength and of the forms of athletæ, and by a striving after the colossal. Its chief artists were Euphrânor and Lysippus. Euphrânor was a native of the Corinthian isthmus, but practised his art at Athens. He appears to have flourished during the time of Philip of Macedon, and beyond the period of Alexander's accession. He excelled in painting as well as in statuary. He executed figures in bronze and marble of all sizes, from a drinking-cup to a colossal statue. One of his most celebrated works was a statue of Paris. Lysippus was a native of Sicyon, and flourished during the reign of Alexander the Great. He was originally a mere workman in bronze, but through his genius and a sedulous study of nature rose to the highest eminence as a statuary. He followed the school of Polyclétus, whose Doryphoros formed his standard model; but by this course of study the ideal of art was sacrificed to the merely natural. Hercules, a human hero, was the favorite subject of his chisel; but he deviated from the former models, in which Hercules was endowed with ponderous strength, and represented him as characterized by strength and agility combined. This type was adopted by subsequent artists. The celebrated Farnese Hercules in the Museum at Naples is probably a copy of one of his works. Lysippus excelled in portraits; in which department he also adhered to his principles of art, and followed nature so closely as to por-

tray even the defects of his subjects. Thus, in his busts of Alexander, he did not omit his wry neck. Nevertheless, that monarch was so pleased with his performances, that he forbade anybody but Lysippus and Apelles to represent him. The most renowned of Lysippus's statues of Alexander was that which represented him brandishing a lance, and which was regarded as a companion to the picture of Apelles, in which he wielded a thunderbolt.

It has been observed that the features of Alexander pervade most of the heroic statues of this period. Lysippus worked principally in bronze. One of his most celebrated productions was an equestrian group of the chieftains who fell at the battle of the Granicus. His works were very numerous, and are said to have amounted to fifteen hundred.

§ 5. With regard to painting, the Asiatic school of Zeuxis and Parrhasius was also succeeded by a Sicyonian school, of which Eupompus may be considered as the founder. He was excelled, however, by his pupil Pamphilus, who was renowned as a teacher of his art, and founded a sort of academy. His period of instruction extended over ten years, and his fee was a talent. The school of Pamphilus produced several celebrated artists, of whom Apelles was by far the greatest.

* Apelles seems to have been a native of Colophon, in Ionia; but, as we have said, he studied ten years under Pamphilus at Amphipolis; and subsequently, even after he had attained some reputation, under Melanthius at Sicyon. Thus to the grace and elegance of the Ionic school he added the scientific accuracy of the Sicyonian. The greater part of his life seems to have been spent at the court of Pella. He was warmly patronized by Alexander, who frequently visited his studio, and, as mentioned before, granted him the exclusive privilege of painting his portrait. In one of these visits Alexander began to descant on art, but exposed his ignorance so much that Apelles gave him a polite hint to be silent, as the boys who were grinding the colors were laughing at him. He appears to have accompanied Alexander in his Eastern expedition, and after the death of that monarch to have travelled through the western parts of Asia. He spent the latter part of his life at the court of King Ptolemy in Egypt. The character of Apelles presents us with traits quite the reverse of the silly vanity of Zeuxis. He was always ready to acknowledge his own faults, as well as the merits of others. In fact, there was only one point in which he asserted his superiority over his contemporaries, namely, *grace*; and there can be no doubt that this was no vain assumption. He was not ashamed to learn from the humblest critics. With this view he was accustomed to exhibit his unfinished pictures before his house, and to conceal himself behind them in order to hear the criticisms of the passers-by. On one of these occasions a cobbler detected a fault in the shoes of one of his figures, which Apelles corrected. The next time he passed, the cobbler, encouraged by the success of his criticism, began to remark

upon the leg; at which the artist lost all patience, and, rushing from behind his picture, commanded the cobbler to keep to his shoes. Hence the proverb, "Ne sutor ultra crepidam," — Let the cobbler stick to his last. His conduct towards his contemporary, Protogenes of Rhodes, exhibits a generosity not always found among rival artists. On arriving at Rhodes, Apelles saw that the works of Protogenes were scarcely at all valued by his countrymen; whereupon he offered him fifty talents for one of his pictures, at the same time spreading the report that he meant to sell it again as one of his own. Apelles studied with the greatest industry, and always went on trying to improve himself; yet he knew when to leave off correcting his pictures, and laid it down as a maxim that over-care often spoiled a piece. His pictures seem to have been chiefly on movable panels, and he was probably the first who used a sort of varnish to his pictures, with an effect somewhat similar to that of the modern *toning* or *glazing*. He generally painted single figures, or groups of only a few. He excelled in portraits, among the most celebrated of which was that already mentioned of Alexander wielding the thunderbolt. The hand which held it seemed to stand out of the panel; and in order to heighten this effect of foreshortening, Alexander's complexion was made dark, though in reality it was light. The price paid for this picture was twenty talents. But the most admired of all his paintings was the "Aphrodité (Venus) Anadyomene,"* or Aphrodité rising from the Sea. The goddess was represented wringing her hair, whilst the falling drops formed a veil around her. It was originally painted for the temple of *Æsculapius* at Cos, and was afterwards placed by Augustus in the temple which he dedicated to Julius Cæsar at Rome. Another figure of Aphrodité, also painted for the Coans, Apelles left incomplete at his death, and nobody could be found to finish it. By the general consent of the ancients Apelles was the first of painters, and some of the later Latin poets use his name as a synonyme for the art itself.

§ 6. The architecture of this period was marked rather by the laying out of cities in a nobler and more convenient fashion, and by the increase of splendor in private residences, than by any improvement in the style of public buildings and temples. The conquests of Alexander caused the foundation of new cities, and introduced into the East the architecture of Greece. The two finest examples of cities which arose in this manner were Alexandria in Egypt and Antioch in Syria. The regularity of its plan, the colossal size of its public buildings, and the beauty and solidity of its private houses, rendered Alexandria a sort of model city; yet it was surpassed by Antioch in the pleasing nature of the impression produced. The fittings and furniture of the apartments kept pace with the increased external splendor of private dwellings. This age was also distinguished

* ἡ ἀναδυομένη Ἀφροδίτη.

by its splendid sepulchral monuments: the one to the memory of her husband Mausolus, erected at Halicarnassus, by the Carian Queen Artemisia, was regarded as one of the seven wonders of the world. It was adorned with sculptural decorations by the greatest artists of the later Attic school. (See p. 540.) At the same time temple architecture was not neglected; but the simple and solid grandeur of the Doric order, and the chaste grace of the Ionic, began to give place to the more florid Corinthian.

One of the most graceful monuments of this period still extant is the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, at Athens, vulgarly called the Lantern of Demosthenes, which was dedicated by Lysicrates in B. C. 335, as we learn from an inscription on the architrave, in commemoration of a victory gained by the chorus of Lysicrates in the dramatic contests. It is a small, circular building on a square basement, of white marble, and covered by a cupola, supported by six Corinthian columns; the summit of the cupola was formerly crowned by the tripod which Lysicrates had gained as the prize. The frieze of the monument, of which there are casts in the British Museum, represents the destruction of the Tyrrhenian pirates by Dionysus and his attendants. A drawing of the monument is given on p. 407, and portions of the frieze are figured on pp. 427, 428. Another extant monument of this period at Athens is the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, probably erected about B. C. 100, and vulgarly called the "Temple of the Winds," from the figures of the Winds upon its faces. It is an octagonal tower, with its eight sides facing respectively the direction of the eight winds into which the Athenian compass was divided. The directions of the several sides are indicated by the figures and names of the eight Winds, which were sculptured on the frieze of the entablature. On the summit of the building there stood originally a bronze figure of a Triton, holding a wand in his right hand, and turning on a pivot, so as to serve for a weathercock. (See drawing on p. 657.)

§ 7. After the age of Alexander, Greek art began visibly to decline. The great artists that had gone before had fixed the ideal types of the ordinary subjects of the sculptor and painter, and thus in a manner exhausted invention; whilst all the technical details of handling and treatment had been brought to the highest state of perfection and development. The attempt to outdo the great masterpieces which already existed induced artists to depart from the simple grace of the ancient models, and to replace it by striking and theatrical effect. The pomp of the monarchs who had divided amongst them the empire of Alexander required a display of Eastern magnificence, and thus also led to a meretricious style in art. Nevertheless, it was impossible that the innate excellence of the Greek schools should disappear altogether and at once. The perfect models that were always present could not fail to preserve a certain degree of taste; and even after the time of Alexander, we find many works of great

excellence produced. Art, however, began to emigrate from Greece to the coasts and islands of Asia Minor: Rhodes, especially, remained an eminent school of art almost down to the Christian era. This school was an immediate offshoot of that of Lysippus, and its chief founder was the Rhodian Chares, who flourished about the beginning of the third century B. C. His most noted work was the statue of the Sun, which, under the name of the Colossus of Rhodes, was esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world. It was of bronze, and 105 feet high. It stood at the entrance of the harbor of Rhodes; but the statement that its legs extended over the mouth of the harbor does not rest on any authentic foundation. It was twelve years in erecting, at a cost of three hundred talents, and was so large that there were few who could embrace its thumb. It was overthrown by an earthquake fifty-six years after its erection. But the most beautiful work of the Rhodian school at this period is the famous group of the Laocoön in the Vatican, so well known by its many copies. (See drawing on p. 589.) It was the work of three sculptors, Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus. In this group the pathos of physical suffering is expressed in the highest degree, but not without a certain theatrical air and straining for effect, which the best age of Greek art would have rejected. To the same school belongs the celebrated group called the Farnesian Bull, in the Museum at Naples, representing Zethus and Amphion binding Dirce to a wild bull, in order to avenge their mother. (See drawing on p. 525.) It was the work of two brothers, Apollonius and Tauriscus of Tralles. About the same time eminent schools of art flourished at Pergamus and Ephesus. To the former may be referred the celebrated Dying Gladiator in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, and to the latter the Borghese Gladiator in the Louvre. The well-known statue of Aphrodité at Florence, called the "Venus de' Medici," also belongs to the same period. It was executed by an Athenian artist named Cleomenes, whose exact date is unknown, but who lived before the capture of Corinth, in B. C. 146.

§ 8. When Greece began to fall into the hands of the Romans, the treasures of Greek art were conveyed by degrees to Rome, where ultimately a new school arose. The triumphs over Philip, Antiochus, the Ætolians, and others, but, above all, the capture of Corinth, and, subsequently, the victories over Mithridates and Cleopatra, filled Rome with works of art. The Roman generals, the governors of provinces (as Verres), and finally the emperors, continued the work of spoliation; * but so prodigious was the number of works of art in Greece, that, even in the second century of the Christian era, when Pausanias visited it, its temples and other public buildings were still crowded with statues and paintings.

* Nero alone is said to have brought five hundred statues from Delphi, merely to adorn his golden house.



ΑΡΙΣΤ'

Bust of Aristotle.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

GRECIAN LITERATURE FROM THE END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR
TO THE LATEST PERIOD.

- § 1. The Drama. The Middle Comedy. The New Comedy: Philemon, Menander.
 § 2. Oratory. Circumstances which favored it at Athens. § 3. Its Sicilian Origin.
 § 4. The Ten Attic Orators: Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isæus, Æschines,
 Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Hypereides, and Dinarchus. § 5. Athenian Philosophy: Plato.
 § 6. Sketch of his Philosophy. § 7. The Megarics, Cyrenaics, and Cynics. § 8. The
 Academicians. § 9. Aristotle and the Peripatetics. § 10. The Stoics and Epicureans.
 § 11. The Alexandrian School of Literature. § 12. Later Greek Writers: Polybius,
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, Arrian, Appian, Plutarch, Josephus, Stra-
 bo, Pausanias, Dion Cassius, Lucian, Galen. § 13. The Greek Scriptures and Fathers.
 Conclusion.

§ 1. IN reviewing the preceding period of Greek literature, we have already had occasion to notice the decline of tragedy at Athens. It continued, indeed, still to subsist; but after the great tragic triumvirate, we have no authors who have come down to us, or whose works were at all comparable to those of their predecessors. There are, however, a few names that should be recorded; as that of Agathon, the contemporary and friend of Euripides, whose compositions were more remarkable for their flowery elegance than for force or sublimity: of Iophon, the son of Sophocles, whose undutiful conduct towards his father has been already mentioned, the author of fifty tragedies, which gained considerable reputation: of Sophocles, the grandson of the great tragic poet: and of a second Euripides, the nephew of the celebrated one. With regard to comedy the case was different. After the days of Aristophanes it took, indeed, a wholly different form; but a form which rendered it a more perfect imitation of nature, and established it as the model of that species of composition in every civilized nation of after times. We have already noticed, in the plays of Aristophanes himself, a transition from the genuine Old Comedy to the Middle

Comedy. The latter still continued to be in some degree political; but persons were no longer introduced upon the stage under their real names, and the office of the chorus was very much curtailed. It was, in fact, the connecting link between the Old Comedy and the New, or the Comedy of Manners. The most distinguished authors of the Middle Comedy, besides Aristophanes, were Antiphanes and Alexis. The New Comedy arose after Athens had become subject to the Macedonians. Politics were now excluded from the stage, and the materials of the dramatic poet were derived entirely from the fictitious adventures of persons in private life. The two most distinguished writers of this school were Philémon and Menander. Philémon was probably born about the year 360 B. C., and was either a Cilician or Syracusan, but came at an early age to Athens. He is considered as the founder of the New Comedy, which was soon afterwards brought to perfection by his younger contemporary, Menander. Philémon was a prolific author, and is said to have written ninety-seven plays, of which only a few fragments remain. Menander was an Athenian, and was born in B. C. 342. Diopethes, his father, commanded the Athenian forces on the Hellespont, and was the person defended by Demosthenes in one of his extant speeches.* Menander was handsome in person, and of a serene and easy temper, but luxurious and effeminate in his habits. Demetrius Phalereus was his friend and patron. He was drowned at the age of fifty-two, whilst swimming in the harbor of Peiræus. He wrote upwards of one hundred comedies; yet during his lifetime his dramatic career was not so successful as his subsequent fame would seem to imply; and he gained the prize only eight times. The broader humor of his rival Philémon seems to have told with more effect on the popular ear. But the unanimous praise of posterity made ample compensation for this injurious neglect, and awakens our regret for the loss of the works of one of the most elegant writers of antiquity. The number of his fragments, collected from the writings of various authors, shows how extensively he was read; but unfortunately none are of sufficient length to convey to us an adequate idea of his style and genius. The comedies, indeed, of Plautus and Terence may give us a general notion of the New Comedy of the Greeks, from which they were confessedly drawn; but there is good reason to suppose that the works even of the latter Roman writer fell far short of the wit and elegance of Menander.

§ 2. The latter days of literary Athens were chiefly distinguished by the genius of her orators and philosophers. Both rhetoric and philosophy were at first cultivated exclusively by the sophists, and, till the time of Socrates, remained almost entirely in their hands. Socrates, by directing the attention of philosophers to the more useful questions of morals, effected a separation between rhetoric and philosophy. After his time we find

* Περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερσονήσῳ.

various schools of moral philosophy springing up, as the Academicians Peripatetics, Stoics, &c., whilst the more technical part of the art of speaking became a distinct profession.

The extreme democratical nature of the Athenian institutions, especially after the reforms of Pericles, rendered it indispensable for a public man to possess some oratorical skill. All public business, both political and judicial, was transacted by the citizens themselves, in their courts and public assemblies. The assembly of the people decided all questions, not only of domestic policy, but even those which concerned their foreign relations. They not only made, but administered, the laws; and even their courts of justice must be regarded as a sort of public assemblies, from the number of dicasts who composed them. The vast majority of those who met either in the public assemblies or in the courts of justice were men of no political or legal training.* The Athenian citizen was a statesman and a judge by prerogative of birth. Although he took an oath to decide according to the laws, he was far from considering himself bound to make them his study, or to decide according to their letter. The frequency and earnestness with which the orators remind the dicasts of their oath betray their apprehension of its violation. It contained, indeed, a very convenient clause for tender consciences, as it only bound the dicast to decide according to the best of his judgment; and the use which might be made of this loophole by a clever advocate is pointed out by Aristotle.† Hence it is surprising how little influence the written code had on the decision of a case. The orators usually drew their topics from extraneous circumstances, or from the general character of their adversary, and endeavored to prejudice the minds of their audience by personal reflections wholly foreign to the matter in hand, and which modern courts would not tolerate for a moment. In addition to all this, the natural temperament of the Athenians rendered them highly susceptible of the charms of eloquence. They enjoyed the intellectual gladiatorship of two rival orators, and even their mutual reproaches and abuse.

§ 3. It is remarkable, however, that, though the soil of Attica was thus naturally adapted to the cultivation of eloquence, the first regular professors of it, as an art, were foreigners. Protagoras of Abdera, who visited Athens in the earlier part of the fifth century before Christ, was the first who gave lessons in rhetoric for money. He was followed by Prodicus of Ceos, and Gorgias of Leontini; the latter of whom especially was very celebrated as a teacher of rhetoric. The art, however, had been established in Sicily before the time of Gorgias by Corax and his pupil Tisias. Co-

* This is not strictly correct. The Athenian had a practical training, both in law and politics, in the actual working of the civil and judicial institutions; and long before he had reached the legal age to take a personal part in public affairs, he was generally quite familiar both with principles and forms. — ED.

† Rhetoric, I. 15. 5.

RAK has been regarded as the founder of technical oratory, and was at all events the first who wrote a treatise on the subject. The appearance of Gorgias at Athens, whither he went as ambassador from Leontini, in 427 B. C., produced a great sensation among the Athenians, who retained him in their city for the purpose of profiting by his instructions. His lectures were attended by a vast concourse of persons, and attracted many from the schools of the philosophers. His merit must have been very great to have drawn so much attention in the best times of Athens; and we are told by Cicero that he alone of all the sophists was honored with a golden, and not merely a gilt, statue at Delphi.

§ 4. The Athenians had established a native school of eloquence a little before the appearance of Gorgias among them. The earliest of their professed orators was Antiphon (born B. C. 480), who stands at the head of the ten contained in the Alexandrian canon. Gorgias seems to have been known at Athens by his works before he appeared there in person; and one of the chief objects of Antiphon was to establish a more solid style in place of his dazzling and sophistical rhetoric. Thucydides was among the pupils in the school which he opened, and is said to have owed much to his master. Antiphon was put to death in 411 B. C., for the part which he took in establishing the oligarchy of the Four Hundred. Fifteen of his orations have come down to us.

The remaining nine Attic orators contained in the Alexandrian canon were Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isæus, Æschines, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Hyperæides, and Dinarchus. Andocides, who has been already mentioned as concerned with Alcibiades in the affair of the Hermæ,* was born at Athens in B. C. 467, and died probably about 391. We have at least three genuine orations of his, which, however, are not distinguished by any particular merit.

Lysias, also born at Athens in 458, was much superior to him as an orator, but being a *metic*, or resident alien, he was not allowed to speak in the assemblies or courts of justice, and therefore wrote orations for others to deliver. Of these thirty-five are extant, but some are incomplete, and others probably spurious. His style may be regarded as a model of the Attic idiom, and his orations are characterized by indescribable gracefulness, combined with energy and power.

Isocrates was born in 436. After receiving the instructions of some of the most celebrated sophists of the day, he became himself a speech-writer and professor of rhetoric; his weakly constitution and natural timidity preventing him from taking a part himself in public life. His style is more *periodic* than that of the other Attic orators, and betrays that it was meant to be read rather than spoken. Although pure and elegant, it is wanting in simplicity and vigor, and becomes occasionally monotonous,

* See p. 318.

through the recurrence of the same turns. Isocrates made away with himself in 338, after the fatal battle of Chæronêa, in despair, it is said, of his country's fate. Twenty-one of his speeches have come down to us. He took great pains with his compositions, and is reported to have spent ten, or, according to others, fifteen years over his Panegyric oration.

Isæus, according to some, was a native of Chalcis; others call him an Athenian; and it is certain, at all events, that he came at a very early age to Athens. His exact date is not known, but he flourished between the end of the Peloponnesian war and the accession of Philip of Macedon. He opened a school of rhetoric at Athens, and is said to have numbered Demosthenes among his pupils. The orations of Isæus were exclusively judicial, and the whole of the eleven which have come down to us turn on the subject of inheritances.

Of Æschines, the antagonist of Demosthenes, we have already had occasion to speak. He was born in the year 389, and was a native of Attica, but of low, if not servile, origin, and of a mother of more than equivocal reputation. This, however, is the account of Demosthenes; and Æschines himself tells a different story. He was successively an assistant in his father's school, a gymnastic teacher, a scribe, and an actor; for which last profession a strong and sonorous voice peculiarly qualified him. He afterwards entered the army, where he achieved more success; for besides a vigorous, athletic form, he was endowed with considerable courage. The reputation which he gained in the battle of Tamynæ encouraged him to come forwards as a public speaker. As a politician he was at first a violent anti-Macedonian; but after his embassy along with Demosthenes and others to Philip's court, he was the constant advocate of peace. Demosthenes and Æschines now became the leading speakers on their respective sides, and the heat of political animosity soon degenerated into personal hatred. In 343, Demosthenes charged Æschines with having received bribes from Philip during a second embassy; and the speech, or rather pamphlet,* — for it was not spoken, — in which he brought forward this accusation, was answered in another by Æschines. The result of this charge is unknown, but it seems to have detracted from the popularity of Æschines. We have already adverted to his impeachment of Ctesiphon, and the celebrated reply of Demosthenes in his speech *De Corona*.† After the banishment of Æschines on this occasion (B. C. 330), he spent several years in Ionia and Caria, where he employed himself in teaching rhetoric. After the death of Alexander he retired to Rhodes, and established a school of eloquence, which afterwards became very celebrated, and which held a middle place between Attic simplicity on the one hand, and the ornate Asiatic style on the other. He died in Samos in 314. As an orator he was second only to Demosthenes. He never

* *Περὶ παραπρεσβείας.*

† See pp. 515, 516.

published more than three of his speeches, which have come down to us; namely, that against Timarchus, that on the Embassy, and the one against Ctesiphon.

Of the life of his great rival, Demosthenes, we have already given some account, and need therefore only speak here of his literary merits. The verdict of his contemporaries, ratified by posterity, has pronounced Demosthenes the greatest orator that ever lived. The principal element of his success must be traced in his purity of purpose, which gave to his arguments all the force of conscientious conviction; and which, when aided by a powerful logic, perspicuous arrangement, and the most undaunted courage in tearing the mask from the pretensions of his adversaries, rendered his advocacy almost irresistible. The effect of his speeches was still further heightened by a wonderful and almost magic force of diction. It cannot, however, be supposed that his orations were delivered in exactly that perfect form in which we now possess them. There can be no doubt that they were carefully revised for publication; but, on the other hand, any trifling defects in form and composition must have been more than compensated by the grace and vivacity of oral delivery. This is attested by the well-known anecdote of Æschines, when he read at Rhodes his speech against Ctesiphon. His audience having expressed their surprise that he should have been defeated after such an oration: "You would cease to wonder," he remarked, "if you had heard Demosthenes." Sixty-one of the orations of Demosthenes have come down to us; though of these some are spurious, or at all events doubtful. The most celebrated of his political orations are the Philippics, the Olynthiacs, and the oration on the Peace; among the private ones, the famous speech on the Crown.

The remaining three Attic orators, viz. Lycurgus, Hypereides, and Dinarchus, were contemporaries of Demosthenes. Lycurgus and Hypereides both belonged to the anti-Macedonian party, and were warm supporters of the policy of Demosthenes. Of Lycurgus only one oration is extant; and of Hypereides only two, which have been recently discovered in a tomb in Egypt. Dinarchus, who is the least important of the Attic orators, survived Demosthenes, and was a friend of Demetrius Phalereus. He was an opponent of Demosthenes, against whom he delivered one of his three extant orations, in relation to the affair of Harpalus.*

§ 5. Whilst Attic oratory was thus attaining perfection, philosophy was making equal progress in the new direction marked out for it by Socrates. Of all the disciples of that original and truly great philosopher, Plato was by far the most distinguished. Plato was born at Athens in 429 B. C., the year in which Pericles died. By Ariston, his father, he was said to be descended from Codrus, the last of the Athenian kings; whilst the

* See pp. 516, 517.

family of his mother traced a relationship with Solon. His own name which was originally Aristocles, is said to have been changed to Plato on account of the breadth of his shoulders.* He was instructed in music, grammar, and gymnastics, by the most celebrated masters of the time. His first literary attempts were in epic, lyric, and dithyrambic poetry; but his attention was soon turned to philosophy by the teaching of Socrates, whose lectures he began to frequent at about the age of twenty. From that time till the death of Socrates he appears to have lived in the closest intimacy with that philosopher. After that event Plato withdrew to Megara, and subsequently undertook some extensive travels, in the course of which he visited Cyréné, Egypt, Sicily, and Magna Græcia. His intercourse with the elder Dionysius at Syracuse has been already related.† His absence from Athens lasted about twelve years; on his return, being then upwards of forty, he began to teach in the gymnasium of the Academy, and also in his garden at Colônus. His instructions were gratuitous, and his method, like that of his master, Socrates, seems to have been by interrogation and dialogue. His doctrines, however, were too recondite for the popular ear, and his lectures were not very numerously attended. But he had a narrower circle of devoted admirers and disciples, consisting of about twenty-eight persons, who met in his private house; over the vestibule of which was inscribed, "Let no one enter who is ignorant of geometry." The most distinguished of this little band of auditors were Speusippus, his nephew and successor, and Aristotle. But even among the wider circle of his hearers, who did not properly form part of his school, were some of the most distinguished men of the age, as Chabrias, Iphicrates, Timotheus, Phocion, and others. Whether Demosthenes attended his lectures is doubtful. In these pursuits the remainder of his long life was spent, relieved, however, by two voyages to Sicily.‡ He died in 347, at the age of eighty-one or eighty-two, and bequeathed his garden to his school.

§ 6. Plato must be regarded principally as a moral and political philosopher, and as a dialectician; as a physical inquirer he did not shine, and the *Timæus* is his only work in that branch of philosophy. His dialectic method was a development of that of Socrates; and though he did not, like Aristotle, produce any formal treatise on the subject, it is exemplified in most of his works, but especially in the *Theætetus*, *Sophistes*, *Parmenides*, and one or two others of the same class. The fundamental principle of Plato's philosophy is the belief in an eternal and self-existent cause, the origin of all things. From this divine being emanate not only the souls of men, which are also immortal, but that of the universe itself, which is supposed to be animated by a divine spirit. The material objects of our sight and other senses are mere fleeting emanations of the divine idea;

* πλατὺς.

† See p. 457.

‡ See pp. 458, 459.

it is only this idea itself that is *really* existent;* the objects of sensuous perception† are mere appearances, taking their forms by participation‡ in the idea. Hence it follows that in Plato's view all knowledge is *innate*, and acquired by the soul before birth, when it was able to contemplate *real* existences, and all our ideas in this world are mere reminiscences of their true and eternal patterns. These principles, when applied to the investigation of language, necessarily made Plato a *realist*; that is, he held that an abstract name, expressing a genus,—as, for instance, *mankind*, comprehending all individual men, *tree*, comprehending every species of tree, and so forth,—were not mere *signs* to express our modes of thinking, but denoted *real* existences, in fact the only *true* existences, as being the expressions of the eternally pre-existent idea. In this matter he seems to have departed from Socrates; and, indeed, the reader who should seek the philosophy of Socrates in the writings of Plato would often be led very far astray. Socrates believed in a divine cause, but the doctrine of ideas and other figments with which Plato surrounded it seem to have been his own.

As a moral and political philosopher the views of Plato were sublime and elevated, but commonly too much tinged with his poetical and somewhat visionary cast of mind to be of much practical utility. They are speculations which may awake our admiration as we read them, but which for the most part it would be difficult or impossible to put in practice. His belief in the immortality of the soul naturally led him to establish a lofty standard of moral excellence, and, like his great teacher, he constantly inculcates temperance, justice, and purity of life. His political views are developed in the *Republic* and the *Laws*. The former of these works presents us with a sort of Utopia, such as never has existed, and never could exist. The main feature of his system is the subordination, or rather the entire sacrifice, of the individual to the state. The citizens are divided into three classes, in fanciful analogy with the faculties of the soul. Thus the general body, or working class, represents the *passions* and *appetites*; the *will* is typified by the military order, which is to control the general mass, but which is in turn to be thoroughly subservient to the government, whose functions correspond with those of the *intellect*, or *rational faculty*. With such views Plato was naturally inimical to the unrestricted democracy of Athens, and inclined to give a preference to the Spartan constitution. In the *Laws*, however, he somewhat relaxed the theory laid down in the *Republic*, and sought to give it a more practical character. Thus he abandons in that work the strict separation of classes, sets some limits to the power of the government, and attempts to reconcile freedom and absolutism by mingling monarchy with democracy.

* τὸ ὄντως ὄν.

† τὰ γινόμενα.

‡ μέθεξις.

§ 7. Plato, as we have said, visited Megara after the death of Socrates, where other pupils of that philosopher had also taken refuge. Among these the most famous was Eucleides, who must not be confounded with the great mathematician of Alexandria. Eucleides founded the sect called from his residence the Megaric, and which, from the attention they paid to dialectics, were also entitled *Dialectici* and *Eristici* (or the *Disputations*). Two other offshoots of the Socratic school were the Cyrenaics and Cynics. The former of these sects was founded by Aristippus of Cyréné in Africa, the latter by Antisthenes. Aristippus, though a hearer of Socrates, wandered far from the precepts of his great master. He was fond of luxurious living and sensual gratifications, which he held to be shameful only when they obtained so uncontrolled an empire over a man as to render him their entire slave. His chief maxim was to discover the art of extracting pleasure from all the circumstances of life, and to make prosperity and adversity alike subservient to that end. Such tenets made him a favorite with the clever and cultivated man of the world, and we find him more than once approvingly alluded to by Horace.* Antisthenes was an Athenian, and also a pupil of Socrates. He taught in the Cynosarges, a gymnasium at Athens designed for Athenian boys born of foreign mothers, which is said to have been his own case. It was from this gymnasium that the sect he founded was called the *Cynic*, though some derive the name from their dog-like habits, which led them to neglect all the decent usages of society. It was one of the least important of the philosophical schools. One of its most remarkable members was Diogenes of Sinopé, whose interview with Alexander the Great at Corinth we have had occasion to relate.† No writings of any of the three last-mentioned sects have survived.

§ 8. Such were the most celebrated minor schools which sprang from the teaching of Socrates. The four principal schools were the *Academicians*, who owed their origin to Plato; the *Peripatetics*, founded by his pupil Aristotle; the *Epicureans*, so named from their master Epicurus; and the *Stoics*, founded by Zeno.

Speusippus, Plato's nephew, became the head of the Academy after his uncle's death. Under him and his immediate successors, as Xenocrates, Polemon, Crates, and Crantor, the doctrines of Plato were taught with little alteration, and these professors formed what is called the Old Academy. The Middle Academy begins with Arcesilaus, who flourished towards the close of the third century B. C., and who succeeded to the chair on the

* "Nunc in Aristippi furtim præcepta relabor
Et mihi res non me rebus subjungere conor."

HOR. Ep. i. 1. 18.

And again:—

"Omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res."

Ibid. 17. 23.

† See p. 492.

death of Crantor. Under him the doctrines of the Academy underwent some modification. He appears to have directed his inquiries almost exclusively to an investigation of the grounds of knowledge, and to have approached in some degree the Pyrrhonists or Sceptics. The Platonic doctrines suffered a further change in the hands of Carneades, the founder of the New Academy. Carneades flourished towards the middle of the second century B. C. Under him doubt and hesitation began still more strongly to characterize the teaching of the Platonists. His distinguishing tenet was an entire suspension of assent, on the ground that truth has always a certain degree of error combined with it; and so far did he carry this principle, that even Clitomachus, his most intimate pupil, could never discover his master's real tenets on any subject.

§ 9. But of all the Grecian sects, that of the *Peripatetics*, founded by Aristotle, had the greatest influence, so far as the researches of the intellect are concerned; and this not merely in antiquity, but even perhaps to a still greater extent in modern times, and especially during what are called the Middle Ages. Aristotle was born in 384 B. C., at Stagira, a sea-port town of Chalcidicé, whence he is frequently called the *Stagirite*. His father, Nicomachus, was physician to Amyntas II., king of Macedonia. At the age of seventeen, Aristotle, who had then lost both father and mother, repaired to Athens. Here he received the instructions of Heraclides Ponticus, and other Socratics; and when, about three years after his arrival at Athens, Plato returned to that city, Aristotle immediately attended his lectures. Plato considered him his best scholar, and called him "the intellect of his school." Aristotle spent twenty years at Athens, during the last ten of which he established a school of his own; but during the whole period he appears to have kept up his connection with the Macedonian court. On the death of Plato, in 347, Aristotle quitted Athens, and repaired to Atarneus, in Mysia, where he resided two or three years with Hermias, a former pupil, who had made himself dynast of that city and of Assos, and whose adopted daughter he married. Atarneus being threatened by the Persians, into whose hands Hermias had fallen, Aristotle escaped with his wife to Mytiléné, and in 342 accepted the invitation of Philip of Macedon to undertake the instruction of his son Alexander. Philip treated the philosopher with the greatest respect, and at his request caused the city of Stagira to be rebuilt, which had been destroyed in the Olynthian war. It was here, in a gymnasium called the Nymphæum, that Aristotle imparted his instructions to Alexander, as well as to several other noble youths. In 335, after Alexander had ascended the throne, Aristotle quitted Macedonia, to which he never returned. He again took up his abode at Athens, where his friend Xenocrates was now at the head of the Academy. To Aristotle himself the Athenians assigned the gymnasium called the Lycæum; and from his habit of delivering his lectures whilst walking up and down in the shady

walks of this place, his school was called the *peripatetic*.* In the morning he lectured only to a select class of pupils, called *esoteric*,† and these lectures were called *acroamatic*,‡ in contradistinction to being written and published. His afternoon lectures were delivered to a wider circle, and were therefore called *exoteric*.§ His method appears to have been that of a regular lecture, and not the Socratic one of question and answer. It was during the thirteen years in which he presided over the Lycæum that he composed the greater part of his works, and prosecuted his researches in natural history, in which he was most liberally assisted by the munificence of Alexander. The latter portion of Aristotle's life was unfortunate. He appears to have lost from some unknown cause the friendship of Alexander; and, after the death of that monarch, the disturbances which ensued in Greece proved unfavorable to his peace and security. Being threatened with a prosecution for impiety, he escaped from Athens and retired to Chalcis; but he was condemned to death in his absence, and deprived of all the rights and honors which he previously enjoyed. He died at Chalcis in 322, in the sixty-third year of his age. In person Aristotle was short and slender, with small eyes, and something of a lisp. His manners were characterized by briskness and vivacity, and he paid considerable attention to his dress and outward appearance.

Of all the philosophical systems of antiquity, that of Aristotle was best adapted to the practical wants of mankind. It was founded on a close and accurate observation of human nature and of the external world; but whilst it sought the practical and useful, it did not neglect the beautiful and noble. His works consisted of treatises on natural, moral, and political philosophy, history, rhetoric, criticism, &c.; indeed, there is scarcely a branch of knowledge which his vast and comprehensive genius did not embrace. Any attempt to give an account of these works would far exceed the limits of the present work. His greatest claim to our admiration is as a logician. He perfected and brought into form those elements of the dialectic art which had been struck out by Socrates and Plato, and wrought them by his additions into so complete a system, that he may be regarded as at once the founder and perfecter of logic as an art, which even down to our own days has been but very little improved.

§ 10. The school of the Stoics was founded by Zeno, a native of Citium in the island of Cyprus. The exact date of Zeno's birth is uncertain; but he seems to have gone to Athens about the beginning of the third century (B. C. 299); a visit which, according to some accounts, was owing to his having been shipwrecked in the neighborhood of Peiræus. At Athens

* From *περιπατεῖν*, to walk about. Others, however, perhaps more correctly, derive it from the place itself being called *ὁ περίπατος*, or the promenade.

† *ἐσωτερικός*, inner, intimate.

‡ *ἀκροαματικός*, to be heard, i. e. communicated orally.

§ *ἐξωτερικός*, external.

he first attached himself to the Cynics, then to the Megarics, and lastly to the Academicians; but after a long course of study he opened a school of his own in the Pœcilé Stoa, or painted porch, whence the name of his sect. The speculative doctrines of Zeno were not marked by much originality. He inculcated temperance and self-denial, and his practice was in accordance with his precepts. The want of reach in the Stoic tenets, which did not demand so much refined and abstract thought as those of many other sects, as well as the outward gravity and decorum which they inculcated, recommended their school to a large portion of mankind, especially among the Romans, by whom that sect and the Epicurean were the two most universally adopted. Two of the most illustrious writers on the Stoic philosophy, whose works are extant, are Epictetus and the Emperor M. Aurelius.

Epicurus was born at Samos in 342, of poor but respectable Athenian parents. He followed at first the profession of a schoolmaster, and, after spending some time in travelling, settled at Athens at about the age of thirty-five. Here he purchased a garden, apparently in the heart of the city, where he established his philosophical school. He seems to have been the only head of a sect who had not previously gone through a regular course of study, and prided himself on being self-taught. In physics he adopted the atomic theory of the Pythagoreans and Ionics; in morals that of the Cyrenaic school, that pleasure is the highest good; a tenet, however, which he explained and dignified by showing that it was mental pleasure that he intended. His works have perished, but the main substance, both of his physical and religious doctrines, may be derived from Lucretius, whose poem *De Rerum Natura* is an exposition of his principal tenets. The ideas of atheism and sensual degradation with which the name of Epicurus has been so frequently coupled are founded on ignorance of his real teaching. But as he denied the immortality of the soul, and the interference of the gods in human affairs, — though he held their existence, — his tenets were very liable to be abused by those who had not sufficient elevation of mind to love virtue for its own sake.

§ 11. We have thus traced the progress of Grecian literature from its earliest dawn till it was brought to perfection by the master-minds of Athens. After the death of Alexander, Grecian literature did not become extinct: there was a vitality about it that insured its subsistence for several ages, though not in its former splendor. Alexandria, now the emporium of commerce, became also the chief seat of learning, where it was fostered by the munificence and favor of the first Ptolemies. It was here that literature became a profession, supported by the foundation of noble and extensive libraries, and cultivated by a race of grammarians and critics. These men were of great assistance to literature by the critical care which they bestowed on editions of the best authors, and by

the invention of many aids to facilitate the labors of the student, as better systems of grammar, punctuation, &c. One of the most eminent of them was Aristophanes of Byzantium, chief librarian at Alexandria in the reigns of the second and third Ptolemies, and who founded there a school of grammar and criticism. It was he and his pupil Aristarchus who were chiefly concerned in forming the canon of the Greek classical writers; and in their selection of authors they displayed for the most part a correct taste and a sound judgment. To Aristophanes is ascribed the invention of the Greek accents. Aristarchus is chiefly renowned as the editor of the Homeric poems in the form in which we now possess them. From their school proceeded many celebrated grammarians and lexicographers. It must not, however, be supposed that this was the sole species of literature which flourished at Alexandria. Theocritus, the most charming pastoral poet of antiquity, — of which species of composition he was the inventor, — though a native of Syracuse, lived for some time at Alexandria, where he enjoyed the patronage of Ptolemy II. His contemporaries and imitators, Bion of Smyrna and Moschus of Syracuse, also wrote with much grace and beauty. This school of poetry was afterwards cultivated with success by Virgil, Tibullus, and others among the Romans. At Alexandria also flourished Callimachus, the author of many hymns, elegies, and other poems, which were much admired at Rome, and were translated and imitated by Catullus and Propertius. Amongst numerous other poets we can only mention Apollonius Rhodius, the author of an epic poem on the exploits of the Argonauts; and Aratus, who composed two poems on astronomy and natural phenomena. Among the Alexandrian writers on pure science, the mathematician Euclid (Eucleides) stands conspicuous, whose elements of geometry still form the text-book of our schools. He flourished during the time of the first Ptolemy (B. C. 323–283).

§ 12. The list of the Greek writers down to the extinction of the Greek empire might be indefinitely enlarged; but our limits would only permit us to present the reader with a barren list of names; and we therefore content ourselves with selecting for notice a few of the most eminent.

The historian Polybius (B. C. 204–122) has already been mentioned as taking a part in the final struggle of his country with Rome. His History, though the greater part of it has unfortunately perished, is one of the most valuable remains of antiquity. His long residence among the Romans afforded him an opportunity of studying their annals; and from the period of the second Punic war he has been very closely followed by Livy.

Another Greek writer of Roman history was Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who flourished in the latter half of the first century B. C. He spent a considerable part of his life at Rome, and devoted himself to the study of

the history and antiquities of that city, on which he wrote a book, a considerable part of which is still extant. He was, however, a better critic than historian, and we still possess several of his treatises in that department of literature.

Diodorus, called from his country Siculus, or the Sicilian, also lived at Rome in the time of Julius and Augustus Cæsar. He was the author of a universal history in forty books, called *The Historical Library*, of which fifteen books are still extant.

Arrian, of Nicomedia in Bithynia, who lived in the first century of our era, wrote an account of Alexander's expedition, as well as several works on philosophical and other subjects.

Appian of Alexandria lived in the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, and was the author of a Roman history.

One of the best and most valuable Greek writers of this time was Plutarch, the biographer and philosopher. He was a native of Chæronæa in Bœotia. The exact date of his birth is unknown, but it must have been about the middle of the first century of our era. He passed a considerable time in Rome and Italy; but it was late in his life before he applied himself to the study of Roman literature, and he appears never to have completely mastered the language. The later years of his life seem to have been spent at Chæronæa, where he discharged several magisterial offices, and filled a priesthood. His *Lives*, if not the most authoritative, are certainly one of the most entertaining works ever written. They have perhaps been more frequently translated than any other book, and have been popular in every age and nation. Besides his *Lives*, Plutarch was the author of a great number of treatises on moral and other subjects.

About the same time flourished Josephus, the Jewish historian, who was born at Jerusalem A. D. 37. Though a Hebrew, the Greek style of Josephus is remarkably pure.

Strabo, the celebrated geographer, was a native of Amasia in Pontus, and lived in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. His valuable work on geography, which also contains many important historical facts, still exists pretty nearly entire, though the text is often corrupt.

Pausanias, author of the *Description of Greece*, is supposed to have been a native of Lydia, and flourished in the second century of our era. His account of Greece is of considerable value, for many of the great works of Grecian art were extant when he travelled through the country, and he appears to have described them with fidelity as well as minuteness.

Dion Cassius, the historian, was born at Nicæa in Bithynia, A. D. 155. His History of Rome in eighty books extended from the earliest times to A. D. 229. It has come down to us in a very imperfect state, but is still a valuable authority for the history of the later republic and a considerable portion of the empire.

Lucian, one of the wittiest and most entertaining of ancient writers, and

who, from his sparkling style, his turn of mind, and his disregard for authority, may be compared to Swift or Voltaire, was born at Samosata, probably about A. D. 120. Of his numerous works, the best known are his *Dialogues of the Dead*, which have been universally esteemed, not only for their wit, but also for their Attic grace of diction.

We cannot close this imperfect list of Greek profane writers without mentioning the name of Galen, the celebrated physician. Galen was born at Pergamus in Mysia, A. D. 130. He completed his education at Smyrna, Corinth, and Alexandria, after which he undertook some extensive travels. He seems to have visited Rome at least twice, and attended on the Emperors M. Aurelius and L. Verus. The writings of Galen formed an epoch in medical science, and after his time all the previous medical sects seem to have become merged in his followers and imitators.

§ 13. But the Greek language was not merely destined to be the vehicle of those civilizing influences which flow from the imagination of the sublimest poets and the reasonings of the most profound philosophers. The still more glorious mission was reserved for it, of conveying to mankind through the Gospel that certain prospect of a life to come, which even the wisest of the Grecian sages had beheld only as in a glass, darkly. Three at least of the four Gospels were written in the Greek tongue, as well as the greater portion of those Scriptures which compose the New Testament. We have already alluded to the facilities which the conquests of Alexander afforded to the spreading of the Gospel; nor were there wanting in subsequent ages men who assisted its extension by their writings. Even the works of an author like Lucian were subservient to this end, by casting ridicule on the gods of paganism, and thus preparing the minds of men for the reception of a purer doctrine. Among the Greek Fathers of the Church were many men of distinguished talent; as Justin Martyr, one of the earliest of the Christian writers, Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory of Nazianzus, and many others; especially Joannes, surnamed Chrysostomus, or *the golden-mouthed*, from the power of his eloquence.

The Greek language and literature continued to subsist till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. Even that shock did not entirely destroy their vitality. The many learned Greeks who then took refuge in Italy were the means of reviving the study of their tongue, then almost entirely neglected, in the West, and especially at Florence, under the auspices of Cosmo de' Medici, who appointed Johannes Argyropulus, one of these refugees, preceptor to his son and nephew. Maximus Planudes, Manuel Moschopulus, Emanuel Chrysoloras, Theodore Gaza, and others, assisted in this work; and through these men and their successors, and particularly through the labors of Aldus Manutius, the Venetian printer, who flourished in the same century, the chief masterpieces of Grecian literature have been handed down and made intelligible to us.



The Acropolis of Athens in its present State.

BOOK VII.

GREECE FROM THE ROMAN CONQUEST TO THE PRESENT TIME.

CHAPTER XLIX.

GREECE UNDER THE ROMANS.

§ 1. Roman Administration. § 2. Sylla, Mithridatic War. § 3. Cilician Pirates. § 4. State of Greece. § 5. Effects of the Establishment of the Roman Empire. § 6. Hadrian's Bene-
factions to Greece. Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Herodes Atticus, Caracalla. § 7. Goth-
ic Invasion. § 8. Language, Poetry, Christianity. § 9. Decay of Paganism. Popular
Elements of Christianity. § 10. Roman View of Christianity. Triumph of Christianity.

§ 1. THE Roman administration of Greece, commencing about the middle of the second century B. C., was at first wise and moderate. The public burdens, instead of being increased, were lessened. The local administrations and municipal institutions remained unchanged, so far as they were compatible with the exercise of supreme power by the Romans. The conquerors felt the superiority of the conquered in letters and art, and though they had no profound appreciation of these excellent ornaments of the life of man, yet they at first conceded to the authors and cultivators of them a social esteem very flattering to the vanity of the Hellenic race. In general, they paid respect to the religious feelings and the objects of worship, and the plundering of temples and robbing cities of cherished

works of art — which afterwards became one of the most irritating forms of proconsular oppression — was looked upon with abhorrence by the honorable men at Rome. Polybius uses the strongest language, when he speaks of the Roman honesty. Under their circumstances, as Mr. Finlay says, "Prudence and local interests would everywhere favor submission to Rome; national vanity alone would whisper incitements to venture on a struggle for independence."

§ 2. The Mithridatic war furnished the occasion on which the national vanity, concurring with the private inclinations of many leading men, induced the Greeks to make the attempt. Sylla was charged with the conduct of the war against the king of Pontus; and when he appeared in Greece, at the head of a powerful army, Athens almost single-handed confronted him, — the others having submitted with as much lightness as they had taken up arms. Sylla laid siege to the city, and found it no easy task, with the whole force of his army, and the abundant resources with which he was supplied, to reduce the fiery republicans, under the command of Aristion. At last, their material means of defence being exhausted, they resorted to a mode of proceeding quite characteristic of the Athenians, — they sent out some of their orators, to try what eloquence could do with the hard-headed Roman. Admitted to an audience, the spokesman began to remind the general of their past glory, and was proceeding to touch upon Marathon, when the surly soldier fiercely growled, "I was sent here to punish rebels, not to study history." And he did punish them. He broke down the wall between the Peiræus and the Sacred Gates, and poured in his soldiers to plunder and slay. With drawn swords they swept through the streets. The ground ran with blood, which poured its horrid tide into the ancient burying-place of the Cerameicus. Great numbers of the citizens were slain: their property was plundered by the soldiers. The groves of the Academy and the Lyceum were cut down; and columns were carried away from the temple of Olympian Zeus, to ornament the city of Rome. The town of Peiræus was utterly destroyed, being treated with more severity than Athens itself. From this frightful moment the decline of the population of Greece commenced. "Both parties," says the able historian already quoted, "during the Mithridatic war, inflicted severe injuries on Greece, plundered the country, and destroyed property most wantonly, while many of the losses were never repaired. The foundations of national prosperity were undermined: and it henceforward became impossible to save, from the annual consumption of the inhabitants, the sums necessary to replace the accumulated capital of ages, which this short war had annihilated. In some cases the wealth of the communities became insufficient to keep the existing public works in repair."

§ 3. Scarcely had the storm of Roman war passed by, when the Cilician pirates, finding the coasts of Greece peculiarly favorable for their marauding incursions, and tempted by the wealth accumulated in the cities and

temples, commenced their depredations on so gigantic a scale, that the Romans felt obliged to employ all their military force for their suppression. The exploits of Pompey the Great, who was clothed with autocratic power to put down this gigantic evil, fill the brightest chapter in the history of that celebrated but too unfortunate commander. He captured ninety brazen-decked ships, and took twenty thousand prisoners, with whom he re-peopled the ancient town of Soli, which henceforth was called Pompeiopolis. The civil wars, in which the Roman Republic expired, had the fields of Greece for their theatre. Under the tramp of contending armies, her fertile plains were desolated, and civil blood, in a cause not her own, again and again moistened her soil.

§ 4. But at length the civil wars have come to an end, and the Empire introduces, for the first time in the melancholy history of man, a state of universal peace. Greece still maintains her pre-eminence in literature and art; and her schools are frequented by the sons of the Roman aristocracy. The elder poetry serves as models to the literary genius of the Augustan age. Horace copies Alcæus, and admires Sappho. Virgil copies Theocritus in his Eclogues, and the Iliad and Odyssey in his *Æneid*. The historians form themselves on Attic prototypes; and the philosophers of Rome divide themselves among the Grecian sects, while in Athens the Platonists, the Stoics, the Peripatetics, and the Epicureans still haunt the scenes with which the names of their masters were inseparably associated. The ancient spirit, which animated the breasts of the Greeks in the republican days, and which broke forth like an expiring gleam in Philopœmen and Polybius, had either vanished utterly from the hearts of the people, or had been smothered and oppressed into silence, by the evils of the times. The country was, however, still covered with splendid temples, and crowded with the works of art, — the productions of the best ages; — nor had the practice of art been entirely lost. But the ravages of war had left the most important cities in such a state, that, even in the time of Cicero, they suggested melancholy reflections to the most thoughtful minds. Says Sulpicius, in his letter of consolation to the great orator, “When I returned from Asia, and was sailing from *Ægina* towards *Megara*, I began to gaze upon the regions around me. Behind me lay *Ægina*; before me, *Megara*; on my right, *Peiræus*; on my left, *Corinth*; cities which once were most flourishing, but now overwhelmed, and in ruins.” Such was the general aspect of that illustrious region even then; but the great temples, whose ruins still astonish the traveller by their magnificence and melancholy beauty, had suffered nothing from time and comparatively little from the hand of man. They were regarded, even by those who had no conception of the genius required for their construction, with a kind of awe and reverence.

§ 5. The establishment of the Empire made but little change in the administration of Greece. Augustus indeed showed no great solicitude

except to maintain the country in subjection by his military colonies, — especially those of Patræ and Nicopolis, — a policy first introduced by Julius Cæsar. He even deprived Athens of the privileges she had enjoyed under the Republic, and broke down the remaining power of Sparta, by declaring the independence of her subject towns. Some of his successors treated the country with favor, and endeavored by a clement use of power to mitigate the sufferings of its decline. Even Nero was proud to display the extent of his musical abilities in the theatres, which had resounded with the compositions of the Greeks. He listened eagerly to their flatteries, as they accompanied him from the city, received with complacency the eighteen hundred laurel crowns with which they decorated him, and when at last — in an excess of adulation which it is wonderful he did not suspect of satire — they styled him the Saviour of the Human Race, the musical monster repaid the compliment by declaring them free from tribute. The noble Trajan allowed them to retain their former local privileges, and did much to improve their condition by his wise and just administration.

§ 6. Hadrian was a passionate lover of Greek art and literature. Athens especially received the amplest benefits from his taste and wealth. He finished the temple of Olympian Zeus; established a public library; built a pantheon and gymnasium; rebuilt the temple of Apollo at Megara; improved the old roads of Greece, and built new ones, and especially made the difficult highway into Peloponnesus, by the Scironian Rocks, passable for wheeled carriages. A part of it is still to be seen, running along these dangerous and lofty precipices, with the ruined masses of the immense substruction which supported it. Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius showed good-will to Greece; the latter rebuilt the temple at Eleusis, and improved the Athenian schools, raising the salaries of the teachers, and in various ways contributing to make Athens, as it had been before, the most illustrious seat of learning in the world. It was in the reign of this Emperor, in the second century of our era, that one of the greatest benefactors of Athens, and all Greece, lived, — Herodes Atticus, distinguished alike by his wealth, learning, and eloquence. Born at Marathon, within sight of the spot where the Persian hosts were defeated; educated at Athens by the best teachers his father's wealth could procure, he became, on going to Rome, which he did in early life, the rhetorical teacher of Marcus Aurelius himself. Antoninus Pius bestowed on him the dignity of the consulship; but he preferred the career of a teacher at Athens, to the higher political dignities which imperial favor placed within his reach; and he was followed thither by young men of the most eminent Roman families, from the emperors down. Later he withdrew from Athens to Cephissia, a town about eight miles distant, where he built a magnificent villa, adorned with porticos, walks, groves, and fountains, traces of which still remain. At Athens he built the Stadium, lined with Pentelic marble, whose enormous dimensions, south of the Ilissus, testify to the magnificence and liberality of this princely

citizen; and the theatre of Regilla, — so named in honor of his wife, — at the southwest angle of the Acropolis, the walls, arches, and seats of which are to a great extent still remaining, though the interior is encumbered with the accumulated rubbish of sixteen centuries; at Corinth he built a theatre, at Olympia an aqueduct, at Delphi a race-course, and at Thermopylæ a hospital. Peloponnesus, Eubœa, Bœotia, and Epeirus experienced his bounty; and even Italy was not forgotten in the lavish distribution of his wealth. He died in A. D. 180. The grateful citizens of Athens would not allow his body to be buried at Marathon, as he had desired, but insisted on bestowing upon his remains every honor in their power to devise. His praises were commemorated in a funeral discourse by his friend and pupil, Adrianus, of whose genius Herodes had expressed himself in the strongest terms of admiration. Of the numerous literary works left by this illustrious citizen, whose character and genius gild the declining days of Athens, nothing has been preserved; but few have left so many traces of their public spirit and liberality in the land of their birth. The frantic Caracalla, early in the third century, pursued by the avenging demons of those he had murdered, yet did one good deed in clothing the free inhabitants of the provinces with the rights of Roman citizenship: "but the moral supports," says Finlay, "of the old framework of society were destroyed before the edict of Caracalla had emancipated Greece; and when tranquillity arrived, they were only capable of enjoying the felicity of having been forgotten by the tyrants."

§ 7. About the middle of the third century, the Gothic hordes began to appear on the northern frontiers of Greece. A few years later they crossed the Hellespont and Ægean, and descended upon the coasts of Attica. Disembarking at the Peiræus, they marched upon Athens, which was bravely but unsuccessfully defended by Dexippus,* who added the abilities of a

* I am sorry we have so few traces of this scholar warrior. He did not let the Goths escape with impunity; but, rallying his followers in a grove near the city, addressed them in an animating harangue, of which the following sentences are all that is preserved.

"Bravery, and not the number of combatants, governs the issue of war. Our force is still considerable. Our army numbers two thousand warriors; our position is concealed. From this spot we must attack the enemy when they disperse over the country. So will victory inspire us with new vigor, and fill our invaders with terror. If we meet them in open fight, remember that courage mounts with danger. Victory comes unlooked for in the hour of need and in battle for all that is dearest, when the soldier is animated with the hope of revenge. And who have a juster cause of vengeance than we, who see our families and our city at the mercy of the foe? I am resolved to share your fate, to fight boldly for all we most prize on earth; and be assured I will take care that through me the glory of Athens shall never be dishonored. It becomes us to remember the deeds of our fathers; to shine forth an example of bravery and freedom to the other Greeks; and to secure for ourselves, among the present and future generations, the imperishable renown of having shown by our actions that the courage of the Athenians remains unbroken, even in adversity. We march to battle to redeem our children, and all we hold most dear. May the gods be our support."

The army received his words in a transport of enthusiasm, and demanded to be led to instant battle. We have no clear account of what followed; but it appears, that, after the

general to the accomplishments of the scholar and philosopher. Athens was subjected to the plunder of the savages. It is related by Zonaras, "that one of the Gothic chiefs, finding a party of his soldiers on the point of burning the libraries of Athens, having collected the books in a pile, told them to leave those things to the effeminate Greeks; for the hand accustomed to the smoothness of the papyrus would but feebly grasp the brand of the warrior." Happy influence of letters, which, had it universally prevailed, would have saved the earth from becoming the dreadful slaughter-house it has been in every age, and seems likely to be again in ours.

§ 8. The language of Greece, no longer existing under the forms of numerous dialects, all in their several countries, and in special departments of literature, of equal classical authority, had become, under the designation of the later Attic, or Hellenistic, the medium of political communication and literary composition throughout the Eastern World. Intellectual activity in Egypt, where the institutions of the Ptolemies were respected by the Roman Emperors, assumed a motley aspect among the philosophic and Oriental systems and jargons, which concentrated, in an astonishing medley, in that land of pyramids and hieroglyphics. Of the poetical names which shine with mild lustre here, we have Callimachus, the author of hymns, and Theocritus, the pastoral poet, whose naive Sicilian Doric still charms the student more than the stately imitations of Virgil; Apollonius, the Rhodian; Lycophron, chiefly famous for his unintelligibility, whose sixty tragedies have not come down to us. Christianity was early preached, and churches established, not only among the Greeks of Asia Minor, but on the continent of Greece, as appears both by the early history of the religion, and by the apostolic documents themselves. The most memorable passage in apostolic history is beyond all comparison the appearance of St. Paul at Athens, and the discourse he delivered to the philosophers, who courteously invited him up the Hill of Mars, — the most sacred and venerable spot, from the mythical times, down to the latest days of Attic splendor, and in our own times. The Greeks, though some of them found the preaching of the Apostles foolishness, were in many respects morally and intellectually susceptible to its influences. Some of the elder thinkers had reasoned out the great peculiar doctrines of Christianity. Plato, looking upon the sorrowful and fallen condition of man, had felt the want of a divine being to raise him up and restore him to the lost dignity of his nature. Socrates, his master, had reflected upon the immortality of the soul, and the joys of a better life to come, until these sublime truths assumed a clearness and consistency which nerved

barbarians had sated themselves with the plunder of the city, they found some difficulty in escaping to their ships, or hurrying to the North. Those who went by land rushed tumultuously through Bœotia, Acarnania, Thessaly, and Epeirus, spreading terror and destruction wherever they appeared.

him to meet the felon's death an unjust sentence had doomed him to suffer ; and just as he was about to drink the fatal hemlock, he declared the memorable Christian doctrine, that it was better to forgive injuries than to avenge them. The tenderness and humanity of the Christian faith found an echo in the Grecian heart ; and a sentiment deeper than curiosity — though that mingled largely in the emotions of the hour — secured to the great Apostle the respectful attention of the most cultivated audience he ever addressed. Philosophy had strengthened the great minds of Greece, and the most accomplished intellects of Rome, but still had left an aching void in the heart. No doubt, when death parted families, bereaving the parent of the hope and the charm of life, or leaving tender children orphans in a desolate world, the sunshine of nature lighted the universe in vain for their sorrowing spirits, and the theories of philosophy fell far short of that blessed assurance which alone can soothe the agony of the dark hour. In this period, also, the belief in the ancient divinities must have died out in nearly every thinking mind. The glory of the nation had suffered an eclipse, from which the gods of Olympus had been powerless to save. Private life had been overwhelmed with disaster and woe ; and philosophy could only help the sterner natures to bear the general lot with composure. The tenderness of the sepulchral inscriptions, in the anthologies, or those briefer ejaculations of sorrowing affliction from the dying to the living and the living to the dying, which still speak to us so touchingly from the crumbling marbles of ancient Hellenic tombs, tell us by what is not said, still more eloquently than by what is expressed, how ready was the heart of Hellas for the consolations of the Christian faith.

§ 9. The temples remained in their magnificence ; ceremonies and processions represented the ancient pomps of popular worship ; but, in many cases, the wealth belonging to them was monopolized by private persons, or diverted from its religious use by the corporations charged with their management, and Christianity gained a victory — though not without a long struggle against the conservative element of Paganism — over the indifference of the people to their ancient rites. It has been well remarked, that the early converts to the Christian Church were from the middling and the literary classes. Besides the peculiar consolations afforded by Christianity to the afflicted, of all ranks and conditions, there were popular elements in its early forms which could not fail to commend it to the regards of common men. It borrowed the designation *ecclesia* from the old popular assembly, and *liturgy*, from the services required by law of the richer citizens for the popular festivities. It taught the equality of all men in the sight of God ; the brotherhood of all the races of man ; and this doctrine could not fail to be affectionately welcomed by a downtrodden people. Their assemblies were organized upon democratic principles, at least in Greece, and retained a semblance of the free assemblies of former time ; and the daily business of communities was transacted under

these popular forms, no less than spiritual affairs. "From the moment a people," says Mr. Finlay, "in the state of intellectual civilization in which the Greeks were, could listen to the preachers, it was certain they would adopt the religion. They might alter, modify, or corrupt it, but it was impossible they should reject it. The existence of an assembly, in which the dearest interests of all human beings were expounded and discussed, in the language of truth, and with the most earnest expressions of persuasion, must have lent an irresistible charm to the investigation of the new doctrine among a people possessing the institutions and feelings of the Greeks. Sincerity, truth, and a desire to persuade others, will soon create eloquence, where numbers are gathered together. Christianity revived oratory, and with oratory it awakened many of the characteristics which had slept for ages. The discussions of Christianity gave also new vigor to the communal and municipal institutions, as it improved the intellectual qualities of the people."

§ 10. But it was impossible for such organizations to exist, without gradually rising to an important influence in the state; and it was impossible for the maxims of Christianity to gain an extensive prevalence, without coming in collision with the maxims of the Roman government. The responsibility of rulers and ruled to a common and impartial tribunal could not be very tasteful to the rapacious masters of the Roman Empire; and the doctrine of equality and brotherhood was a strange lesson for those whose policy and arms had enslaved the world. A bond which united the Christians of all countries in the strictest relations of friendship and affection, could not but be viewed with suspicion by those who regarded the citizenship of Rome as the most binding and exalted relation possible among men. And the Roman, in his nature, was less susceptible to religious influences than the Greek; he looked upon Christianity with reference to its supposed political bearings, and persecuted it accordingly. But, in spite of all obstacles, in defiance of all persecutions, Christianity identified itself with the habits, thoughts, sentiments, hopes, and nationality of the Hellenic race. It was bound up with the language, in which the Apostles and earliest Fathers preached and taught and wrote. It held them together, and saved them from absorption into the vast body of the Roman Empire, and from annihilation by the hordes of barbarians who swept the country like a whirlwind, and settled upon it like devouring locusts. It ascended the throne with Constantine, and for eleven centuries shared in the highest dignities of the Eastern Empire.



Cathedral Church of St. Sophia.

CHAPTER L.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CONSTANTINE TO THE IMMIGRATION OF
THE SLAVONIANS INTO GREECE.

§ 1. Building of Constantinople. § 2. Effect of transferring the Seat of Government to Byzantium. § 3 Local Governments. § 4. The Emperor Julian. § 5. Separation of the Eastern and Western Empires. The Goths. New Meaning of the Name Hellenes. Attila and the Huns. § 6. Reign of Justinian. § 7. Slavonians.

§ 1. Constantine removed the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople, and inaugurated the latter city, with great pomp and ceremony, in the year A. D. 330. For thirty-four years the newly founded capital was the single seat of government in the Roman world, down to the reign of Jovian. For one hundred and one years the Empire was double-headed, the Eastern Empire having its seat of government at Constantinople, and the Western at Rome, until Romulus Augustulus closed his inglorious reign, and with it the Western Roman Empire, in the year 476. From this time the Roman Empire was the Eastern Empire, living on, under the Roman organization and Roman law, and claiming to be Roman, in all essential respects, under a succession of twenty-eight Emperors, until the accession of Leo III., commonly called the Isaurian, who ascended the throne in the year 717, and reigned twenty-four years. With the reign of this reforming Emperor, the old Roman spirit of the administration was ex-

tinguished, and the proper Byzantine period commences. From the close of this Emperor's reign, in 741, to the conquest of Constantinople by the Western princes, or the termination of the reign of Alexius Ducas, in 1204, forty-three rulers, including three Empresses, Irene, Zoe, and Theodora, held the reins of government for a period of four hundred and sixty-three years. The Latin Emperors, five in number, held the throne of Constantinople fifty-seven years only, when, in 1261, the line of Greek Emperors was restored, in the person of Michael Palæologus VIII. A succession of nine Emperors filled the period down to the reign of Constantine XIII., the last of the Palæologi, who closed his reign and his life with the downfall of the Byzantine Empire, in 1453, when Mohammed II., entering the city of Constantinople over the body of the slaughtered Emperor, planted the crescent on the dome of St. Sophia. For the long period of more than eleven hundred years Constantinople had been the great Christian capital of the East.

The ancient city of Byzantium was founded by Megarian colonists, in the seventh century before Christ. It was built on a promontory, facing the waters of the Bosphorus and the shores of Asia: and certainly no city in the world can surpass it in the beauty of its position, its facilities for commerce, or the picturesqueness of the scenery that surrounds it. It is washed on the east by the Bosphorus, on the north by the Golden Horn, which derived this name from the rich traffic the fisheries supplied, at a very early period, and retains it to the present day. The harbor is seven miles in length, and the water, scarcely affected by tides, is deep enough to float vessels of the largest size. It was and is the key to the Euxine and the Ægean Seas, and its possession was an object of eager rivalry among the most powerful nations of antiquity. Philip of Macedonia, no less than Nicholas of Russia, made every effort to bring it under his power, and was prevented only by the energetic resistance of Demosthenes, for which the people of Byzantium decreed, in honor of the Athenians, a statue and a golden crown. In the wars of the Romans, Byzantium suffered her full share of disasters, in sieges, slaughters, the demolition of her walls, and changes in her political institutions.

When Constantine determined to place his new capital here, he greatly enlarged the boundaries, and, to make it in all respects another Rome, took in the seven hills, which rise one above the other, and are covered by the city. From his time it has borne the name of Constantinopolis — Constantinople — in the languages of Europe, Constancyi in the Arabic, and Stamboul in the Turkish, which is formed from the Greek words *εις την πόλιν*, *into or in the city*. The line of walls across the peninsula was marked by the Emperor, marching at the head of a procession: a splendid exhibition of chariot games was given in the hippodrome, after which the Emperor was drawn in a magnificent car through the city, bearing a golden statue of Fortune in his hand, surrounded by his guards arrayed in

festal robes, and carrying lighted torches. The ceremonies of inauguration lasted forty days. The walls were not completed until the reign of Constantius; they were overthrown by an earthquake at the beginning of the fifth century; and the dilapidated walls which still exist, running from the Sea of Marmora to the harbor, are the remains of the double line, reconstructed in A. D. 447 with rectangular flanking towers at short intervals. The circuit of the city was about thirteen miles.

§ 2. One effect of the transference of the seat of government to Byzantium was to bring the Greeks into a more direct communication with the Roman administration. It was the aim of the first Roman Emperors — those of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries — to establish the Latin language, the Roman law, and Roman institutions generally, on a more permanent footing than they had yet gained in the East. The influence of the court had some effect. Those who were connected with it, or dependent on its favors, prided themselves in adopting the style, manners, and dignities of Roman officers: they called themselves Romans, and their country Rome, and even the spoken Greek language was subsequently known, and is known down to the present day, as the Romaic. In the writings of those times we find a strange jumble of Latin with the Greek, especially in the legal documents. But this effect did not extend among the Greeks generally. The strong nationality of the race easily withstood this tide of foreign manners, and while the dignitaries of the empire, and some of the leading ecclesiastics, were indulging in the pomp and ceremonies of the Roman court at Constantinople, the body of the Greek people, and the humbler clergy, remained faithful to the Hellenic ideas, and to the simple form of the religion they had received from the Apostles and their immediate successors. In fact, their aim was to make Constantinople a Greek and not a Latin city. The Roman spirit of the administration was gradually destroyed, though the capital shared little in the national feeling, and, giving itself up to the enjoyments of the largesses, and the games of the circus, granted her by the favor of the Emperors, remained insensible to the sufferings of the provinces and the decline of the Empire.

§ 3. In Greece, the local governments were still allowed to exist, but the public burdens were rigorously enforced by the imperial government: so that the reforms inaugurated by Constantine were of no substantial benefit to the Greeks as a nation. A system of monopoly, — since imitated by that overpraised barbarian, the Pacha of Egypt, — in which the Emperor and members of the imperial household largely shared, interfered with the natural course of commerce, and tended powerfully to impoverish the provinces, and to weaken the barriers which the Empire had maintained against the inroads of the barbarians.

§ 4. The remarkable career of the Emperor Julian, who ascended the throne A. D. 361, twenty-four years after the death of Constantine, deserves a brief notice, with reference to its bearings on the condition and fortunes of the Greeks. In his childhood and youth, though under the

jealous eyes of Constantius, and deprived of liberty, he was nevertheless carefully educated, both in the dogmas of the established church and in Greek and Roman literature. Athens was still the centre of Greek culture, and here, after with difficulty obtaining the Emperor's consent, Julian was permitted to retire from the Asiatic cities, and for a time to lead the life of a scholar and private man. His acquirements and elegant tastes attracted the attention of the most eminent masters, and he passed his time in a circle of young men of congenial tastes, among whom was Gregory of Nazianzus, who was afterwards known as the Christian orator and bitter enemy of the apostate Emperor, and the fiery antagonist of the Arians. In a short time he was disturbed from these peaceful pursuits, and placed in a military command, in the western and northern provinces of the Empire. He describes his feelings on quitting Athens in his letter to the Athenians: "What fountains of tears did I shed, what lamentations did I utter, stretching my hands up towards the Acropolis, when I invoked and supplicated Athena to save her servant, and not to abandon him." His brilliant successes awoke again the jealousies of the Emperor Constantius, who recalled the best portion of his troops, under pretence of needing them for the defence of the East. The troops refused to obey, and, breaking into the lodgings of their beloved commander, forced him to accept the imperial crown. Before he came into actual conflict with the armies of the East, the Emperor died, and now, without opposition, Julian mounted the throne, in A. D. 361. Up to this moment he had disguised his apostasy from the religion in which he had been educated, though it had already been suspected by his brother Gallus, by Gregory, and perhaps by others. The policy of Constantine, the cruelty of Constantius, the persecuting spirit already displaying itself between the Orthodox and Arians, backed by the arguments of the Athenian philosophers, with whom he had chiefly associated, had completely alienated him from the Christian faith. He however published an edict of toleration, professing to secure to both Christians and Pagans the rights of conscience: but he gratified his private inclinations by preferring Pagans to Christians in civil and military offices, and forbidding the Christians to teach rhetoric and grammar in the schools. He was initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis; did much towards restoring Athens, Argos, and Corinth to their ancient splendor; re-established the Isthmian games; and in many other ways manifested his passionate attachment to the land of Greece, her literature, her institutions, and her arts. But the dream of restoring to her declining gods the ancient reverence was that of an enthusiast, but an imperial enthusiast; of a pedant in paganism, though a very able and perhaps honest one. The work he wrote against the Christian dogmas, though it excited a prodigious controversy in its day, is known only by tradition, and by extracts preserved in Cyril, who replied to it,—the copies of the work being destroyed by Theodosius II. The impression his name makes in later times is due chiefly to the odious epithet of Apostate, by which he is

generally designated. In reality he was a philosopher of great moderation; a sovereign whose reign was distinguished above most of his successors for devotion to the happiness of the people. Those of his writings which are not on controversial subjects display uncommon literary care for the age, and some of them are of great historical importance. Two or three of them, his *Cæsars*, or the *Banquet*, and *The Misopogon*, or *Beard-hater*, exhibit a considerable turn for satire. But his deliberate preference of Paganism over Christianity, in consequence of the quarrels and scandalous conduct of some of the professors of the latter, and the superior urbanity and literary accomplishments of some of the adherents to the former, instead of forming his opinion upon the moral and religious ideas which lie at the respective foundations of the two, will justly and for ever deprive him of the praise of being a profound thinker.

§ 5. The Eastern and Western Empires were separated in A. D. 364, by Valentinian and Valens. In the north and east, the storm of barbarian invasion was ominously gathering against the Empire. The Goths were permitted by Valens to pass the Danube, when the fiercer Huns, advancing from the confines of China, compelled them to seek the protection of the Emperor. This movement quartered a million of warriors within the domain of Rome, between whom and the Empire a desperate war speedily broke out. But the separation of the East from the West bound up the interests of the sovereigns more intimately with the fortunes of their Greek subjects. The Greek language began to supplant the Latin at the court, and the feeling of Greek nationality penetrated even to the imperial family; and new vigor seemed about to be infused into the eastern portion of the Empire. The municipal and ecclesiastical organizations of the Greeks gained still greater influence in the general government; and the Christian religion gradually directed the attention of the educated to theological questions, almost exclusively. There still remained in the schools, however, a number of philosophical adherents to declining paganism; many of them, like Julian and Libanius, not only distinguished by their literary accomplishments, but by the general purity of their lives. The name of *Hellenes* was gradually limited to the Pagan Greeks of Europe. Christians and Hellenes became distinctive terms in Greece itself, which still retained the name of *Hellas*. At the present day this application of the term is not unknown in some parts of Greece. The influence of the lawyers on the general administration of justice began to exercise a very important control, not only over the judicial tribunals, but as a check to the injustice of proconsuls, and even to the despotism of the Emperors themselves; but it is a singular fact, and one which diminished the beneficial influence of this body among the Greeks, that though the Greek language was the language of the Eastern Church, yet the Latin was the language of legal business in the East, until the time of Justinian, that is, till after the sixth century; — a circumstance that enabled the clergy, by their more intimate connection with the people, to extend their sphere of activity beyond the range of ecclesias-

tical, to the civil affairs. All this apparent progress was arrested, or at least interrupted, by the troubles with the Goths. The Huns pressed forward, subjecting district after district, and province after province. In the first half of the fifth century, at the head of an immense troop of followers, Attila advanced upon Europe, and, almost without the show of resistance, invaded, occupied, and desolated all the regions from the Euxine to the Adriatic Sea. Greece suffered the extremities of spoliation under these swarming hordes, with all its atrocities and horrors. The Emperor was terrified into purchasing peace by the payment of an annual tribute of two thousand pounds of gold, and ceding an extensive territory of fifteen days' journey in breadth, and extending in length from Nyssæ to Belgrade. For the next seven years Attila was the terror of the East and West. His exploits were the theme of popular songs among the barbarians, and tradition added fable to the facts of history. Under the name of Etzel he reappears in the earliest legends of Germany, and is one of the leading personages in that grand old poem, the *Nibelungenlied*. "He was interred," says Sir James Emerson Tennent, "after the ancient manner of the fathers of his nation, the Huns cutting off their hair, and gashing their faces with hideous wounds, to bewail their chieftain, not with effeminate tears, but with the blood of warriors. His body, placed beneath a silken pavilion, was exhibited in the midst of the plain, whilst the horsemen of his tribe rode around it, and celebrated his exploits in funeral hymns. In the darkness of midnight the remains of Attila were inclosed in a golden, and again in a silver coffin, to mark that the Romans and the Greeks had been his tributaries; and all was enveloped in an iron chest, to indicate the untamed ferocity of his dominion. The trappings of his war-horse, and his royal insignia, were committed to the same sepulchre with himself; and the slaves who hollowed out his tomb were slain when the work was finished, in order that no mortal might disclose the last resting-place of the warrior of the Huns."

§ 6. The long reign of Justinian, from 527 to 565, — thirty-nine years, — was in some respects a brilliant one; but, to use the language of another, "it was merely a glowing episode in a tale of ruin, — a meteor in a midnight sky, which flashes brightly for an instant, and, vanishing, leaves no halo of its transient brilliancy behind." Yet he was indefatigably occupied with reforms, intended to strengthen the Empire. He embellished the capital with costly edifices, rebuilt the cathedral church of St. Sophia, repaired the walls and towers of Constantinople, the strongholds in the North of Greece, the fortifications of Athens and Peiræus, and protected the Peloponnesus by fortresses at Corinth and on the Isthmus. He paid more than a million of dollars towards rebuilding and embellishing Antioch, after it had been overthrown by an earthquake. He abolished the consulship which had been in existence more than a thousand years, and in his reign the schools of Athens and Alexandria, in which doctrines antagonistic to Christianity were still taught, were closed. He was brilliantly

successful in his wars, through his generals, and this with his contemporaries gave him still greater glory than his works of peace: but posterity acknowledge him chiefly for his agency in compiling the Institutes, Digest, and Pandects, — the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, — which has so largely influenced the administration of justice down to the present day.

§ 7. The Western Empire ended with the inglorious reign of Romulus Augustulus, in A. D. 476; but the Eastern Empire, under Roman influences, continued for a period of about one hundred and fifty years after Justinian, to the accession of Leo the Isaurian, in A. D. 717, when, in the opinion of Mr. Finlay, the proper Byzantine Period commences. In this century and a half seventeen Emperors sat upon the throne; but the most important events, so far as the Greeks were concerned, were the settlements of Slavonians, and other foreign or barbarous races, over the greater part of Greece. The diminution of the Hellenic people had gone on, partly owing to the general decay of the Empire, and partly to other and local causes, chiefly, among the latter, by the accumulation of immense landed estates in the hands of individuals. The neglect of roads led to the abandonment of the cultivation of the soil on large tracts of country, and its conversion into pasture land; and, as the revenues to be derived from a country in this condition were insignificant, the government at Constantinople became indifferent to its defence. The provinces of Greece were thus exposed to the inroads of Slavonian settlers, which commenced early in the sixth century. The progress of these settlements is obscurely intimated in the Byzantine historians; but the fact that they occupied the greater part of Macedonia, and in such numbers that Justinian II., at the end of the seventh century, was able to remove into Asia, and settle on the shores of the Bosphorus, a colony of one hundred and fifty thousand souls, shows in what numbers they came. They became almost the sole possessors of the territories once occupied by the Illyrians and Thracians. They advanced southward, occupying the waste lands; but as they penetrated into the heart of Greece, they met with more obstruction from a dense population, especially in the neighborhood of the still remaining walled towns. In the early part of the eighth century, nearly the whole of the Peloponnesus was occupied by the Slavonians, and it was then regarded by pilgrims from Western Europe as the Slavonian land; and the complete colonization of the whole country of Greece and the Peloponnesus is dated by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus from the time of the great pestilence that depopulated the East, in A. D. 746, which is a little later than the commencement of the Byzantine period. Such are the principal facts known in history with regard to this extraordinary series of events, by which an old population was almost entirely displaced, in the course of two centuries, by swarms of another race, coming into the country partly as warriors and enemies, partly as agriculturists, herdsmen, and shepherds, to occupy the lands left vacant by the greatly diminished numbers of the Greeks. These bodies seem to have been set in motion

by wars along the line of the northern provinces; and when they were once established, they lived in a rude and wild independence. They took possession of the valleys chiefly, and the interior of the provinces, and they left traces of their possession in the still remaining Slavonic names which are scattered all over the surface of Greece. The Greeks themselves still held the sea-coasts and the large towns, the old Greek names of which were for the most part still retained. From time to time, the old and the new inhabitants came into collision, and wars raged here and there. Twice, at least, the aid of the Emperor was supplicated, large armies were sent from Constantinople, and the Slavonians were partially conquered and compelled to pay tribute to the imperial government. But the singularity of this chapter in Greek history consists in the fact, that this great body of intrusive settlers gradually disappeared from the soil of Greece as mysteriously as they came. Some had, of course, mingled with the Greeks, were converted to Christianity, and in the course of time, by the blending of families, became Hellenized in language, manners, and blood, and to all intents and purposes Greeks, just as the descendants of a foreign settler in England, mingling his blood with the native race, lose the original nationality of their ancestors and become Englishmen. Professor Fallmeyer indeed, in his learned and entertaining work, written in German, — the *History of the Peninsula of the Morea*, — maintains that the Hellenic population was entirely exterminated, and that the people who call themselves Greeks at the present day are nothing but descendants of these Slavonian hordes. His book has called forth several replies; and his unfounded assumptions and numerous misrepresentations of historical facts have been ably exposed by Zinkeisen, in his excellent *History of Greece*. But in truth, it is quite unnecessary to enter largely into historical research, to show the fallacy of Fallmeyer's opinion. The Slavonians are light-haired, blonde-complexioned, and blue-eyed; the Greeks have dark hair, brown complexions, and sparkling black eyes. The Slavonians are broad-faced, stout, and somewhat clumsy; the Greeks are lithe, slender, nimble, graceful. The same features that we admire in the ancient statues, nature still reproduces everywhere in Greece. The intellectual qualities of the races are strikingly different. The Greek is lively, quick to understand, adroit, eloquent, curious, eager for novelty; the Slavonian slow, indifferent, not easily moved to take an interest in anything that does not immediately concern himself, and, what is more, the traveller in Greece falls in, here and there, with descendants of the Slavonians and other foreign settlers, — sometimes occupying an entire village by themselves. Even in Athens, there is a quarter inhabited almost exclusively by Albanians; and not ten miles from Athens there is a village where Greek is not understood. Now it is impossible for the most careless observer to mistake these people for one another, either in their looks or their speech, or in their mental characteristics.



Constantinople, or Stamboul.

CHAPTER LI.

PARTITION OF THE EMPIRE.

§ 1. Conquests of the Normans. § 2. Crusades. Frankish Domination in Greece. § 3. Dukes of Athens. § 4. Origin and Progress of the Turks. § 5. Mohammed II. Preparations for the Capture of Constantinople. § 6. Capture of Constantinople. § 7. Conquest of the Morea. § 8. Conquest of Trebizond. § 9. Byzantine Writers, their General Characteristics. § 10. Zosimus, Procopius, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Nicephorus Bryennius, Anna Comnena, Laonicos Chalcocondyles.

§ 1. FROM the period of which we have been speaking, the condition of Greece remained without undergoing any important change, until the conquests of the Normans in the eleventh century. In 1081 Robert Guiscard passed over from Brindisi to Corfu with a powerful fleet. The inhabitants of the island making no resistance, he then landed in Epeirus; but in consequence of the death of the chieftain the expedition had no permanent consequence on the condition of the country. Another invasion of Greece was made by Bohemund, called the Duke of Antioch: it was repelled by the Emperor Alexis, and Bohemund forced to acknowledge himself liegeman of the Byzantine Emperor. A third invasion was conducted by Roger, the powerful and wealthy king of Sicily. He appeared off Corfu in 1146 with a fleet of seventy sail, and, having easily mastered the island, proceeded to the mainland, marched through Epeirus and Attica, and plun-

dered Thebes, Athens, and Corinth. Thebes was then a rich manufacturing town, especially remarkable for the silk trade. The city was completely plundered, — gold, silver, jewels, bales of silk, carried off to the fleet, and the most skilful of the silk-workers borne off as slaves to Sicily, there to exercise their industry for the benefit of their new masters. Corinth was sacked with equal cruelty. These spoliations were a fatal blow to the prosperity of Greece, which had been silently advancing for the last two centuries; but little occurred to disturb the country during the century that followed, until the Crusades broke out and precipitated the chivalry of Europe upon the coasts of Asia. The Califs interfered but little with the Christian pilgrims visiting the sacred places in the Holy Land, but when the Seljouk Turks, having secured the dominion over the Saracens, became masters of Jerusalem, the pilgrims were exposed to unheard-of cruelties, which exasperated the Christian world.

§ 2. The religious enthusiasm of Western Europe, harmonizing with the spirit of chivalry, created a storm of unparalleled violence, and swept the combined hosts of the Christian powers from Europe to the East, resolved to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the polluting hands of the Infidel. Here commenced the question about the Holy Places, which originally armed the great nations of Christendom against the followers of Mahomet; and which now, blending with political interests of the same great nations, has armed them in defence of the Turk against the encroachments of the Czar. The first three Crusades, though very important in their effects upon the Byzantine Empire, did not directly act upon the condition of Greece; but the fourth Crusade, which took place in A. D. 1203, had the most important consequences. The arrival of the armies of the West was, in the highest degree, unwelcome to the Emperors of the East: but they could not well save themselves from the necessity of extending a reluctant hospitality to the intruders. The Greek assumed to be far in advance of the rest of the world in refinement, and felt contempt for the rudeness and barbarism of the Latin; and the Latin looked upon the Greek as of a degraded caste, and a heretic. In June, A. D. 1203, the Venetian fleet, with the army of Crusaders on board, appeared at Constantinople, having engaged to restore the son of the dethroned Emperor to his hereditary rights. They were commanded by Henry Dandolo, the blind old warrior of Venice, who had private wrongs to avenge, no less than public engagements to execute. After two days of desperate fighting, the city was taken, and Alexius IV. crowned Emperor. A second destructive conflagration soon after laid a great part of the city in ashes. This was caused by a wilful act of incendiarism, committed in a drunken frolic by some Flemish soldiers, and Constantinople never entirely recovered from this calamity. The fury of the people was excited beyond all bounds, and fifteen thousand of the Latins, who resided within the walls of the city, were forced to quit the capital and seek safety in Galata, beyond the Golden Horn. The

Venetians and Crusaders again laid siege to Constantinople, on the 12th of April, 1204; and another quarter of the city perished by a third conflagration. "These three fires," it is said, "which the Franks had lighted in Constantinople, destroyed more houses than were contained in the three largest cities in France." Thus the capital of the Byzantine Empire fell into the hands of Latin princes, and the Empire itself, under the name of Romania, reorganized, under a series of Western Emperors, continued until A. D. 1261,—or fifty-seven years. Greece, too, was completely remodelled. The Crusaders entered Greece, and divided its provinces. Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, became sovereign of Salonica: Epeirus still continued, under the title, at first, of a despotat, to be governed by a Byzantine family. Afterwards it was changed into an empire, and then changed back again to a despotat: and it lasted until A. D. 1469. Achaia and the Morea became a principality under William de Champlitte and his successor, Geoffrey Villehardouin, and continued to A. D. 1387.* The Dukedom of the Archipelago, or Naxos, lasted from A. D. 1207 to A. D. 1566;—a greater prolongation of the Frankish power than occurred elsewhere in the East.

§ 3. But by far the most interesting of these Frank establishments in Greece was the Dukedom of Athens, which began in A. D. 1205, with the reign of Otho de la Roche, and continued under his family until A. D. 1308,—five dukes. The house of Brienne succeeded at this time, in the person of Walter de Brienne, who, being threatened by his enemies, called in the assistance of the Grand Catalan Company,—a troop of marauders whose adventures in the East fill a very remarkable episode in this chapter of history. But when he attempted to dismiss them they defied him, and, marching into the plains of Bœotia, took up a position on the banks of the Cephissus, near the ancient Orchomenos. The Duke of Athens, with a numerous cavalry, pursued them. The Catalan leaders had conducted the waters of the Cephissus into the fields covered with corn, just in front of their own lines, making the ground soft and muddy, while the verdure concealed every appearance of irrigation. The Duke dashed in with his cavalry; but, getting inextricably involved in the yielding earth, the whole band of cavalry, with the exception of two, were slain. The Catalans pushed their conquests vigorously, capturing both Thebes and Athens.

* The History of the Conquest of Morea is contained in a curious metrical chronicle, written in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It was published in its complete form by Buchon, with other documents relating to the same period, in 1845. It consists of 7,892 verses, with a Prologue of 1,302, in the metre technically called *versus politicus*,—accented but not rhymed. It is valuable in an historical point of view, and very curious as an illustration of the state of the language. It is called *Βιβλίον τῆς Κονγκίστας τοῦ Μωραίας*,—The Book of the Conquest of the Morea. The Prologue begins:—

"I will a tale to thee rehearse, a tale of import mighty;
And if attention you do lend, I hope the tale will please you.
'T is how the Frank by arms did gain the realm of fair Morea."

At Thebes they burned the magnificent palace of St. Omar, whose splendor had been the theme of minstrels in that age. At Athens they laid waste the olive groves of the Academy and Colonos. They divided the fiefs of the nobles who had fallen, and the officers took in marriage the surviving widows and heiresses: and in the language of Muntaner, the quaint old Spanish chronicler, who was an eyewitness of what he describes, "many stout Catalan warriors received as wives noble ladies, for whom, the day before their victory, they would have counted it an honor to be allowed to hold their washing basin."

These events were followed by the establishment of a duke from the Sicilian branch of the house of Aragon, on a request conveyed by a deputation of the Catalans to Frederick II. From that time the duchy of Athens and Neopatras became an appanage to the house of Aragon. It remained in this line until A. D. 1386, about sixty years. From this line of princes the power passed to the Florentine house of Acciaiuoli, who had risen by commercial success to great influence, both in Italy and in the East. Six dukes of this family ruled over Athens, from A. D. 1386 to A. D. 1456, when Attica, with the rest of Greece, fell under the yoke of the Turks, and the transient reflex of ancient prosperity she had enjoyed under these Western rulers sank in the long night of slavery. During the period of the Dukes of Athens, Muntaner declares, the Frank chivalry of Greece was second to none in Europe; the Duke of Athens was one of the greatest princes of the Empire of Romania, and among the noblest of those sovereigns who did not bear the kingly title. Athens was the resort of the gayest knights in those ages; and chivalrous games and ceremonies were often rehearsed among the classic ruins which still abounded in that city. The service of the Roman Church was performed in the Parthenon, then consecrated to the Blessed Virgin; and on one occasion, the pages of the delightful old chronicler attest, a visitor to the ducal palace received the honor of knighthood in the temple of Athena. Among the classic sculptures still found, though in mutilated beauty, on the Acropolis, there are some rude fragments executed in the time of the Franks. But these Latin princes never identified themselves with the native population. They preserved their language, as they did their manners, unchanged; and Muntaner says, "The French was spoken as well at Athens as at Paris." The feudal system they introduced was not in harmony with the spirit of the people. They lived a ruling caste among a subject race; and the vices of the system made them an easy prey to the fiery zeal and hardihood of a fresh nation of conquerors. They, too, like the invaders who preceded them, entirely disappeared from the face of Hellas, with their language, their manners, their jousts and tournaments, their stately revels, and their devotion to the fair. They left a few ruined castles, here and there, on the hill-tops of Greece, contrasting strangely with the classic ruins of Hellenic times. The

stately palace of St. Omar, at Thebes, where Muntaner visited his master, Don Fernando of Majorca, who was then a prisoner in its grand old halls, is all gone except a ruined tower, which hostile forces and the convulsions of nature have been alike unable to shatter. Here and there, in the decaying monasteries of Greece, a few musty records of their existence may be explored by the curious traveller. The Dukes of Athens, who held their knightly revels in their palace by the Propylæa, or presided over tournaments in the plain of Athens, are now to be traced only in an arched subterranean chamber, an old tower, and two stone coffins in the crumbling monastery of Daphne, which occupies the site of an ancient temple of Apollo, thrown carelessly into a dark room filled with rubbish, and only known by the nearly obliterated fleur-de-lis carved on the side.*

§ 4. The Turks are first mentioned in history in the sixth century. They are a Tatar race, from the great Steppes of Northern Asia, at the foot of the Altai Mountains. In the eighth century they blended with the Saracens in Persia, and reigned over Palestine, Syria, and Egypt in the tenth. In the eleventh century, another tribe, called the Seljouk Turks, subdued the greater part of Western Asia, and established the powerful empire with which the Crusaders waged war for the possession of the Holy Sepulchre. The Ottoman Empire, built upon the ruins of the transient powers established by their predecessors, and now representing the Saracens, Arabs, and Turks, was founded in the thirteenth century, by Osman, who extended the bounds of his territories to the shores of the Black Sea. This was a century and a half before the capture of Constantinople. In A. D. 1360, Adrianople was taken by Amurath I., and became for a time the seat of the Turkish Empire in Europe. The successors of this prince were involved in wars with the Venetians, Hungarians, and Poles, in which at times the destinies of European civilization hung trembling in the balance.

§ 5. Mohammed II. was born at Adrianople in A. D. 1430, and succeeded Amurath II. in 1451. He was a man of uncommon ability and acquirements for his race and his age. He understood five languages. The Greek

* The fame of the brilliant court of Athens resounded through the West of Europe, and many a chapter in old romance is filled with gorgeous pictures of its splendors. One of the heroines of Boccaccio's Decameron, in the course of her adventurous life, is found at Athens inspiring the Duke by her charms. Dante was a contemporary of Guy II. and Walter de Brienne; and in his Divine Comedy applies to Theseus, king of ancient Athens, the title so familiar to him, borne by the princely rulers in his own day. Theseus is, like Otho or Walter, *il Duca d'Athene*, — the Duke of Athens. Chaucer too — the bright herald of English poetry — had often heard of the Dukes of Athens, and he, like Dante, gives that title to Theseus. And finally, in the age of Elizabeth, when Italian poetry was much studied by scholars and courtiers, Shakespeare, in the delightful scenes of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, introduces the illustrious Theseus, the conqueror and the lover of Hippolyta, the warrior Queen of the Amazons, as the Duke of Athens.

historian, Phrantzes, who had seen him at the court of Amurath, describes him as energetic and able, and fond of the society of learned men, himself not ignorant of science, and addicted to astrology; but he was cruel to the last degree, pitiless, and licentious. No consideration, human or divine, stood between him and the gratification of his desires. But his acts and his conquests come within the scope of our subject no further than they affected the fortunes of the Greeks, and on this topic a few words only must suffice. The conquest of Constantinople was the first object on which his thoughts were fixed, at the opening of his reign; the resolution with which he had formed this purpose expressed itself in the stern reply to the ambassadors of the Emperor, offering him tribute if he would renounce the project of building a fort on the European shore of the Bosphorus, which, at the distance of only five miles from the capital, would give him the command of the Black Sea. He ordered the envoys to retire, and threatened to flay alive any who should dare to bring him a similar message again. The fort was finished in three months, and garrisoned with four hundred Janizaries; a tribute was exacted of all vessels that passed; and war was formally declared by the Sultan. Constantine made the best preparations in his power for defence; but he could only muster six hundred Greek troops. Disheartened by the feebleness and want of spirit manifested by his own subjects, the Emperor made overtures to the Pope for a reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches, in the hope of drawing to his standard a portion of the warlike troops and officers then so numerous in Italy. A cardinal was accordingly despatched to Constantinople, and on the 12th of December, A. D. 1452, the Emperor Constantine celebrated his union with the Catholic Church in the cathedral of St. Sophia. A few troops came from Italy, and Justiniani, an Italian officer, arrived from Genoa, with two galleys and three hundred chosen men: he was appointed general of the guard. But with all the reinforcements thus received, the number was insignificant, compared with the extent of the walls to be defended, and the overpowering host the Sultan was concentrating around the devoted city. The hatred of the Greeks for the Latin Christians was an insurmountable obstacle to thorough co-operation. Dissensions broke out between the Grand Duke Notaras and the Italian commander. "I beseech you, my brethren," said the Emperor, "be at peace; the war from abroad is enough; for God's mercy, do not fight with one another." Instead of rallying round their Emperor unanimously, the bigots spent their time in denouncing his apostasy, and insulting him as he passed through the streets.* The means of defence — the machines, artillery, and powder (for artillery and gunpowder had already begun to be

* Gennadios, who was afterwards Patriarch under the Sultan, carried this insane spirit of intolerance so far, that he declared he would rather see the turban of the Turk ruling in the heart of the city, than the mitre of the Latin. (Ducas, *Hist. Byzant.*, c. 37, p. 264.)

used) — were scantily provided. The land wall, for five miles exposed at every point to attack, had to be manned. The wall towards the port and the Propontis was some nine miles, and the whole garrison amounted to only nine thousand men. The fleet consisted of twenty-three vessels, of all kinds. The entry of the port was closed by a strong chain, the end of which was secured in a fort of which the Greeks held possession, in Galata. The first division of the Ottoman army left Adrianople in February, 1453. In April the Sultan established his lines, from the head of the port to the shore of the Propontis, and erected his batteries, fourteen in all, against the principal gates, — especially against Chasias and St. Romanos, — the latter of which is now called Top Kapou, Cannon Gate, in commemoration of the siege. A Dacian artilleryman had cast a monster cannon expressly for this assault, two and a half feet in diameter at the mouth, for the purpose of firing granite balls. This tremendous piece was mounted opposite the St. Romanos Gate, where the chief assault was to be made. The army is said to have amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand men, of all arms, and the fleet to four hundred and twenty vessels, of all sizes. These numbers are probably an exaggeration; but the overwhelming superiority of the Turkish forces, and the fiery energy of the youthful Sultan, left no hope of a successful resistance. Yet some disasters checked the ardor of the besiegers. Four corn-ships, bound for Constantinople, destroyed the Turkish galleys that intercepted them, and passed triumphantly into the harbor, over the chain, which was lowered for their passage. The great gun burst, without doing any damage, except killing its inventor and many Turks; and a wooden tower they had brought up against the wall was burnt down in a night sortie by Justiniani. But these incidents only stimulated the activity of the Sultan. He resolved to bring his fleet, which still lay in the upper part of the Bosphorus, into direct communication with his armies; but the harbor was closed, and well defended. He accordingly conceived and executed, with incredible energy, the plan of transporting his galleys by land over the height of Pera, and launching them in the Golden Horn under protection of his own batteries. A road was formed, laid with planks and rails, and covered with tallow, up which the vessels were dragged, by the aid of windlasses and numerous yokes of oxen, one after the other, and let down the opposite slope, just above the present arsenal. The removal of a division of the Ottoman fleet thus took place in a single night, and at daylight the Greeks looked out with amazement upon seventy hostile ships, riding at anchor under the batteries. Having accomplished this signal achievement, the Sultan next threw a bridge across the harbor, defended by artillery, to establish an easy communication between the besieging force and the naval camp up the Bosphorus. Mohammed now summoned the Emperor to surrender, offering him an appanage as a vassal of the Porte; but Constantine, who had calmly resolved not to survive the fall of the city, indignantly rejected

the insulting offer. On the night before the assault, the Emperor rode round to all the posts, encouraging the troops by his cheerful demeanor; then, resorting to the church of St. Sophia, he partook, with his companions, of the holy sacrament, according to the Latin forms. He returned to the imperial palace, and, asking pardon of all the members of his household for every offence he might ever have given them, withdrew, amidst their sighs and prayers and tears, mounted his horse, and rode away, with the solemn certainty that he should never meet them again in this world.

§ 6. Before the dawn of day, May 29, A. D. 1453, preparations were made for the assault, the troops rapidly taking their positions before the portions of the wall they were to attack, and the galleys, with towers and scaling platforms, moving up against the fortifications of the fort, protected by the artillery on the bridge. The principal attack was directed to the gate of St. Romanos, where a passage had already been effected into the city. For more than two hours the defence was maintained at every point, and in the harbor victory seemed for a time to incline to the besieged; but at length, the small number of the defenders being diminished by death, exhausted by fatigue, unrelieved by rest, their commander wounded, and the Emperor left almost unsupported, a chosen band, led on by a gigantic warrior, Hassan of Ulubad, gained the summit of the dilapidated tower which flanked the passage. Theophilus Palæologos, when he saw the Emperor fighting, and the city on the point of falling, cried out, with a loud voice, and with tears, "Θέλω θανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν," — "I wish to die rather than to live," — and rushing into the midst of the enemy, and hewing many down with his sword, was at length overpowered and slain. The Emperor, left almost alone, was slain by the Turks, who, in the dim twilight of the morning, failed to recognize him. Hassan, and many of his followers, fell; but fresh columns coming up, a corps of Janizaries rushed into Constantinople over the lifeless body of the unrecognized Emperor. Other columns entered at other points, and the despairing people — senators, priests, monks, nuns, husbands, wives, and children — sought safety in the church of St. Sophia. A prophecy had been circulated, that here the Turks would be arrested by an angel from heaven, with a drawn sword; and here the miserable multitude crowded, in the expectation of supernatural help. The conquerors followed, sword in hand, slaughtering those they encountered in the streets. They broke down the doors of the church with axes, and, rushing in, committed every act of atrocity that a frantic thirst for blood and the inflamed passions of demons could suggest. "Who," says Ducas, "shall describe the calamity? The lamentations of children, the tears and cries of mothers and fathers, who shall describe? Men dragged away by the hair of the head; the servant bound with her mistress, the master with his slave; maidens, whom the sun had never looked upon, dragged away, and beaten if they resisted." The unhappy victims were divided as slaves among the soldiers, without regard to blood

or rank, and hurried off to the camp; and the mighty cathedral, so long the glory of the Christian world, soon presented only traces of the most frightful orgies. The other quarters of the city were plundered by other divisions of the army, and similar scenes enacted. "Those who yielded at once," says Phrantzes, an eyewitness, "were made slaves; those that resisted, slain. In some places the earth was hidden by the dead. A strange spectacle was there; — loud laments, and measureless violence in seizing noble ladies; maidens, and nuns consecrated to God, pitilessly dragged by the hair from the churches by the Turks; the cries of children, — who shall describe the horrors that were seen and heard?" The rich warehouses along the port were speedily pillaged of their accumulated merchandise. About noon the Sultan made his triumphal entry by the gate of St. Romanos, passing by the body of the Emperor, which lay concealed among the slain. Entering the church, he ordered a moolah to ascend the bema, and announce to the Moslems that St. Sophia was now a mosque consecrated to the prayers of the true believers. He directed the body of the Emperor to be sought, his head to be exposed to the people, and afterwards to be sent as a trophy, to be seen by the Greeks, in the principal cities of the Ottoman Empire. For three days the city was given up to the indescribable horrors of pillage and the license of the Mussulman soldiery. Forty thousand perished during the sack of the city, and fifty thousand were reduced to slaves. Youth, strength, beauty, and rank only insured their possessors the sad lot of servitude, adding often the harsher doom of an enforced conversion to the Moslem faith. Many families were utterly destroyed. The Grand Duke Notaras, one of the most distinguished persons in the Empire, refused to comply with the demand of the Sultan, that his youngest son should be sent to become a page in the palace, well knowing the fate which would await him there. The Sultan ordered him and all his sons to instant execution. The scene of the execution, as described by Ducas and Phrantzes, is most pathetic, — the father encouraging his sons by Christian exhortations to meet death bravely, and then, retiring to a chapel for a moment's prayer, calmly submitting to the headsman, with the bodies of his murdered children lying before him. Of other families, the men were put to death, the male children placed in the schools of the Janizaries, and the females shut up in the harems of the Sultan and his courtiers. Even Mohammed, when he arrived at the imperial palace, was struck by the melancholy aspect of the place, and so awful an illustration of the mutability of human affairs. Even he — stained with blood — recalled a couplet of the Persian poet Firdusi: —

"The spider's curtain hangs before the portal of Cæsar's palace,
The owl fills with his nocturnal wail the watch-tower of Afrasiab."

§ 7. The princes of the Morea, learning the capture of Constantinople, sent their submission to the Sultan, which was received, on condition

of a yearly tribute of twelve thousand gold ducats. But disturbances and revolts called for the presence of the Sultan, and by a vigorous campaign, in A. D. 1458, he reduced the rebels to submission. Again, in A. D. 1460, he passed the Isthmus of Corinth, to suppress new tumults; and by a series of the most atrocious massacres, not only of men taken with arms in their hands, but of unarmed men, women, and children, — more than six thousand having been put to death, and ten thousand transported to Constantinople, — finally overthrew the power of the Byzantine rulers; and after a few more desperate struggles by the local organizations, where similar scenes of slaughter were enacted, the subjection of Morea, with the exception of a few places held by the Venetians, was completed, — its resources exhausted, — its spirit broken, — so that the annual payment of children the Christians were compelled to send to Constantinople failed to awaken either patriotism or despair among the Greeks. And now nearly the whole of Greece, from north to south, was subjected to the sceptre of the Moslems, almost without further resistance.

§ 8. A singular chapter, or appendix, of Byzantine life and history, is presented by the empire of Trebizond. Along the shores of the Black Sea many cities were early settled by colonists from Greece. From the mouth of the Halys to the Caucasus extends a magnificent country, of rich plains, wooded hills, forests, and rapid, fertilizing streams. On a table-shaped rock, on the southeast shore of the Euxine, the Greeks established a citadel, which from its form they called *Trapezous*, — now changed into Trebizond, — as early as the eighth century before Christ. In the Roman times it became an important centre of commercial relations between Persia and Europe, enjoying the privileges of a free city. It shared the fortunes of the Byzantine Empire, and in the Iconoclastic period became the capital of the Theme of Chaldia, and the centre of the diplomatic relations between the imperial government and the princes of Armenia; and when the wars between the Saracens and Christians broke out, the Duke of Chaldia, who was charged with the business relating to them, made Trebizond his principal residence. From time to time, the rulers of this theme attempted to make themselves independent of the imperial government. But it was not until the Crusaders captured Constantinople, and divided the greater part of the provinces of the Empire among their princes, that Trebizond became a separate government, under the rule of a descendant of the Comneni. This family, who gave a dynasty to Byzantium, first appeared prominently towards the end of the tenth century, and from that time, for four hundred years, took a conspicuous, though not always an honorable, part in the affairs of the world. Alexius Comnenos, a young prince, nephew of the Emperor Isaac Comnenos, escaped to Colchis, during the siege of Constantinople, with his brother David; and there succeeded in raising an army, with which he entered Trebizond just at the moment of the fall of the capital. Assuming the title of *Megas*

Comnenos, or Grand Comnenos, to distinguish himself from the numerous descendants of other branches of the family, he was readily acknowledged Emperor, and at the age of twenty-two was crowned at Trebizond.* His career of conquest at first was rapid and brilliant. At length, the young Emperor, coming into collision with the Seljouk Turks, who were spreading desolation along their path, was obliged to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Seljouk empire, and to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan Azeddin. From 1222 to 1280 Trebizond continued tributary to the Seljouk Sultans, but on the accession of John II. her independence was completely restored. The history of Trebizond, from this time forward, under twelve Emperors, and three Empresses, is crowded with the details of external and civil wars, which have no important bearing upon the general condition of the world. The Orthodox Eastern Church was here supported, under the protection of St. Eugenios, who was so great a favorite, that one son out of every family bore his name. A document relating to a lawsuit was found by Fallmerayer, in which three of the litigating parties were named Eugenios. In the conquering career of the Turks, its doom was postponed until Constantinople had fallen, and the Morea had yielded to the arms of Mohammed II. In 1461, the Sultan advanced with his fleets and armies, resolved on the subjugation of Trebizond. He met with little opposition from David, the last Emperor of the Comnenian line, who made terms with the invader, surrendered the city, and withdrew with his family and his treasures to his European appanage. The wealthy inhabitants were compelled to emigrate to Constantinople, and their estates and palaces conferred on Ottoman officers; the remainder of the population of both sexes were set apart as slaves of the Sultan and the army. The sons of the noblest families, remarkable for personal beauty, were placed as pages in the imperial seraglio, and others were enrolled in the corps of Janizaries, or distributed among the soldiers as slaves. Ancient churches and monasteries, with curious paintings in the Byzantine style, — pictures of saints and portraits of emperors, — still attest its former arts and piety; but they are fast disappearing, by decay and neglect, and, unless the lovers of art soon take measures for their protection, will utterly disappear, as Christian art has long since perished at Constantinople. At the present day, not a single descendant of an ancient

* This chapter of history has not been fully known until the last few years. Documents have come to light, since Gibbon's time, which have cleared up a subject he had not the means of illustrating; in particular, a manuscript work, by Michael Panaretos, a monk of Trebizond, who held an office about the person of the last Emperor, and which contains a list, nearly complete, of the Grand Comnenoi, with some of the principal events of their reigns. This very curious document was found by Professor Fallmerayer among the books of Cardinal Bessarion preserved at Venice, and was published, in 1832, by Professor Tafel of Frankfort. It is also very curious as an illustration of the state of the language. It is the basis of the History of Trebizond by Fallmerayer, and of the very elegant chapters on the same subject in Mr. Finlay's *Mediæval Greece*.

Trapezuntian family is known to survive. The dethroned Emperor was permitted to live in peace a few years; but about A. D. 1470 he fell under the jealous suspicions of the Sultan, was arrested, with all his family, and carried to Constantinople. He was ordered to embrace the faith of Islam, under pain of death; but he rejected the condition with firmness. The Emperor, his seven sons, and his nephew Alexius, were put to death, and their lifeless bodies cast out, unburied, beyond the walls. They would have been consumed by the dogs, "accustomed," says an eloquent writer, "during the reign of Mohammed II., to feed on Christian flesh," but for the pious care of the Empress Helen, who, clad in humble garb, repaired to the spot where they lay, watched over their bodies during the day, and in the darkness of night, assisted by a few compassionate friends, silently committed them to the earth. Her daughter was torn from her arms, and worse than buried in a Turkish harem. Widowed, childless, or more unhappy still, the fallen Empress, having suffered the saddest changes of public fortune and the most harrowing and heart-breaking of private calamities, — like some doomed heroine of the tragic families of antiquity, — passed the short remainder of her life in mourning and prayer, and then found a welcome refuge in the grave.

§ 9. The series of Byzantine historians extends from the fourth nearly to the sixteenth century, if we include the few who wrote after the capture of Constantinople. These writers contain the immense mass of materials of which Gibbon made so admirable use in his unequalled *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The most convenient edition is the octavo reprint, projected and in part superintended by Niebuhr. These writers are quite apart from the usual range of classical studies, and are generally neglected. But some of these works are written by men of literary accomplishments, honorable characters, and large experience in affairs. None of them equal the Attic historians in the high qualities of natural and lucid style. But some are clear, accurate, instructive, and interesting. Others, in striving to acquire a factitious elegance, become pompous and inflated. Some aim at the antique manner, and become affected; others, writing in the language of their times, fall into the corrupt forms of the vulgar Byzantine Greek; and others, finally, are marked by all the peculiarities of idiom and construction which belong to the spoken Greek of the present day. In passages of the best, there is often vivid description and stirring eloquence; in the worst, uniform tediousness.

§ 10. Zosimus wrote on the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, in a style clear and concise; but being a Pagan, he is described by Photinus as one "impious in religion, and howling against the pious." Procopius lived in the sixth century, and is conspicuous for having been the secretary of Belisarius, whom he accompanied in his wars. In literary ability he was, perhaps, the best of all the Byzantine historians, and his style is a

nearer approach than any of them to the classic models. He wrote the history of the wars with the Persians, Vandals, and Goths, besides other works, particularly a scandalous chronicle of the court. Agathias, a lawyer and scholar of the same century, besides love poems, which are lost, wrote a continuation of the history of Procopius, in a somewhat bombastic style. In the next two centuries there is but little of any interest. It was an evil time for literature. In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries there was more literary activity, if not a revival of letters. In the tenth century reigned the learned and excellent Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who, besides being a connoisseur in art, wrote many important works on history and administration, and labored assiduously to encourage literature, and to improve the education of the times. The greatest name, in the eleventh century, is that of Michael Psellos, who was the prodigy of his age. The Emperor gave him the title of Prince of Philosophers. His works were on the most extraordinary variety of subjects, theological, philosophical, mathematical, legal, and one on the operation of Demons. Many of them still remain unpublished. The style is said to be perspicuous and elegant, and worthy of a better age. To the twelfth century belong Anna Comnena, and her husband, Nicephorus Bryennius. This illustrious family presents a pleasing picture of happiness and literary accomplishments. Bryennius was a Greek nobleman, of a family distinguished for its antiquity and the many high places which had been held by members of it. He became the confidential friend and adviser of the Emperor Alexis Comnenos immediately upon his accession to the throne. As a mark of his respect the Emperor created a new title, *Panhypsebastos*, *All-superlatively-august*, and, what was still more to the purpose, bestowed on him the hand of his beautiful daughter, Anna Comnena, who was equally remarkable for the graces of her person and her intellectual accomplishments. Bryennius took a leading part in the wars of the age, and was one of the most skilful diplomatists at the imperial court. His various talents and his affable manners made him so great a favorite, that his ambitious wife endeavored, but without success, to persuade her father to name him his successor; and the only serious fault chargeable upon his life is, that he listened to her suggestion, and endeavored to deprive his young brother-in-law of the crown, on the death of Alexis. Failing in this, his estates were confiscated, and he, with his wife, was banished to Cœnoe, on the Black Sea, where they lived in retirement several years. He was, however, restored to favor, and died, soon after 1137, at Constantinople. The peculiar interest of the period in which he lived arises from the circumstance that the Crusaders at this time brought the Western and Eastern powers into contact and collision; and it was by his prudent counsels that the Emperor was chiefly guided in the first differences between himself and the crusading princes. Bryennius wrote a history, in four books, of

the events of which he had been a contemporary and in great part an eye-witness. He left it incomplete, covering a period of a little more than twenty years, from about A. D. 1057 to 1078, — intending to bring it down to the reign of Alexis, but being interrupted by death. "This mighty task," says he to his mother-in-law, the Empress, "O thou, my wisest intellect and inspiration, thou hast laid upon me; thou hast commanded me to write the deeds of Alexis the Great, who having fallen on troublous times, and assuming the power when the affairs of the Empire were fallen to the earth, raised them up and reinstated them in their greatest glory. . . . I dare not assume to write this history, nor to compose a eulogy on him; for this, scarcely would the power of Thucydides and the eloquence of Demosthenes suffice. I presume only to furnish the means to those who desire to celebrate his deeds; and therefore let this work be called the materials of history." Notwithstanding the modest estimate he ventures to entertain of his own ability, his work is written in a very manly style, and shows the experience of a man versed in affairs, and the calm and cool judgment of the philosophic statesman.

Anna Comnena was considerably younger than her husband, being born in 1083. She was celebrated as the handsomest woman in the highest society of Constantinople; and her accomplishments in literature were equally the admiration of the scholars, philosophers, and poets by whom she was surrounded. The domestic happiness she enjoyed is certainly a remarkable and bright spot in the general degeneracy of the age. Her married life lasted more than forty years, and the only interruption to its felicity was its close by the death of her husband. Her palace was the resort of the literary men and of the most brilliant society in the twelfth century, — the centre of the arts and sciences of Constantinople for many years. She survived her husband, and worthily employed the remainder of her days in finishing the task he left incomplete at his death. It is the life of her father Alexis, — under the name of the *Alexiad*; and though abounding in rhetorical faults, it is one of deep interest. She writes with the partiality of a daughter for her father, and with a good deal of ambitious vanity, — presenting in this respect a strong contrast to the simple and honest style of her husband, for whom she cherished the most unbounded affection as long as she lived. She describes him "as a man surpassing in personal beauty, fineness of understanding, and eloquence of speech, all that lived in his time; he was a wonder to look at and listen to, and in all respects a most distinguished person." She then recounts the circumstances under which he began his history, and its interruption by his death, — "a misfortune to the subject," she adds, "and the loss of much pleasure to the readers." "What harmony and what grace were in his words, those know best who were most familiar with his writings." She attributes his death to his unceasing labors, and his exposure during the long campaigns he served in. As she

writes these things, her soul, she says, is weary with sorrow, and her eyes fill with tears, recalling to memory the graces of his person, and the gifts of his mind, worthy of a higher than royal dignity. Her affliction would move the hardest heart to sympathy. But she wipes her tears, and commences her task.

The work is certainly a remarkable illustration of the literary culture of the twelfth century, and proves that the women of the highest classes were carefully trained in literary discipline. The narrative is generally clear, though at times ambitious and turgid; and the period embraced by the work is of the highest interest, — especially the latter part, the period of the Crusades. It has something of the spirit of hero-worship and self-worship; and when she enlarges on her own accomplishments, one is tempted to smile. But, remembering that she was an emperor's daughter, and surrounded through a long life by the adulations of a luxurious court, — that she was beautiful beyond her contemporaries, and that amidst the dangerous influences of the times she kept the purity of her character untainted, exhibited a lofty example of domestic virtue, and cherished with undiminished ardor the common affections of daily life, which grace the highest station, while they lend a sanctity to the lowliest, — we may admit that her vanity is pardonable and her pedantry not without excuse.*

We will mention only one more of these writers, Laonikos Chalcocondylas, who belongs to the fifteenth century. Very few incidents of his life have been preserved, except that he was a native of Athens, and employed by the Emperor John Palæologus VII. as ambassador to Amurath or Murad II. in 1446, that he probably lived till towards the end of the century, and consequently witnessed the downfall of Constantinople, the conquest of Greece, and perhaps the overthrow of Trebizond, by the Turks. He seems to have remained in Constantinople, or returned after the Sultan had introduced some degree of order in the affairs of the capital,

* A few sentences will show the style into which she rose, when she aimed at being particularly fine. It is fair to say that the whole book is by no means in this vein.

"Time, rolling on, irresistibly and for ever, whirls and sweeps away all existing things, and sinks them in the depths of oblivion, — where lie both those of little worth and those which are great and worthy of remembrance, — or, as the tragedy hath it, brings to light the hidden things, and hides those that are conspicuous. But the word of history is the strongest dike against the stream of time, and checks its mighty current, binding up and holding together what is therein, that it may not glide down into the depths of Lethe. Knowing this, — I, Anna, daughter of the imperial Alexis and Eirene, child and nursing of the purple, — not unskilled in letters, but accomplished in the Greek to the highest perfection, — not unpractised in rhetoric, but having carefully read the treatises of Aristotle and the Dialogues of Plato, — and having strengthened my intellect by the quaternion of the sciences, — (for it is my duty, and not a matter of self-gratification, to set forth those qualifications which either nature or the study of the sciences has given me, or God has bestowed on me from above, or occasion has contributed,) — I, Anna, desire, in this my composition, to narrate the deeds of my father, undeserving to be betrayed to forgetfulness, or swept away by the stream of time into the ocean of oblivion."

and formed one of the small circle of literary men who still kept up the spirit of ancient scholarship. He wrote a work, in ten books, on the history of the Turks, from their origin down to the conquests of Mohammed II., and the best judges have pronounced it eminently worthy of credit. He was a wise and sound judge of affairs; a scholar of great and various learning; and his work is one of the best sources for the history of the decline of the Greek Empire. His style is not perfectly simple, but affects too much the classical phraseology of antiquity. We feel the labor of the writer a little too much; but it is perspicuous, and in many places exceedingly interesting and animated. He introduces here and there curious episodes upon the condition and character of the Western nations, sometimes correct, and always worthy of attention, as coming from an Athenian writer of the fifteenth century. Germany, France, and England are described with some detail.*

In an historical point of view, the most striking part of this very interesting work is the minute, graphic, and vivid description, in the eighth book, of the capture and sack of Constantinople. It is more affecting than the stately picture Gibbon has given of that great event; because it is written with the sense of the reality which so tremendous a tragedy must have left in the mind of a contemporary, and that profound sympathy with its horrors and sufferings, which a countryman, a patriot, and a victim cannot but feel, whenever he calls up the image of so dire a catastrophe; and when he says, at the conclusion, "Such were the events that befell the Greeks of Byzantium, — and this disaster appears to me to surpass in woe all that have ever happened in the world," — he carries the reader along with him, and we close the book with the feeling of pity and terror which the tragic downfall of a nation ought always to inspire.

* After describing the geographical position and political arrangements of the British Isles, he says: "The king could not easily take away his principality from any of the great lords, nor would they submit to him, contrary to their own usages. The kingdom has suffered many calamities from civil wars, &c. The island does not produce wine, nor many fruits; but it bears corn and barley and honey. They have the most beautiful wool in the world, so that they weave immense quantities of cloth. They speak a language that resembles no other; neither German, nor French, nor that of any of the surrounding nations. They have a custom throughout the island, that, when a visitor enters the house of a friend, the wife receives him with a kiss, as a preliminary to the hospitalities of the house. The city of London is the most powerful and prosperous of all the cities in these islands, and inferior to none in the West; and in the martial valor of its inhabitants, it is superior to all who live towards the setting sun." He gives many other particulars, but these are the most characteristic. He evidently did not understand the English language, and probably was mistaken in some of the customs of the country; but his notices of the industry and martial virtues of the English people show that he had well observed the qualities that have made them the foremost power in the world.



Side View of the Thesëum.

CHAPTER LII.

GREECE UNDER THE TURKS.

§ 1. Effect of the Fall of Constantinople on Western Europe. § 2. Efforts to combine the Christian Powers against the Turks. § 3. Greek Literature in the West before the Fall of Constantinople. § 4. Diffusion of Greek Literature after the Fall of Constantinople. § 5. Wars of the Venetians with the Turks. Battle of Lepanto. Expedition of Morosini. § 6. Efforts of the Turks to recover the Peloponnesus. Peace of Passarowitz. § 7. Turkish Organization of Greece. Extortions of the Pachas. Taxes. Haratch. Land Tax. Other Burdens. Condition of the Rayahs. § 8. The *παιδομάζωμα*, or Levy of Children for the Janizaries. History of the Janizaries. § 9. General Condition of Greece. Greek Islands. § 10. Preservation of the Greek Nationality during the Period of Turkish Domination. *Armatoloi*, *Klephtai*. Character of the *Klephts*. *Klephtic Ballads*. § 11. Preparations for the Revolution. *Rhëgas*. *Coraës*.

§ 1. THE fall of Constantinople sent a shock throughout the Christian nations of Western Europe. The capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders had destroyed the most precious memorials of ancient art and wealth in the city; had exhausted its resources, and broken down its martial energies; had divided the Empire into fragments for the benefit of their own princes, driving out the native rulers. And when, sixty years later, they were themselves driven back from a conquest they had wrongfully held, the Emperors of Constantinople reassumed an empire shorn of its power and splendor, not only by Saracens and Turks, but

more fatally still by Christians of another branch of one common faith ; so that, when the final struggle came, the only wonder was, that a capital, over which conflagration and plunder had so often swept, resisted so long and with so much spirit the conquering energies of a people in the full impulse of their march towards extended empire.

§ 2. The Pope endeavored in vain to combine the nations of Europe for the expulsion of the Turk ; war was actually declared in the Diet at Frankfort, in 1454 ; but that was all. Pius II. convened a Congress at Mantua, in 1459 ; and the princes of Europe agreed to furnish large means for the crusade, which the Pope was to lead in person ; but when the head of the Church arrived at Ancona to embark, he found every promise and engagement had been violated, and none were there except a rabble rout of vagabonds, clamoring for service and for pay. The danger proved less than had been anticipated. Mohammed II. met with a gallant resistance from the Hungarians, and was repulsed by the Knights of St. John from the island of Rhodes. In the mountains of Epeirus, the heroic chieftain whose exploits are sung by his contemporaries under the name of Scanderbeg kept him at bay for twenty years. The successors of Mohammed were inferior to him in martial vigor, and thus the tide of Ottoman conquests was, at least temporarily, stayed, and the alarms of Europe somewhat quieted.

§ 3. From the downfall of the Western Roman Empire, and especially after the alienation of the Greek and Latin Churches, the influence of Greek literature had been decaying, until nearly all knowledge of it had died out in the West. Only here and there a name is retained, among the few who kept alive a love of letters in Europe, as having some tincture of Grecian learning. In the East, libraries of manuscripts had been formed, by the labors of centuries, not only connected with the schools of public instruction, but in the monasteries. The ancient classics had been multiplied, in parchment copies, carefully and handsomely transcribed, by the inmates of these establishments ; but doubtless many of these perished in the successive plunderings of the capital, and the final loss of many of the most precious treasures of ancient genius is to be traced to the barbarous conduct of the Crusaders, whose very name Anna Comnena thought it an insult to the Greek language to record, and to the Ottomans, whose agency was scarcely more destructive. But before these pillaging enterprises took place, now and then an individual found his way from the schools of Constantinople, with a supply of Grecian literature, and, establishing himself in the West, communicated his treasures to a narrow circle of pupils and friends. As early as the seventh century, the Pope sent to England a Greek ecclesiastic born at Tarsus, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, and, having carried with him a quantity of manuscripts, introduced some knowledge of Greek into the Anglo-Saxon Church. The Venerable Bede and Alcuin are bright names

among the earliest restorers of learning; and Erigena, and other Irish ecclesiastics, even knew something of the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. In 1240, John Basing, Archdeacon of St. Albans, brought a number of Greek books from Athens; and Roger Bacon was not ignorant of the Greek language.

But these studies were more assiduously cultivated in Italy, as might have been expected, than in any other country out of the Byzantine Empire, in the Middle Ages. Particularly, from the eleventh century, many individuals are known in literary history for their knowledge of Greek,—not very extensive, to be sure, but still worth something. Among these, for instance, Papias is classified, on the strength of a quotation of five lines from Hesiod. But the revival of Greek studies in Italy properly dates from the time of Petrarch and Boccaccio, in the fourteenth century. Italy was visited by many ecclesiastical Greeks, who adhered to the Pope of Rome, in the quarrel between the two Churches; and there are to this day, both in Ancona and Rome, Greek churches, with a Greek liturgy, acknowledging the supreme authority of the Pope. Several learned Calabrians, about this time, after having long resided in Greece, had much to do with the introduction of the Greek language among the scholars and poets of Italy. Barlaam, sent as ambassador by the Emperor to Italy, endeavored to teach Petrarch Greek; but whether he was too much absorbed by his fantastic passion for Laura, and by the composition of his amorous sonnets, it is certain, from his own confession, that the tuneful poet never got far enough to read Homer in the original,—which he pathetically laments. Boccaccio had better success with Leontios Pilatos, for whom he procured the appointment of public teacher at Florence, although he describes him as long-haired, hirsute-bearded, and very dirty. About the end of the fourteenth century, Emanuel Chrysoloras, a man of high rank, and distinguished in the diplomacy of the Byzantine Empire, was induced to emigrate to Italy, and taught the Greek language and literature in several of the principal cities. Among his scholars were the most eminent Italian men of letters. In 1423, two hundred and thirty-eight manuscripts, including Plato, Diodorus, Pindar, Callimachus, and others, were brought from Greece to Italy, by a Sicilian named Aurispa. Filelfo, a scholar well known in literary history in the same age, not only brought home from Greece a large number of manuscripts, but became Professor of Greek and Latin at Florence, exciting, as he himself says, the wonder and admiration of the whole city. “All love me,” continues the self-complacent Professor, “all honor me, and exalt me to the skies with their praises. When I walk through the city, not only the first citizens, but the noblest ladies, yield me the pass, to show in what high honor they hold me. I have daily more than four hundred hearers; and these for the most part distinguished persons, and of senatorial rank.”

As the dangers that threatened the overthrow of the Greek Empire

drew nearer, emigration to Italy became more frequent. Theodore Gaza, well known in Greek philosophy, fled from Thessalonica in 1430, when that city was taken by the Turks. Bessarion of Trebizond was made a cardinal in 1439, and twice came near being elected Pope; and having been employed in many high functions, received from the Pope, who affected to consider himself sole head of the Church, the titular dignity of Patriarch of Constantinople. He was a great promoter of Greek literature, and wherever he lived, his house was the resort of all those who cultivated the sciences and the arts. In 1468, he presented his magnificent library to the republic of Venice, and the famous Aldine editions of the classics are founded chiefly on the manuscripts it contained. Here too, the manuscript of Panaretus was found by Professor Fallmerayer. George of Trebizond taught Greek at Vicenza, Venice, and Rome. Johannes Argyropoulos, a native of Constantinople, arrived in Italy in 1434, and was called by the Medici to Florence in 1456. He went to Paris to solicit the assistance of the king of France in purchasing his family, who had fallen into the hands of the Turks. He taught Greek fifteen years at Florence, and afterwards for some time at Rome. Here the celebrated Reuchlin being present at one of his lectures on Thucydides, the old Professor invited the young German to interpret a passage of the historian. He was so much astonished at the facility with which Reuchlin accomplished the task, that he exclaimed, "Exiled Greece has crossed the Alps." Gemistos Plethon, a man of the highest rank at the imperial court, of great learning and probity of character, and a voluminous writer, went to Florence as a deputy of the Greek Church, in 1438, where he became acquainted with Cosmo de' Medici, and during his residence there opened a school for the explanation of the Platonic philosophy, of which he was an ardent and eloquent advocate. Cosmo embraced his views, and Platonism became the rage of the literary people of that capital. The Platonic Academy, which afterwards produced many eminent scholars, owes its origin to Plethon. He afterwards returned to Greece, and died in the Peloponnesus, at the age, it is supposed, of about one hundred years. These few names will serve to show that the literary tendencies of Italy were favorable to progress; and that the diplomatic intercourse between the Churches of Rome and Byzantium, the interchange of visits among the literary men of the two countries, and the introduction of numerous manuscripts from Greece and Constantinople into the chief Italian cities, had made a great and almost providential preparation for those Greek scholars who, having witnessed the downfall of the capital of their nation and the seat of their religion, and the subjection of their nation to the despotism of the Turks, fled westward, and carried with them the light of the East.

§ 4. Of course the number of Greek refugees was very considerable, after the fall of Constantinople. Constantine Lascaris, belonging to one of the imperial families, became instructor of the princess Hippolyta, daugh-

ter of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan. Afterwards he taught in several of the Italian cities, and finally died at Messina, having bequeathed his library to that city. It was afterwards transported to Spain, and now forms part of the collection of the Escorial. Another Lascaris, a relative of Constantine, was employed by Lorenzo de' Medici in collecting books in the East, and was afterwards distinguished at the courts of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. in France. When Leo X. was raised to the Papal throne he placed Lascaris at the head of a college he had founded in Rome for the education of Greeks. The Pope, in a letter addressed to Francis I., describes Lascaris as a man distinguished for his illustrious birth, his literary acquirements, his experience in affairs, the purity of his morals, and gentleness of his manners. He died at Rome at the age of ninety. Demetrius Chalcocondylas, an Athenian, and perhaps a relative of the historian, taught Greek at Perugia and Florence; afterwards he removed to Milan. Other distinguished names are Michael Apostolius, Callistos, and Masuros, Professor of Greek at Padua, where he knew Erasmus, who speaks of him as wonderfully learned in the Latin tongue; thence he went to Venice, and became an assistant of the elder Aldus in the publication of his beautiful editions. Moschos, a Lacedæmonian, son of an old teacher, who continued at Sparta after the catastrophe of 1453, was Professor of Greek at Ferrara and Mantua, and wrote a poem on the story of Helen. In the same century the Greek language was taught in Paris by Hermonymos of Sparta, and other scholars of the same nation. In 1474, Contablacos opened a school in Basle. The scholars of Germany, hearing of the literary excitement produced by these Greeks, hastened over into Italy, became their pupils, and purchased many books, with which they enriched the libraries of their native land. The most eminent of these was Reuchlin, one of the ablest, if not the ablest, restorer of learning in Germany; but his name is now chiefly known from its connection with the controversy that once raged on the pronunciation of the Greeks. Thus, a second time in the history of civilization, the arts and letters that embellish life were scattered by the Greeks over the world, after a tremendous national catastrophe.

§ 5. At the time when Mohammed II. invaded the Peloponnesus, the Venetians were still in possession of some places in the Peninsula. They held, in fact, Pylos, Corone, Methone, Nauplia, and Argos; besides the Ionian Islands, Naupactos, Eubœa, and Crete. The Venetians and Turks soon engaged in a desperate struggle, which found a temporary lull in the armistice of 1478, which lasted for about twenty years, into the reign of Mohammed's son and successor, Bajazet. The condition of the Greeks during these destructive wars was wretched in the extreme. Many places in Greece changed masters frequently during these years. Sometimes the Greeks took part with the Christians in the struggle, and when the Christians were conquered, they suffered the most bar-

barous treatment at the hands of the Turks; and if they remained neutral, the heaviest calamities of the war fell upon them. By degrees the Turks got possession of Greece, and the islands, except those along the western coast, which now constitute the Ionian Republic. Eubœa was conquered in 1470; Rhodes in 1522, by the Sultan Solymán I. In 1570 Selim II. took Cyprus. The celebrated battle of Lepanto, or Naupactus, was fought by the confederated fleets of the Pope, the king of Spain, and the Venetian republic, amounting to two hundred ships, and the Turkish fleet of three hundred. "For many hours," says an old writer, "diverse and doubtful was the whole face of the battle; as fortune offered unto every man his enemy, so he fought; according as every man's disposition put him into courage or fear, or as he met with more or fewer enemies, so was there here and there sometimes victory and sometimes loss. The chance of war, in one place, lifteth up the vanquished, and in another overthroweth the victorious; all was full of terror, error, sorrow, and confusion." After five hours of desperate fighting the Turks gave way, and the triumph of the allies was complete. One hundred and thirty galleys were taken, while the rest of the hostile ships were dashed upon the rocks, sunk in the sea, or consumed by fire. Thirty-five hundred were taken prisoners, and twenty-five thousand fell in the battle. Had the Christian powers followed up this great victory, they might probably have driven the Turks back into Asia; but they neglected to pursue their advantage, and in the following year the Sultan Selym was able to put to sea again with two hundred and twenty sail. The allies abandoned all further efforts, and Venice made peace, surrendering to the Sultan the kingdom of Cyprus, and several fortresses in Epeirus. A contemporary remarked, that the destruction of the Turkish fleet was merely cutting off the Sultan's beard, which a few days would restore, while the surrender of Cyprus was the amputation of an arm from Venice, which time could neither remedy nor reproduce.

Greece was now incorporated, without further struggle, into the Turkish empire, and placed at the disposal of Turkish governors. In 1670, the Turks conquered from the Venetians, after a war of nearly thirty years' duration, the important island of Crete, at an expense of two hundred thousand men, and one hundred million golden crowns; but in the reign of the same Sultan, Mohammed IV., in the year 1684, the Turks having experienced a great defeat at Vienna, the Venetians joined the Christian league, and Morosini, having the command of a powerful fleet, attacked and reduced Santa Maura and Prevesa, and in the following year commenced his operations against the Turks in the Morea. The most important posts, Pylos, Methone, and at last Nauplia, one after the other, capitulated. During these movements, the Greeks generally flew to arms, eager to throw off the Turkish yoke. In the course of two years Morosini reconquered the whole Peloponnesus, with the aid of the Greeks, and

in 1687, following up his successes, sailed into the harbor of Peiræus on the 21st of September, and immediately, landing without opposition, marched to Athens, and took possession of the town. The Turks fortified themselves in the Acropolis, and refused to surrender. Batteries were raised on the neighboring heights of the Museion and the Pnyx, and the bombardment of the Acropolis commenced on the 26th. Unfortunately, the Turks had stored their ammunition in the Parthenon, and a bomb falling into the magazine, threw down all the central portion of that wonderful work, which had, up to that time, remained in a good state of preservation, with the greater part of the sculptures, which adorned the tympana, the metopes, and the frieze of the cella. The firing continued for several days longer, but at last, all the wooden buildings of the Acropolis having been consumed by a great conflagration, the garrison held out a flag of truce. The Turks, with their wives and children, were allowed five days to prepare for their departure. Three thousand left the place; but it is said by Sir Paul Rycault, that three hundred Turks, rather than leave Athens, chose to abjure the Moslem faith, and were baptized into the Catholic Church. The Venetians retained possession of Athens only a few months, the admiral needing his troops elsewhere, and these brilliant successes had no permanent result. Venetians and Turks were alike wearied with the war, and in 1699 the peace of Carlowitz left only the Peloponnesus in the possession of the republic. The conquest of the Morea is the last triumph of the Venetians, and this was due to the genius of Morosini, who received the designation of the Peloponnesian.

§ 6. The Turks made gigantic preparations to avenge their losses and recover the conquered country. In 1715 the Grand Vizier of Achmet III. burst into the Peloponnesus with an army of one hundred thousand men, supported by a fleet of one hundred sail, and, notwithstanding the efforts of the Knights of Malta and the Grand Duke of Tuscany to assist the Venetians in the defence of Greece, Delfino, who had been left in command, was compelled to abandon the Morea. The Turks, advancing upon Corinth, butchered on the spot one half of the capitulating garrison, reserving the remainder to be executed under the walls of Nauplia, within sight of the Venetians. Argos was recovered without striking a blow; Nauplia was betrayed, and the city and fortress entered at midnight, and the inhabitants put to the sword. In 1718, the peace of Passarowitz surrendered the whole of Greece again to Turkey; and so she remained enslaved, with only a few partial movements towards emancipation, until the revolution which commenced in 1821.

§ 7. In organizing his newly conquered territories, Mohammed II. divided them into military departments, called Pachalics, and these again were subdivided into Moussemlics, Agalics, and Vaivodalics; and these were subjected to a supreme magistrate entitled Rumeli Valesi, or Grand Judge of Roumelia. The Pachas were, like the satraps of the old Persian

empire, quite independent of each other, and often engaged in mutual hostilities, for purposes of conquest or plunder. The number of pachalics in Greece differed at different times; and in some parts of the country, on account of its mountainous character and the spirit of the inhabitants, it was never possible to establish the Turkish system thoroughly. Some towns and smaller districts were governed by Beys, Agas, and Vaivodes. About 1812 there were five pachalics, the chief of which was that of Joannina, or Albania, under the government of the celebrated Ali Pacha, including Epeirus, Acarnania, Ætolia, Phocis, the greater part of Thessaly, and the western portions of Macedonia and Bœotia, and uniting into one the territories which at an earlier period had constituted five or six pachalics. Attica and Lebadeia were each under the command of a Vaivode. Zagora was under the administration of a Greek Primate; the North of Macedonia was broken up into numerous agalics; the Morea, with the exception of Mane, was under the Pacha of Tripolizza, with eight or nine Beys, and other inferior chiefs subordinate to him. The principal islands, and some of the coast districts, were under the Capitan Pacha, who visited them annually to collect the tribute; the others were in the hands of the Divan, or belonged to some of the pachalics. The mass of the population was at once reduced to the condition of tenants of the crown, with the exception of a few of the old families in the Morea, who were suffered to retain their properties on the payment of large tributes. The whole system of administration, if that could be called a system, whose only principles were rapacity, corruption, and venality, was one which tended inevitably to the extinction of every manly trait in the character of the people. The Pachas of Greece, as well as of other provinces in the empire, purchased their appointments by the payment of large sums into the imperial treasury; the Porte usually bestowing the office on the highest bidders. They accordingly indemnified themselves by extortions practised upon their unhappy subjects. Besides this, they must contribute a large amount annually to the revenues of the empire. Says D'Arvieux, a French writer, "The viceroys, local governors, and other officers of the Ottoman Empire are farmers of revenues, and are obliged to remit the sums agreed upon to the Grand Vizier, under pain of sending their own heads to the imperial treasury. No excuse is received; the money must be forthcoming, even if there is none; and as their life and fortune depend on their punctuality in paying, they resort to every means of accomplishing the end." In their provinces, the power of the Pachas was absolute, and their state was maintained with Oriental pomp. They usually acquired enormous wealth, by means of the variety of taxes and extortions they could with impunity enforce. Ali Pacha's dominion extended over four hundred villages, and his annual income was about one million dollars. The Beys and Agas exercised a similar authority. The only restraint upon these powerful chieftains

was the probability of the bowstring, whenever they fell under the displeasure of the Porte, or it became desirable to recruit an exhausted treasury by confiscating the ill-gotten wealth of an overgrown Pacha. The Christian population of the conquered territories were obliged to pay a life-tax, called the *haratch*, which was regarded at first as a composition or compromise for the privilege of keeping their heads on their shoulders. In some places this tax was paid for children from the moment of birth; in others, from a certain age, five, eight, twelve, or fifteen years; the amount, too, varied. According to Colonel Leake, the tax for a whole family usually amounted to about £2; but any individual subject to this impost was liable to frequent and insolent examination in the street, and on failing to produce his legal receipt was forced to pay it to the next official authority, whether he had paid it before or not. The land-tax amounted, at different times and places, to one twentieth, one twelfth, one tenth, or one seventh of the produce of the soil; at the entrance of every town, duties were paid on cattle, provisions, wine, fire-wood. Various costly restrictions on commerce; composition for exemption from labor on the public works; arbitrary requisitions for the service of the Sultan; one tenth of the value in dispute in legal proceedings; *avanias*, or moneys exacted from the inhabitants of a district where a crime had been committed, on the ground that they might have prevented it; requisitions to supply a certain proportion of wheat at a nominal price, to be stored up at Constantinople, or sold at an enormous profit,—are only a few of the more prominent forms under which extortions were practised by the Turkish governors. Says Sir James Emerson Tennent, “So undefined was the system of extortion, and so uncontrolled the power of those to whom its execution was intrusted, that the evil spread over the whole system of administration, and insinuated itself into every relation and ordinance of society, till there were few actions or occupations of the Greeks that were not burdened with the scrutiny and interference of his masters, and none that did not suffer, in a greater or less degree, from their heartless rapine.”* The rayahs, or common laboring classes, were reduced to the condition of serfs, subjected to every species of oppression, with no prospect or possibility of improving their condition, but condemned to hopeless slavery and degradation.

§ 8. There was a most cruel contribution of male children, who were torn from their parents, subjected to the rites of the Mohammedan faith, and employed in various offices, menial or other, according to their ability, or placed in the corps of the Janizaries. This terrible Pretorian Guard of the Sultans was created by Orkan, the second Sultan of

* In the almost endless list of petty occasions on which the most vexatious extortions were practised, some are almost too ridiculous to be mentioned; for example, one source of revenue was called *tooth-money*, to remunerate the Pacha and his suite for the fatigue of eating the food prepared and furnished them by the Greeks, during their journeys for the collection of taxes.

the Ottoman dynasty, in the fourteenth century, and consisted at first of young Christians, taken captive in war and trained up in the Mohammedan faith, and discipline of arms. When organized, the troop was blessed by an aged dervish. "The soldiery which you have just created," said he to the sovereign, "shall be Jani-Tscheri, — New Troop; it shall be victorious in every combat; its face shall be white, its arm formidable, its sabre sharp-edged, and its arrow piercing." It became, in the course of time, a formidable power, not only to the Sultan's enemies, but to the Sultan himself. Revolutions were made, at the beck of this band; Sultans were enthroned and Sultans were deposed, according to their licentious will. It was one of those instruments of despotism which most emphatically turn to plague their inventors. The supply of boys to recruit this body, in Greece, amounted to about one thousand annually, and was afterwards increased. The imposition was called the *παιδομάζωμα*, or *child-tribute*, — the form the impost assumed after the captives taken in war ceased to be sufficient. It continued down to the middle of the seventeenth century, and the whole number of those furnished by Greece alone amounted, according to the estimate of one of the Professors in the University of Athens, to little less than five hundred thousand.* Afterwards, the recruits were taken from the children of the Janizaries. This military organization existed until 1826, when Sultan Mahmoud, finding their power and turbulence obstacles in the way of his projected reforms, resolved on disbanding them, and putting his armies on the footing of the Europeans. Thirty thousand rose in rebellion; but the Sultan, having consulted the highest authorities of the Moslem law, and received their solemn sanction to the measure, unrolled the standard of the Prophet, and rallied all true Moslems to the support of the throne. Fifty thousand men marched against them, surrounded the barracks in the Hippodrome, set them on fire, and slaughtered those who attempted to escape. So perished, by flame and sword, a body of men descended from Christian captives, or children torn by violence from Christian families, forced to apostatize from the religion of their fathers, and for centuries the instrument and the terror of tyrants.

§ 9. We have a few notices of the condition of Greece in these times. Gerbel, in a work published in the middle of the sixteenth century, in speaking of Athens, exclaims: "O tragic change of human power! a city once surrounded by walls, filled with edifices, powerful in arms and wealth and men, now reduced to a miserable village; once free and living under its own laws, now subjected by the yoke of slavery to the most cruel and brutal masters. Go to Athens and behold, in place of the most magnificent works, a mass of deplorable ruins." And Pinet, a French writer, at the close of his description, exclaims: "And now, O heavens, there

* Professor Paparrhegopoulos, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλλάδος*.

remains only a little castle, and a miserable village, unprotected from foxes and wolves, and other wild beasts." Another writer, a little later, says: "Greece once was, Athens once was; now there is neither Athens in Greece, nor Greece in Greece itself." And Ortelius, the geographer, says: "Now only a few miserable huts remain; the place at the present day is called *Setine*." In 1584, a work was published by Martin Kraus, a German professor, under the title of *Turco-Græcia*, containing letters in answer to inquiries addressed by him to the Patriarch of Constantinople and other distinguished Greeks, on the condition of Hellas. They all tell the same story of poverty and ignorance, but describe the Greeks as still possessing natural brightness of intellect. Says Zygomala, the protho-notary of the Patriarch, "They are very quick to receive instruction whenever they have the chance of being taught by a professor of letters"; but the same writer states that at this time only one school existed, and that was at Nauplia, in which ancient Greek was taught.

The Greek islands, being visited by the Turks only periodically, for the collection of tribute, were much less wretched than the mainland, and much less exposed to the vices of the Turkish system, whether of plundering in general, or of the administration of justice. To sum up all, says Sir James Emerson Tennent, "The energies of the nation were either cramped in their infancy, or crushed in their mature development; the course of justice was diverted from its genial channels, or fouled by venality and religious favoritism; the fruits of domestic toil were arrested by local despots and delegated tyrants, or sacked by the unresisted spoiler and the wandering bandit."

§ 10. There were, however, several causes which tended to the preservation of their nationality during this period. In the first place, it was impossible for them to combine with their oppressors and form one people, because the moral, intellectual, and social tendencies of the two races were mutually repulsive at every point of contact. A second cause was the superiority of the Greeks in mental capacity, which made it necessary for the Turks to intrust the direction of affairs to native leaders, in many parts of the country. A third cause was their inextinguishable devotion to the Christian Church, which they regarded, from an early period of the Byzantine times, as their ark of safety. And finally, the preservation of the national spirit is due in a great measure to the fact, that there were parts of Greece which the Turks were never able to subdue. The Manotes of the Peloponnesus long maintained their independence, and always asserted the right of being governed by a native ruler. The warlike inhabitants of the mountainous regions in the North — Olympus, Pelion, Pindus, and Agrapha — steadily refused submission to the Turks, and were permitted, on the payment of an inconsiderable tribute, to retain their arms, and to assume the military protection of their native districts. These were called *Armatoloi*, or bearers

of arms, and their districts *Armatolices*, of which, at the beginning of the last century, there were seventeen. Each of these districts or counties acknowledged the authority of a chieftain, called *Capitanos*, or Headman, whose office was hereditary, descending with his sword to his oldest son. The members of his military corps were called *Pallecaria*, — a term from an ancient Greek word signifying youth, but used in the Modern Greek for *Braves*, and quite as famous in poetry as the term *Hero* in the *Iliad*. But besides the *Armatoles*, there were many impatient and daring spirits, who, refusing to make any terms with their conquerors, betook themselves to a life of lawless rapine among the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains. These, too, were organized, like the *Armatoles*, into bands commanded by *Capitanoi*, and bore the honorable name of *Κλέφται* — the ancient *Κλέπται* — or Robbers. The same general characteristics prevailed in both. Their valor, their endurance of fatigue, their well-strung frames, and wonderful activity, were the themes of native bards, whose songs almost reproduce the pictures of ancient Homeric times. The *Klephts* maintained themselves in a wild independence, seizing every opportunity of rushing down upon the Turkish villages and camps, plundering, killing, or taking captive, and climbing back into their *Limeria*, — their rocky eyries, — before the Turks could rally in pursuit. The life of the *Klephts* placed them beyond the reach of lettered culture. They had no more time or taste for reading and writing than the warriors of the *Iliad*, under the walls of Troy; but, like them, they delighted in feats of strength and hardihood, and listened with ecstasy to the ballads which perpetuated, in unwritten minstrelsy, the glory of their fathers' achievements. Achilles singing in his tent the lays of heroes, is the classical prototype of the poet *Klepht* of *Agrapha*; and swift-footed Achilles himself could scarcely have overmatched him in speed of running or lightness of leap. *Nico-Tsara* sprang over seven horses abreast, and it was no uncommon thing for a full-armed *Klepht* to outrun the swiftest racer. The *Capitanos Zacharias*, whose exploits in speed of foot are commemorated in more than one *Klephtic* ballad, used, when doing his best at running, to strike his ears with his heels. In other more martial qualities, he and his band were equally conspicuous. One of the ballads says:—

“ Three days he keeps the battle up, three days and nights incessant,
And snow they ate, and snow they drank, and flash on flash retorted.”

And again:—

“ Three days he keeps the battle up, three days and nights unceasing,
Nor bread ate he, nor water drank, nor sleep came o'er his eyelids.”

Such men could expect no quarter from the Turks, whenever the chances of war threw them into their hands. The tortures they underwent without a groan make us shudder, as we read the horrible details.

The euthanasia of a *Klepht* was death in battle. The favorite toast at

their banquets was *καλὸν μολύβι*, "Welcome the bullet." The bodies of those who fell they honored with the name of victims, *σφάγια*, but those who died of sickness or age, — of what we call a natural death, — they stigmatized as carcases. Their religious ideas were primitive. The principal use which they conceived a priest could be put to, was to shrive the soul of a dying hero; and monasteries they regarded simply as magazines of provisions, which it was their duty to help themselves to, whenever occasion served. It was a special triumph to carry off a Turkish Bey or Aga to the mountains, and keep him there under careful watch, until ransomed by the payment of a pretty large sum. Whenever the wives and daughters of the Turks fell into their hands, as not unfrequently happened, they were treated with the most scrupulous delicacy and honor, — a striking contrast, it is needless to say, to the practice of the Turks; and they seldom retorted upon men the cruelties practised on themselves. The worst they did was to make them turn the spit in preparing a Klephtic feast. One of the ballads speaks thus of Kaliakoudas, a chief, and his troop: —

"And they had lambs, and roasted them, and rams were duly spitted:
Five captive Bays they also had, who kept the spits a turning."

It is not difficult to imagine the charm of this Klephtic life to the young and fiery spirits, chafing under the Turkish domination in the lowlands. The ballads are full of simplicity and natural feeling, and redolent of the racy freshness of the free, wild ways among the mountains. The following is literally translated from a collection published last year by Zampelios, a Greek gentleman of Leucadia. It illustrates at once the intolerable oppression of the Turkish rule, the seducing charm of Klephtic life, and the sweet touch of love of nature, which was ever springing freshly up in the hearts of this people.

"Mother, I tell thee I can no longer be a slave to the Turks; I cannot; my heart struggles against it. I will take my gun and go and become a Klepht; — to dwell on the mountains among the lofty ridges: to have the woods for my companions; to hold converse with the beasts; to have the snow for my covering, the rocks for my bed; — with sons of the Klephts to have my daily habitation. I will go, mother; but weep not; and give me thy blessing. And we will pray, my mother dear, that I may slay many a Turk. — And plant the rose and plant the dark carnation; — and give them sugar and musk to drink. And as long, O mother mine, as the flowers blossom and put forth, thy son is not dead, but is warring with the Turks. And if the day of sorrow comes, the day of woe, and the two fade away and the flowers fall, then I too shall have been slain, and thou mayest clothe thyself in black.

"Twelve years have passed and fifteen months, when the roses blossomed, and the buds bloomed; and one spring morning, the first of May, when the birds were singing, and the heaven was smiling, at once it thun-

ders, and lightens and darkens. The carnation sighed, the rose wept, — both withered up together, and the flowers fell; and with them the hapless mother became a heap of earth.”

§ 11. But towards the end of the century, a remarkable revival took place in the intellectual energies of the Hellenic race. Of those remaining at Constantinople, many had risen to eminent positions as interpreters, physicians, and even as Hospodars, with the title of Prince, in the Moldavian and Wallachian provinces. The distinguished and patriotic families of the Mavrocordatos and Ypselantēs belong to these classes. Others had become wealthy merchants and bankers, at Constantinople, Smyrna, and in the principal cities of Western Europe. The Ralles, the Zosimades, so well known for their liberal patronage of letters, splendidly illustrate the commercial genius and generous patriotism of the reviving race. In Greece itself, a growing zeal for education, never wholly lost sight of even in their deepest misery, showed itself in the establishment of schools and colleges, and the increased circulation of books. A society was formed, called the *Hetæria*, which extended all over Greece, and wherever Greeks were to be found, uniting them in a secret system of concerted action for the emancipation of the country. The lyric songs of Rhēgas, especially his animated and Tyrtæus-like rallying-cry to fight for liberty, thrilled the heart of the nation; and his tragical death, when he was delivered up to the Turks by the Austrians, seemed to seal the sanctity of their cause by the baptism of blood. Later still, the illustrious Coraēs, a scholar and patriot second to none in this age, — who in the year 1833 closed at Paris a long life of virtuous and distinguished labors, — by his elegant and animated appeals to all that was august and glorious in their past history, and to every patriotic and kindling sentiment native to the Hellenic heart, nerved his countrymen to dare every extremity of fortune in the struggle to regain their long-lost independence. The heart of the nation was ready for the great encounter; it had gone through the stern discipline of adversity, until adversity had exhausted its lessons of patient endurance. The moment for striking the long-meditated blow had come; and the people, led on by their chieftains, and inspired by the approbation, and in some instances by the active participation, of their spiritual guides, rose in arms, in the sacred cause of nationality and liberty.



Castle of Patræ.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE GREEK REVOLUTION. — KINGDOM OF HELLAS.

§ 1. Movements previous to the War of the Revolution. Insurrection of 1769. Orloff and the Russian Fleet. Naval Expedition of Lampros, in 1787. Ali Pacha. Androutsos. § 2. Characteristics of the War of the Revolution, as sketched by Mr. Tricoupès. § 3. Opening of the War. Prince Ypselantēs. Germanos, Archbishop of Patræ. Scenes at Constantinople. Defeat at Dragaschan. § 4. Death of Diakos at Thermopylæ. § 5. Capture of Tripolis (Tripolitza). Local Governments. First National Assembly at Epidaurus. First Constitution. § 6. Massacre of Scio. § 7. Second National Assembly at Astros. Marcos Botzarēs. § 8. Efforts in Favor of the Greeks. § 9. Intervention of Mehemet Ali, Pacha of Egypt. Ioan. § 10. Philhellenes. Gordon, Fabvier, Meyer, Hastings, General Church, Miller, Howe, Finlay, Lord Byron. § 11. Siege and Capture of Mesolongi. § 12. Movements subsequent to the Fall of Mesolongi. Siege of Athens. Gouras takes Possession of the Citadel. Death of Gouras. Attempts to relieve the Garrison. § 13. National Assembly at Troezen. Election of Capo D'Istrias to the Presidency of Greece. Karai-kakēs. § 14. Bad Faith of the Greeks. Death of Karai-kakēs. His Character. § 15. Battle in the Plain of Athens. § 16. Interference of the European Cabinets. § 17. Obstinacy of the Porte. Battle of Navarino. War between Russia and Turkey. Cessation of Hostilities. § 18. Attempts to settle the Affairs of Greece. Assassination of Capo D'Istrias. Selection of Otho of Bavaria as King. His Arrival. Organization of Greece. His Marriage. § 19. Constitution of 1843. § 20. State of Education. § 21. Language. § 22. Literature. § 23. Popular Poetry and Klephtic Ballads.

§ 1. In the reign of Catherine II., in the year 1768, a war broke out between Turkey and Russia. The crafty Empress endeavored, and with instant success, to rouse the Greek nation to throw off the yoke, inspiring them with the hope of recovering their ancient liberty. Two years pre-

viously, a Greek, who had been in the Russian army, was despatched into Peloponnesus to prepare the insurrection, and in 1769 a Russian fleet, under the command of Orloff, came to the Peloponnesus. The population flew to arms. The Turkish government poured a host of Albanians into the Peloponnesus, and suppressed the revolt with immense slaughter. Orloff, witnessing the ill success of the attempt, forgot his promises, and sailed away, leaving the Greeks to their fate. An Armatole chieftain, named Androutsos, distinguished himself by feats of eminent bravery in this affair; and a body of four hundred Laconians showed themselves no unworthy descendants of the heroes of Thermopylæ. At the conclusion of the peace between Russia and the Porte, the provinces which had received the Russians, or were suspected of having co-operated with them, were heavily punished. The patriarch Meletios was tortured, and then banished. Large fines were inflicted on the wealthier classes. The city of Moschopolis was plundered and destroyed. Three thousand of the inhabitants of Tricca were killed. Many Larissæans were slain, and their only church was demolished; priests and magistrates were beheaded in Lemnos, and the Christians of Smyrna were indiscriminately massacred as they came out of the church. The enormities practised by the Albanians in Peloponnesus were indescribable; and the question was debated in the Divan, whether it would not be advisable to seize this opportunity of extirpating the entire Hellenic race. But by the influence of Hassan Pacha milder counsels prevailed, and he was intrusted with the pacification of the Peloponnesus. This he accomplished by calling to his aid the mountain Klephts, by whom the Albanians were speedily routed, and driven from the Peloponnesus. The family of Colocotronēs, one of whom, Theodore, played so conspicuous a part in the war of independence, first appear as leaders at this crisis. In 1787, war was renewed between Russia and Turkey, and new commotions again agitated Greece. Lampros, a Lebedæian, who had taken part in the former insurrection, supported by many wealthy merchants of Smyrna and Constantinople, led a naval expedition against the Turks, with considerable effect; and about the same time the Souliotes of Epeirus, who for a century had maintained their independence among the mountains, commenced their heroic struggle with the cruel and crafty Ali Pacha; they were joined by many Thessalian warriors, of whom the most distinguished was Androutsos, who since the insurrection of 1769 had led a wandering life, constantly pursued by the Turks, and with difficulty escaping the dangers by which he was encompassed. A treaty of peace was again concluded between Russia and Turkey in 1792. Androutsos attempted to escape into Russia through Venice, but he was seized and surrendered by the Venetians to the Turks, sent to Constantinople, and there put to death. The Souliotes continued the war until 1803, when they were obliged to come to terms with the Pacha; but, with the cruelty and perfidy natural to his character, he violated his plighted

faith. Many of these brave men fell a sacrifice to his falsehood, others escaped to Parga and the Ionian Islands, and, as a Greek historian says, "afterwards avenged the treachery of the Turks in a thousand battles."

§ 2. It is well remarked by Mr. Tricoupēs, in his excellent History, that "the Greek revolution is distinguished from other revolutions by some peculiar and very important characteristics. This revolution attempted neither to put a check to absolutism nor despotism; neither to change the local government, nor to break the bonds of union with the mother country. It aimed at a mightier and more glorious object than all these: to expel from Greece, by force of arms, an alien race of another faith, which had made her captive by arms, ages before, and to the last continued to regard her as their captive, and subject to their sword."

"This war broke out between two nations, living indeed in Europe, but ignorant of the military art and the political science by which all the rest of Europe was and is distinguished; and for this reason it may be regarded as a political and military anomaly in the midst of the political and military sciences of the present day, often reminding us, by many of its events and catastrophes, of the heroic times of ancient Hellas."

"Greece," continues he, "declared and proclaimed before God and all mankind, at the beginning of her contest, that she aimed to break the foreign yoke and to recover her nationality and her independence."

The disproportion between the resources of the contending parties is another circumstance worthy of consideration. The party which fought to throw off the yoke, for years without support from other quarters, he estimates at one twentieth of the enemy, and their resources were trifling in comparison, because they were, as the resources of private individuals, contrasted with those of an ancient and powerful despotism. "The happy and unlooked for result," adds the patriotic and eloquent historian, "is sufficient to breathe courage into suffering and outraged nations, when, poor and powerless, they engage, with firm resolve, in the sacred struggle for faith and fatherland, for freedom and for justice, for national honor and happiness, against spiritual oppression and the devastation of their country, slavery and wrong, national annihilation and social wretchedness."

The passions out of which the struggle grew determined its character. On the one side, the habit of tyranny, rapine, and oppression, and the contempt of barbarian masters for those whom they had so long oppressed; on the other, a sleepless sense of wrong and desire of revenge, mingling with and inflaming the love of country, inspired by consciousness of superior intellect, and the illustrious memories of the past. Religious hatred — the fiercest perhaps of all human passions — gave intensity to resolve, and steeled the hearts of the contending parties to sympathy and pity. Hatred of race was another irritating element which envenomed the strife; but, after all, it was a desperate struggle of barbarism, misplaced in this century, against reviving civilization and the Christian

faith. And it was this circumstance which finally gathered around the Grecian cause the hearty sympathies, the fervent prayers, the effective co-operation, of Christian nations everywhere. For years after the commencement of the struggle, the cabinets of Europe looked coldly on; more than once the cry for help was answered by the disheartening response, "Let the Greek rebels return to their allegiance to their lawful sovereign," — as if at any moment of the four centuries of their enslavement there was a single element of legal sovereignty in the oppressive rule of the Turks, — a single moment when the Christian victims had not a right to use every means within their reach to reclaim the freedom theirs by inheritance, and ravished from them by overpowering wrong. And so the great powers of Europe were forced, by the irresistible course of events, to acknowledge, when the contest was drawing nigh to its conclusion, "for the first time," as the Greek historian truly remarks, "the discordant politics of Europe harmonized, and listened to the salutary precepts of morality, and the sacred voice of suffering humanity."

§ 3. The insurrection was opened by Prince Alexander Ypselantēs, selected as leader by the Hetæria, at the head of the Greeks of Moldavia, who issued a proclamation in March, 1821, that all the Greeks on that day had thrown off the Turkish yoke; and within a few weeks the provinces of the Peloponnesus, and the other parts of Greece, had risen in arms. Among the most gallant leaders of the opening scenes of the war was Germanos, Archbishop of Patræ. At Constantinople a suspicion had already existed that a conspiracy was forming among the Greek inhabitants of the city, and when the information arrived of the movements in Greece, the most rigorous measures were taken against the Greeks; their schools were suppressed, their arms were seized, and the annihilation of the Hellenic race was again proposed in the Divan; women and children were thrown into the sea, and Prince Mourouzēs, chief Dragoman, was beheaded in the Seraglio. A proclamation called on all Moslems to arm against the rebels, and the wildest and most ferocious fanaticism prevailed in the capital. In the streets where the Greeks resided, bodies of the dead and dying were everywhere to be seen. Ten thousand persons disappeared in the first few days; and before three months had passed, it is supposed that more than thirty thousand Greeks were butchered in different cities of the empire. The Beys of Greece struggled in vain to smother the insurrection. The resolution to strike for liberty was universal and unchangeable, and the massacres were renewed at the capital. Gregorios, the Patriarch of Constantinople, then eighty years of age, with three bishops and eight priests, was seized by the order of the Grand Vizier, as they were leaving mass, and all were hung in their robes before the principal gate of the church. The lifeless body of the patriarch, two days after the murder, was cut down, dragged through the streets, and thrown into the sea. It was taken up by Greek sailors, carried to Odessa, and there honored with

a magnificent funeral. In the army of Prince Ypselantēs were many of the noblest young men, — the very flower of the Grecian youth. Five hundred students rallied at the call of their country, and enrolling themselves as the Sacred Band, — with uniform of black, and the Spartan motto on their standard, **ἢ τὰν ἢ ἐπὶ τὰν*, “Either this or on this,” — placed themselves under the command of the Prince. Four hundred of this gallant troop perished in the battle of Dragaschan, on the 19th of June, and the rest dispersed. Such was the ill-omened beginning of the war.

§ 4. Among the first who fell in Greece in the struggle for independence was a Klephtic leader named Diakos, who at the head of a small band met the army of Omer Vriones, near the pass of Thermopylæ. The Turkish force was so overwhelming, that most of his followers fled to the mountains, leaving him with only eighteen Palicars, as the ballad relates, — or at all events a very small number, as we know from historical sources. This little band, as devoted and as worthy of immortal fame as the three hundred Spartans, held their ground for three hours, and, after killing many times their number of Turks, were themselves either killed or taken. Diakos was among the latter. According to Tricou-pēs,* after the battle they carried Diakos and his companions to Zeitoun. In the course of the night he was brought into the presence of Halil Bey and other Turkish officers, and questioned with regard to the insurrection. Diakos told them fearlessly that all Greece was resolved to be free or perish in the attempt. Mehemet Pacha, admiring the boldness of the hero, promised him his life if he would enter his service. “I will not serve you,” answered Diakos, “and if I did, it would not help you.” “I will kill you,” answered the Pacha, “unless you join me.” “Greece,” he replied, “has many a Diakos beside me.” On the following day, it was determined to impale him. As he was proceeding to the place of execution, casting a look around him upon the face of nature, all smiling with the beauties of Spring, he repeated the following distich from an old ballad: —

“Behold the time that Charon chose to take me from the living;
The boughs are blooming now with flowers, the earth puts forth its herbage.”

Then continuing his way, he bore with unshaken soul for three hours the tortures of the agonizing death they inflicted on him.

§ 5. In the latter part of the year, several marked successes attended the arms of the insurgents in Peloponnesus who rallied round the popular chiefs Petros Mavromichalēs and Theodore Colocotronēs. Monembasia surrendered in July to Alexander Cantacuzenos; Pylos (Navarino) was taken by a land force commanded by Gregorios, Bishop of Methone (Modon), with the co-operation of the Spezziotes by sea. But the most remarkable event was the siege and capture of Tripolis (Tripolitza), the

* *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπανάστασεως*, Κεφ. ιδ.

Turkish capital of the province, and the ordinary residence of the Pachas of the Morea. This city lies on the central table-land of Arcadia, surrounded by the summits of Mænalion, Parthenion, and Artemision. It was surrounded by a wall, and strongly fortified, and at the time of the siege contained about twenty-five thousand inhabitants. The besiegers were commanded by Colocotronēs, Anagnostaras, Ypselantēs, Yatrakos, and Petros Mavromichalēs. The siege was continued until the 5th of October, when the city was taken by assault, and the captors, inflamed by the memory of long-continued wrongs, and eager for plunder, enacted a scene of horror only surpassed by the cruelties of the Turks at Scio. "Their insatiable cruelty," says Gordon, "knew no bounds, and seemed to inspire them with a superhuman energy for evil, which set lassitude at defiance. During the sack of the city, the air was close, dull, and oppressively hot, and the whole terrible picture afforded a lively image of Tartarus."

With all the difficulties of their position, it is surprising how readily the old instinct of legality and political order revived among the Greeks, when the responsibility of conducting a national conflict fairly began to be felt. Mavrocordatos formed a local government in the western part of Greece; in the eastern part, a local council, called the Areopagus, assumed the control, under the presidency of Theodore Negrēs; a Peloponnesian Gerousia, or senate of twenty members, assembled at Argos, under the presidency of Prince Demetrius Ypselantēs, and these three governments, under the influence of Mavrocordatos, undertook to form a constitution and a central government for confederated Greece. The first national assembly of Hellas, consisting of sixty-seven deputies, met in January, 1822, at Epidaurus, and proceeded at once to frame a provisional constitution. They proclaimed the national independence in the following terms:—

"In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity. The Greek nation, under the frightful tyranny of the Ottomans, unable to bear the unexampled weight of the yoke of tyranny, and having shaken it off with great sacrifices, proclaims this day, through its lawful representatives, in a national congress assembled, before God and men, its political existence and independence."

The vigor and eloquence of the proclamation are worthy of the cause. Its authors state clearly and briefly the causes of the war, declaring that, "far from being the effect of a seditious and jacobinical movement, or the pretext of an ambitious faction, it is a national war, undertaken for the sole purpose of reconquering our rights, and securing our existence and honor. A thousand ages of prescription would not bar the sacred rights, whose creation was the work of Nature herself. They were torn from us by violence; and violence more righteously directed may one day win them back. Grecians, but a little while since ye

said, 'No more slavery!' and the power of the tyrant has vanished. But it is concord alone which can consolidate your liberty and independence. The assembly offers up its prayers, that the mighty arm of the Most High may raise the nation towards the sanctuary of His Eternal Wisdom."

The constitution, while making the Orthodox Eastern Church the ecclesiastical establishment of the nation, enacted the toleration of all other forms of worship. It lodged the government in a Senate and Executive body, — the Senate to consist of thirty-three members, and the Executive Council of five; it provided annual elections; eight secretaries were appointed, namely, of State, Interior, Public Economy, Justice, War, Navy, Religion, and Police. The judicial branch consisted of eleven members, chosen by the government, but holding office by an independent tenure; civil and criminal justice to be administered according to the legislation of the Greek Emperors; and the French Commercial Code was adopted for the regulation of mercantile affairs. Torture and confiscation were abolished, and freedom of the press established. The great defect of the constitution was the limited power of the Executive, especially in the critical circumstances of the country; a defect severely felt in the conduct of the war. Alexander Mavrocordatos was chosen President of the Executive body; Athanasius Kanakarès, Vice-President; and Ypselantès was offered the presidency of the Senate, but he declined, and Petros Mavromichalès was put in his place. The departments were organized by the appointment of secretaries or commissions; the first Secretary of State was Theodore Nègrès. Mavrocordatos and his colleagues proceeded with great energy and ability to organize and arrange the operations of the government, and to introduce some degree of order into the military affairs.

§ 6. The most striking and terrible event of the year 1822 was the massacre of Scio. The inhabitants of this island had risen to a high degree of wealth and refinement. The population, before the Revolution, was estimated at more than one hundred thousand. They took little or no part in the war until March, 1822, when an insurrection broke out, and the Turkish garrison was shut up in the citadel. The Capitan Pacha, or Turkish admiral, who was on his way to the Peloponnesus with a large fleet, changed his plan, and suddenly landed fifteen thousand men upon the island, resolved to strike terror into the people by an example of frightful severity. A massacre of the defenceless inhabitants at once commenced, such as the annals of warfare seldom record. Men, women, and children were tortured, and then put to death. Some fled to the mountains, and hid themselves in caverns; others succeeded in getting on board the foreign ships lying in the harbor; others made their escape to the neighboring islands; more than forty thousand were slain in the course of a month; thousands of the most refined and cultivated were carried off, and sold into slavery in the bazaars of Smyrna and Constantinople. Many were bought by Turks for the pleasure of torturing and put-

ting them to death; and many — as eyewitnesses to these scenes have related — were redeemed by Europeans residing in Smyrna, who sacrificed their wealth in this work of Christian charity. From one hundred and twenty thousand the population was reduced to sixteen thousand souls, in one year; a terrible catastrophe, an unheard of series of atrocities, for which our own age is responsible. The news of these events filled all Greece with sorrow and indignation. The Hydriotes, Spezziotes, and Ipsariotes sailed with a large fleet under the command of the illustrious naval hero, Andreas Miaoulēs, and on the 19th of May encountered the Turkish armament between Scio and the coast of Asia Minor, and a battle ensued. But it was not until June that deserved vengeance overtook the bloody Kara Ali, — the Capitan Pacha, — at the hands of another Greek hero, Canarēs, who with his countrymen had been watching at Ipsara an opportunity of striking a fatal blow at the hostile fleet. By a bold movement, he conducted some fire-ships within the Turkish lines, and, attaching one of them to the prow of the flag-ship, which was lying at anchor in the centre of the fleet, instantly set it on fire. Canarēs and his gallant crew escaped in a boat; the ship was burned; two thousand men perished. The Capitan Pacha, severely injured by the flames, leaped into a boat, but had scarcely seated himself when one of the masts fell, crushing him and capsizing the boat; and he was borne ashore by swimmers, bruised and burnt, and in a dying condition, and expired in the midst of the most terrible sufferings, on the very scene of his unparalleled cruelties.

§ 7. The disheartening answer received from the Congress at Verona, in December, 1822, pronouncing the enterprise inconsiderate and culpable, and requiring the Greeks to submit to their lawful sovereign, the Sultan, — the civil dissensions between Colocotronēs and the central government, — led to the calling of a second national convention at Astros, in March, 1823, which introduced some amendments into the constitution, and elected Petros Mavromichalēs, President. They made various changes in the ministry, and resolved to organize a land force of fifty thousand troops, and a fleet of one hundred men-of-war. The events of the year were confused and bloody; but one act of heroism shines conspicuous above all others, — the midnight attack of Marcos Botzarēs and his gallant band of Souliotes upon the Turkish camp at Carpenesion. The immediate object — the capture of the Bey in his tent — was not accomplished, and Botzarēs fell in the battle. Eight hundred Turks were slain, with a loss of only fifty of the Greeks. "The commander," it is well said by one of his countrymen, "did not cease, after his death, to serve his country; for, if we except the achievement of our naval heroes, and the last siege of Mesolongi, no other event excited such admiration for Grecian valor as the death of Marcos Botzarēs." This heroic achievement has been immortalized in American literature by the splendid lyrical poem of Halleck, —

" One of the few, the immortal names
That were not born to die."

These transactions certainly show that the Greeks had fallen in no respect below the martial spirit of their ancestors.

§ 8. The sympathy growing up among the people everywhere was some compensation to the Greeks for the coldness and indifference of the Holy Alliance. In 1823, Louriotiēs, a confidential friend of Mavrocordatos, proceeded to London to negotiate a loan, which the executive was authorized to contract, on the security of the national lands. His arrival in the British capital, and the details he communicated on the state of Greece, excited the greatest interest. Under the auspices of Mr. Baring, and with the approbation of liberal politicians, like Lord John Russell, Lord Milton, and others, public meetings were called, and circulars addressed to the principal cities in the kingdom, soliciting subscriptions; and donations poured in from every quarter. Committees were appointed for the management of the funds, and to correspond with Philhellenic committees in other countries. An agent, Mr. Blaquiere, was sent to Greece to confer with the government. In Germany and Switzerland similar movements took place, and large supplies of money, arms, and soldiers were furnished by their activity. To add to the sympathy now growing stronger and stronger daily, the unhappy refugees were expelled from the countries embraced in the Holy Alliance. A large number were driven from Russia; many of them died of cold and hunger on the journey; the wretched survivors were refused admission to Austria, France, and the Sardinian States. At length, with great difficulty, the committees of Geneva and Zurich obtained permission for them to traverse France by small detachments, and sent them from Marseilles to Greece at their own expense. From the United States contributions were not wanting. In 1824, about \$80,000 were sent, which had been collected by the local committees. Some attempts were made by the English and Russians to bring about the pacification of Greece. The plan proposed by the Russian agent, craftily arranged to bring the revolted provinces under the control of the Czar, while nominally replacing them as tributaries to the Porte, was rejected by the Sultan; and as he had been assured by the British minister that the great powers were determined to leave the Greeks to their fate, the rejection of any interference could not well be made the ground of complaint.

§ 9. The ill success that had, however, attended three campaigns, convinced the Turks that they would be unable to reduce the Greeks without assistance; and Mehemet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, who had made himself almost an independent sovereign, received flattering proposals from the Sultan, with the offer of the Morea as a Pachalic to his step-son Ibrahim, on condition of suppressing the revolt. But, notwithstanding the formidable arrangements made for the invasion of the Morea by the

Egyptian fleets and armies, the Greek government was greatly encouraged by the success of their agents in contracting a loan of a large amount, on the security of the national property; and, although procured on very disadvantageous terms, — a debt of £ 800,000 being incurred for an available sum of only £ 280,000, a little more than one fourth of the amount, — the money was a very important relief in the pressure of their affairs. The Egyptian armament did not reach the Peloponnesus until 1825. This invasion, and the ravages carried over the Peloponnesus by the Egyptian armies, disciplined and led by European officers, and apparently the instruments by which the subjugation of Greece must be accomplished, were, under the guiding hand of Providence, the means of bringing this people out of their great perils, in the darkest hour of distress and danger.

§ 10. The accession of numerous Philhellenes to the cause was not, in all respects, beneficial. They came with different views, objects, and expectations. Some of them were ardent, enthusiastic men, whose sympathy for the country rested more on her ancient greatness than her present sufferings. But there were many honorable and distinguished men, who, well understanding the nature of the struggle, and not led away by literary enthusiasm, or by the memories of the past, consecrated their best efforts, their lives and their fortunes, to the restoration of Greece. There was Colonel Gordon, a man of calm intrepidity and the coolest head; there was Fabvier, the gallant Frenchman, who refused all pecuniary compensation, and spent his property in the service; there was Meyer, the German, who stood to his post bravely, and perished beneath the ruins of Mesolongi; Hastings, whose modest worth and gallant spirit have left a name never to be forgotten in the annals of those times; General Church, who, though he arrived in Greece only to share in the last year of the struggle, showed the virtues of chivalry and the humanity of a Christian gentleman, and who still lives, an object of universal respect for his probity, his defence of liberal principles, his unbending virtue in public and private life. He is a member of the Senate, and though not an orator, is a man of sagacity and of widely extended influence. There were our countrymen, Miller and Howe, both brave men, and the latter known throughout the world for his genius and philanthropy, having by his later achievements in peace eclipsed the fame he won on the theatre of his early adventures. There was Finlay, an accomplished Scotch gentleman, who, having lent his aid to the achievement of independence, is now giving studious years to the history of the country of his adoption, and whose works rank with the best productions of historical research in this age so fruitful of distinguished authorship in that department of letters.

But the greatest sensation was created by the advent of Lord Byron, and his early death at Mesolongi gives a profound interest to this chapter of Hellenic history, which a much longer period of active service

might have failed to inspire. The most indulgent judge must pass severe censure on many parts of Lord Byron's life. But his better nature began to waken from the delusions of the passions; and his good angel gave him an opportunity of crowning his life — all too short for himself and for the world — with a radiant and glorious close. He had formerly travelled through Greece, and celebrated its past achievements, as well as painted its present degradation, in the most transcendent poetry of modern times. He was misled by no enthusiasm of lettered and romantic youth; he knew thoroughly the condition of the Greeks, and no man had judged their faults of character with more severity. Blended with his poetical genius, there was in Lord Byron a quality of practical good sense, which, in other circumstances, would have made him eminent in the business of public or private life. With this good sense he scrutinized the condition of Greece, and reasoned out the probability of his power of rendering her a worthy service in that hour of her peril. He came to the conclusion calmly, without passion, without enthusiasm, without delusion, that here was a field in which he could achieve a good beyond the value of any poetical success; and having come to this conclusion, he forthwith consecrated his thoughts, his time, his fortune, his personal exertions, to the cause of Greece. He set sail from Leghorn on the 24th of July, 1823, and ten days after arrived in Cephalonia, and thence despatched messengers to make particular inquiries into the state of affairs in Greece. In the mean time he made an excursion to Ithaca, and examined with interest the antiquities of that rocky capital of Ulysses' kingdom. Finding here a number of families who had escaped from the massacre of Scio, from Patmos, and other places, he furnished generously the money for their relief. One of his messengers brought him a letter from Marco Botzarès, written only a few hours before his heroic death. In this letter he says, "I shall have something to do to-night against a corps of six or seven thousand Albanians, encamped close to this place. The day after to-morrow I will set out, with a few chosen companions, to meet your excellency. Do not delay. I thank you for the good opinion you have of my fellow-citizens, which God grant you will not find ill-founded; and I thank you still more for the care you have so kindly taken of them."* He did not embark for Mesolongi until the end of December, having employed the intervening time in corresponding with the friends of Greece, the Greek government, and the heads of the different parties, by whose dissensions the condition of the country was much endangered. It is impossible not to admire the just and comprehensive views developed by Lord Byron during these months of preliminary arrangements for his great enterprise. The wisdom of his conduct in re-

* This refers to his having taken into his pay a body of the Souliotes, who had been homeless since their defeat by Ali Pacha.

fusing to be drawn into the schemes of any of the factions, and the sagacity with which he penetrated and baffled their intrigues to secure his adhesion, the earnestness of his exhortations to concord and union, can never be sufficiently praised. To the general government of Greece he writes: "We have heard some rumors of new dissensions, nay, of the existence of civil war. With all my heart I pray that these reports may be false or exaggerated, for I can imagine no calamity more serious than this." "You have fought gloriously; act honorably towards your fellow-citizens and the world, and it will then no more be said, as has been repeated for two thousand years, that Philopœmen was the last of the Grecians. Let not calumny itself compare the patriot Greek, when resting from his labors, to the Turkish Pacha, whom his victories have exterminated." And to Mavrocordatos he says: "I am very uneasy at hearing that the dissensions of Greece still continue, and at a moment when she might triumph over everything. Greece is at present placed between three measures: either to reconquer her liberty, to become a dependence of the sovereigns of Europe, or to return to a Turkish province. Civil war is but a road which leads to the two latter." He arrived at Mesolongi on the 5th of January, 1824, having narrowly escaped being captured by the Turkish fleet. The whole population welcomed him on the shore; the ships fired salutes as he passed; and Mavrocordatos, at the head of the troops, and the civil authorities of the place, gave him a reception as hearty as it was full of joy, and escorted him in a body to the house which had been prepared for him. His conduct, in the midst of the difficulties by which he was at once surrounded, showed the same coolness, good sense, and generosity, where generosity could be serviceable, that had marked his course ever since he engaged in the enterprise. The suppression of discord, and the diminution of the inevitable horrors of war, by tempering it with sentiments of humanity, too often forgotten by the Greeks as well as by the Turks in the moment of victory, were the first objects he had at heart. He let no opportunity escape of inculcating and illustrating this spirit; he employed his influence successfully, in inducing the government to set some Turkish prisoners, who had been long languishing in dungeons, at liberty, and restoring them to their friends. Others he relieved by pecuniary aid, and others still he provided the means of sending to their homes. His ample income was employed without stint, and at the same time with excellent judgment, in the public service. It is an interesting incident in his literary life, that the last lines he wrote are these memorable ones, on the 22d of January, 1824, on completing his thirty-sixth year. The last stanza was ominous of his approaching fate:—

"Seek out—less often sought than found—
A soldier's grave, for thee the best;
Then look around and choose thy ground,
'And take thy rest."

He had been haunted from the beginning by a presentiment that he was destined to close his life in Greece. In taking leave of his friends in Italy, he more than once expressed this apprehension. The first indication of his failing health was given by a violent convulsion, on the 15th of February, while he was conversing with a few friends. This alarming incident created the most serious anticipations, and Lord Byron was urged to retire to some more healthy place, until his health should be restored. In reply to one of these friendly invitations he says: "I cannot quit Greece while there is a chance of my being of any (even supposed) utility; there is a stake worth millions such as I am, and, while I can stand at all, I must stand by the cause." In the following month he took the fever, from an exposure to a violent rain, which in a few days ended his life. The details of that last illness and death fill one of the saddest chapters in the history of Greece; and the affliction which fell on the country, as the news rapidly spread from province to province, testified how deeply his generous devotion to their cause had sunk into the hearts of the Greeks. In his last thoughts, indistinctly uttered in the broken words which were all the dissolving organs could convey, the names of his friends, his wife, his daughter, and of Greece, were confusedly mingled, — daughter and Greece were the very last words he spoke, — and then the silence and sleep of death settled on him who had electrified the world, and on whom, but now, the hopes of a nation centred. A storm of thunder broke over the town at the moment of his departure, and the Greeks who thronged the street to learn his condition cried out, as the awful crash fell from the sky, "The great man is gone."

It was the festival of Easter, — usually celebrated with great joy by the Greeks. But the day of festivity and rejoicing was turned into sorrow and mourning. All amusements ceased; the shops were shut; prayers were offered in the churches. The funeral ceremony took place on the 22d of April, in the church where lie the bodies of Marcos Botzarēs and the brave General Norman. Mr. Tricoupēs, the friend of Mavrocordatos and of Byron, the able secretary, the vigorous historian, and now the worthy representative of his country in England, delivered a funeral oration in the church on Easter Sunday. "What an unlooked for event!" exclaimed the orator, "what a deplorable misfortune! It is but a short time since the people of much-suffering Greece, all joy and exultation, welcomed to their bosoms this distinguished man; and to-day, all woe and despair, they bedew his funeral couch with bitterest tears, and mourn without consolation. The sweetest salutation, *Christ is arisen*, became joyless on Easter day, upon the lips of the Christians of Greece; who, when they met one another in the morning of that day, before they had yet spoken the congratulations of the festival, anxiously inquired, How is my lord? Thousands of men, assembled to interchange the sacred salutation of love, in the broad plain outside the walls of our city, appeared

to have assembled only to beseech the Saviour of all for the health of the champion in behalf of the freedom of our nation."

The orator goes on to speak, in the most feeling manner, of the services Lord Byron had rendered; of the liberal employment of his wealth; of his excellent judgment; of his splendid genius. "All lettered Europe," says he, "has eulogized, and will eulogize, the poet of our age; and all ages will celebrate him, because he was born for all Europe and for all ages."

"In the agony of death,—yes, at the moment when the veil of eternity is rent to him who stands on the borders of mortal and immortal life,—in that awful hour, the illustrious departed, when leaving all the world, bore only two names upon his lips, that of his much beloved daughter, and that of his much beloved Hellas. These names, deeply rooted in his heart, the moment of death itself could not obliterate. 'My daughter!' he said; 'Greece!' he said; and his voice expired. What Grecian heart is not broken, when it recalls this scene?"

"Thine arm, O dearly cherished daughter! will receive him; thy tears will console the tomb which holds his body, and the tears of the orphans of Greece shall be shed over the urn that holds his most precious heart, and upon the whole land of Hellas, because the whole land of Hellas shall be his sepulchre. As in the last moments of his life he had thee and Hellas in his heart and on his lips, it was just that after his death Hellas also should receive a part of his precious remains. Mesolongi presses in her arms the urn that holds his heart as a symbol of his love; but all Greece, in mourning and inconsolable, renders his body back to thee with ecclesiastical, civil, and military honors, crowned with her gratitude and bedewed with her tears. Learn, most noble maiden, that chieftains bore it on their shoulders to the church; that thousands of Grecian warriors lined the way through which the procession moved, with arms reversed, as if they would war against the very earth which snatched away their faithful friend; they surround his bier, and swear never to forget the sacrifices your father made, and never to allow a barbarous and tyrannic foot to trample the spot where his heart remains. A thousand Christian voices are this moment raised, and the temple of the Most High resounds with funeral chants; all is filled with prayers that his revered remains may be safely restored to his native land, and that his soul may rest where rest the righteous for ever."

Mr. Tricoupēs spoke the feelings of the whole country. A deeper sense of loneliness and woe never fell upon that afflicted land than when her greatest benefactor died.

"Such honors Ilion to her hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade."

§ 11. The successes of Ibrahim Pacha were checkered with reverses and defeats; but wherever he went, he laid the country waste, and, slaughtering the men, sent the women and children to be sold as slaves in

Egypt. On the 18th of November, 1825, the fleet of Ibrahim arrived from the Peloponnesus at Mesolongi, and a few days after another division of his army joined the forces by way of Lepanto, and the city was immediately invested by an army of thirty thousand men. The most active measures for its reduction by a vigorous assault were taken. The besiegers were often repulsed with heavy losses, and in February it was resolved to reduce the place by a rigorous blockade. The gallant attempts of Miaulès to break the blockade were fruitless. Ibrahim Pacha sent to the garrison a request that they would depute persons to treat with him who could speak Albanian, Turkish, and French; but they replied, "We are illiterate, and do not understand so many languages; Pachas we do not recognize, but we know how to handle the sword and gun." In three days eight thousand shot and shells were fired into the town, demolishing the houses, but killing few of the people. The outposts were taken one by one, but only after the most desperate and bloody resistance. At length the supplies from without were cut off, and the garrison reduced to the most miserable condition, feeding on rats, raw hides, and sea-weed. The earth was covered with the starving, sick, and wounded; but they persisted in their refusal to surrender, and resolved, since the place could no longer be defended, to leave it with arms in their hands. A sortie was arranged for the night of April 22d, and would probably have been quite successful but for the treachery of a Bulgarian, who gave notice to Ibrahim Pacha, and thus enabled him, shortly before the appointed moment, to make preparations for the attack. The plan was that three thousand armed men should throw themselves suddenly upon the enemy's line, and open a way for the women and children. The women and boys armed themselves with swords and daggers. Many of the inhabitants, however, including the sick and wounded, resolved not to quit their native place, but to share its downfall and bury themselves in its ruins. The leaving-taking of those who determined to make the desperate attempt, and of their friends and relations who remained behind, is described as heart-rending; the wailing and lamentations not only filled the city, but reached the posts of the besieging army. According to the arrangement, the soldiers of the garrison passed out by the eastern outlet, and awaited the signal; but growing impatient under the enemy's fire, they started up, and, shouting "Death to the barbarians!" passed the trenches, broke through the infantry, silenced the batteries, and killed the artillery-men at their guns. In the confusion of the hour, a part of the plan failed to be carried into effect. A panic broke out among the people, and instead of taking instant advantage of the enemy's confusion, they rushed back to the town. The Turks and Arabs, eager for slaughter and plunder, poured in from every side, and commenced the work of destruction and blood. The cries of the wounded and dying filled the night. The roll of musketry, and the explosions of magazines, fired by the inhabitants, and

slaying multitudes of the besiegers, added to the horrors of the scene. A lame private soldier named Capsalēs had retired with his family into the principal magazine, which contained thirty barrels of gunpowder. He sat with a lighted torch, and when it was crowded by the frantic Moslems the veteran applied the torch, and all were blown, mutilated corpses, into the air by the horrible explosion. The loss of the besiegers was increased by the struggle for the spoils between the Egyptians and the European Turks. When the assault commenced there were in Mesolongi nine thousand souls: five hundred were slain in the sortie, six hundred afterwards died by starvation in the mountains; about eighteen hundred escaped, of whom two hundred were females. The spirit shown by these Grecian heroines is illustrated by one of the incidents of the escape. A young girl, flying with a brother in delicate health, was pursued by a Turkish horseman. Carrying the brother, exhausted by fatigue, to a neighboring hillock, she seized his gun, received the fire of the Turk, which fortunately was without effect, and then coolly took aim and shot him dead. Among the slain were a number of European Philhellenes, and two brothers of Tricoupēs, the orator and historian. Three thousand were sabred in the streets, and nearly the same number of women and children were sold into slavery. Greece was again clothed in mourning. Not only was the downfall of Mesolongi disastrous in a military and political view; it gave new occasion for civil strifes, which the government could not repress; and it placed in the hands of the enemy the spot which they had sworn at the death of Byron he should never pollute with his footsteps. But the endurance and heroism of the defenders, the gallantry of those who cut through the besieging lines, and of those who stayed to perish in the ruins, crowned the name of Mesolongi with unfading glory.

§ 12. After the siege of Mesolongi, Ibrahim returned into the Peloponnesus only to renew his ravages; but in attempting to reduce the Manotes, he suffered several severe repulses. Athens, almost the only place in Eastern Greece that still held out, was closely besieged. An attempt of Colonel Fabvier on Eubœa had failed. The third national assembly of the Greeks, held in April at Epidaurus, dismayed at the fall of Mesolongi, appointed two commissions, one of twelve members, for the regulation of the war, the other of thirteen, for the civil government and the administration of the revenue. The assembly then adjourned until September, and the committee repaired to Nauplia to assume their functions. The war was carried on in Eastern Greece, Western Greece, Peloponnesus, and the Islands; the state of affairs now seemed hopeless in all these great divisions of the theatre of action. In the month of July, the Turkish commander, Kiutahi or Reschid Pacha, commenced his operations against Athens, then commanded by Gouras, formerly a lieutenant of Odysseus, who, having surrendered himself to the troops sent against him in 1824, was held in close confinement

as a prisoner in the Acropolis at Athens. A few days after, his mutilated body was found at the foot of the Acropolis, under a tower in which he was imprisoned. It was given out that he fell, and was accidentally killed in attempting to escape. But various circumstances afterwards, concurring with expressions of remorse uttered by Gouras, led to the opinion that that chieftain had yielded to the importunities of enemies of Odysseus, and consented that he should secretly be put to death.

Gouras was instructed by the government to keep the Turks at a distance from Athens; but, disregarding their orders, he filled the magazines of the Acropolis with provisions, which he forced the inhabitants of Athens in the most arbitrary manner to supply, and prepared with his troops to stand a siege in that almost impregnable fortress. Many of the citizens went over to Salamis, as they did in the old Persian wars; the rest stood by their hearths and altars in the city. The Turks soon got possession of the town, though the outposts were bravely defended by the citizens. The operations of the siege were interrupted by the appearance of Colonel Fabvier and Karaïskakēs in the plain of Athens, with a considerable force. But a battle taking place, the Greeks were routed, and fled, and the bombardment of the Acropolis from the hill of the Museum, near the monument of Philopappus, was resumed with great energy. The siege was carried on, not only by the incessant firing of the batteries, but by a series of mines and countermines, in which many men perished. Gouras lost his life early in October. One night, as he was going the rounds, one of his attendants snapped a musket, and two shots being fired in the direction of the flash, one of them struck him on the head, and he died without a groan.

Several attempts were made to relieve the garrison, but only one succeeded. It was executed by Colonel Fabvier and a body of about six hundred picked men, who, on the night of December 18th, broke through the Turkish lines, and entered the Acropolis under a shower of grape from the Museum, with a loss of only six killed and fourteen wounded. A large supply of powder was almost the only advantage secured to the garrison by this daring adventure. The siege was vigorously pressed, and the distress arising from the crowded state of the Acropolis increased. The constant discharge of cannon did great mischief to the splendid monuments of the Acropolis, despite the firman obtained from the Sultan by Sir Stratford Canning, that the Parthenon and the Erechtheion should be spared. A large part of the Erechtheion was battered down, and the family of Gouras, with the principal ladies of Athens, who had taken shelter there, perished beneath its ruins.

§ 13. A fresh national assembly assembled at Trœzen in March, 1827, and introduced some very important modifications into the constitution, the most essential of which was the placing the executive power in the hands of a single magistrate, under the title of President of Greece,

extending the term of office to seven years, and enlarging his powers generally. After a good deal of angry dispute, and with great reluctance on the part of many members, the choice finally rested on John Capo D'Istrias, a Corfiote, a man of great talent and sagacity, and of large experience in affairs, having been long in the Russian service, and being at the moment a member of the cabinet of that country. As some time must elapse before he would arrive in Greece, the executive power was intrusted to a commission of three. The same assembly appointed Lord Cochrane to the chief command by sea, and placed General Church in the supreme command of the land forces. These two officers immediately entered upon their respective commands, and arrangements were at once made for an attack on the Turkish besiegers of the Acropolis. Karaïskakēs also returned from a brilliant expedition in the North. Public attention was concentrated upon the operations for raising the siege of Athens, as if that was the last hope of the country, and troops poured in from every quarter, in answer to the calls of the government and the commanders.

§ 14. The Greeks, during the operations that followed, committed one of those acts of bad faith which have brought so much reproach upon them. An attack was made on the Turkish positions in Munychia. The Turks fled, and three hundred took refuge in the monastery of St. Spyridon. Though surrounded by the Greeks and cut off from all communication, and without the slightest chance of escape, they refused to surrender unless allowed to retain their arms. The monastery was cannonaded, and at last General Church proposed to allow them to pass out with their arms, contrary to the wishes of the native officers. The Greeks were disappointed and enraged, thinking that the garrison would in a few days be reduced to an unconditional surrender. Hostages had been given for the faithful performance of the agreement; among the rest Karaïskakēs himself, and other distinguished chieftains of the Greeks, placed themselves at the disposal of the Turks. The troops left the monastery, having the hostages in their centre. But the Greeks, murmuring and tumultuous and little accustomed to military obedience, surrounded them; a quarrel arose between a Turkish officer and a Greek soldier, which led to an instant attack. The Greek officers did their best, at the risk of their own lives, to save the Turks, and one was killed and several wounded. Karaïskakēs, frantic at this shameful violation of the truce, struggled in vain against his countrymen; then, turning to the Turks, cried out, "Kill me, as I have killed you." Two hundred were killed, and about seventy made their escape and reached the camp of Reschid Pacha. The result of such an act of treachery was most disastrous. It demoralized the Greek forces, and disheartened the European commanders. General Church, horror-struck, was on the point of resigning his command, and was only dissuaded from this step by the entreaties of the Moreote officers. The next

disastrous incident was the death of Karaïskakēs, in a skirmish on the 4th of May. A body of Greek soldiers made an irregular attack upon some of the Turkish outposts. The assailants were driven back. Karaïskakēs was sick and in bed; but, hearing the fire, he rose, sprang upon his horse, and galloped into the midst of the battle. While endeavoring to rally the fugitives he received the fire of a Turkish horseman, and was carried mortally wounded from the field. He was taken on board one of the ships, and there, conscious of his approaching death, passed the last hours of his existence in an earnest conversation with Lord Cochrane and the other chiefs on the state of the country and the proper measures to be taken for her deliverance. When some words of consolation were addressed to him in praise of the brilliancy of his achievements, he answered, "What I have done, I have done; what has happened, has happened; now for the future." And when he was drawing his last breath, he said to those around him, among whom were Lord Cochrane and General Church, "My country laid upon me a heavy task; I have fulfilled my duty by ten months of terrible battles; nothing remained except my life; this I owed to my country, this I surrender to my country. I am dying; let my fellow-soldiers finish my work; let them save my Athens." These were the last words he spoke. His bravery, his patriotism, his heroic death, made the errors of his previous life forgotten, and he is justly regarded by his countrymen as one of the most illustrious of her heroes. Funeral honors were paid to his memory by the national assembly at Trœzene, and an eloquent discourse pronounced by Mr. Tricoupēs in the presence of the deputies and the Executive Council, and a large concourse of citizens. The stranger who visits Athens gazes with interest, as he enters the harbor of Peiræus, upon the ruins of the tomb of Themistocles, which looked out upon the waters of Salamis, the scene of his glory; and as he passes up from Peiræus to Athens, along the foundations of the ancient walls which connected the port with the city, he beholds with equal interest, in a field at a distance from the road, the monument erected on the spot where the modern hero fell.

§ 15. Two days afterwards the fate of the attempt to raise the siege of Athens was decided. On the 6th of May, one of the most sanguinary battles which had occurred in the whole war was fought in the environs of the city. Lord Cochrane had said that he should dine on the Acropolis. Vain boast. The Turkish horsemen—always the most formidable arm of the service—dashed impetuously upon the Greeks, and cut them to pieces with dreadful slaughter. The panic-stricken survivors of the main body fled. A band of Souliotes maintained their ground, and were nearly all slain. The rout was complete; "and for two hours," says Dr. Howe, "the plain presented only a picture of detached fights between bands of ten, five, or three Greeks and dozens of Turks, who soon cut them to pieces, though after desperate resistance." Lord Cochrane and General

Church, who were advancing with supplies and reinforcements, were obliged to retreat and take refuge on board the ships. The centre and left wing, amounting to seven thousand men, who had taken no part in the battle, immediately fled in the direction of the Isthmus; the posts around Peiræus were abandoned. The ground was strewn with fifteen hundred of the flower of the Grecian warriors; nearly all the Europeans engaged in the battle perished; many of the bravest leaders fell; others were taken prisoners, of whom two hundred and forty were beheaded the next morning. Lord Cochrane immediately withdrew with his squadron to Hydra. General Church remained at Phaleron with two thousand men three weeks longer, when, finding his men disheartened and ready to desert, he dismantled the batteries and abandoned all the positions. Some attempts were subsequently made to relieve the garrison by an expedition in the enemy's rear, to cut off his supplies. The citadel was, however, surrendered on the 5th of June.

The fall of Athens was felt as a tremendous blow over all Greece. It seemed to extinguish the last spark of hope that the war could be continued. The poverty that covered the country was indescribable. But the sympathies of the world were aroused anew by the tales of starvation and woe which reached the ears of the humane everywhere. In the United States societies were formed to raise contributions, and seven ship-loads of provisions and clothing were despatched, which saved from death thousands of the wretched population, and infused new strength into the heart of the nation.

§ 16. The cabinets of Europe also were no longer insensible to the duty of putting a stop to the present state of things. The tone of the English government had been greatly altered by the influence of Canning's genius and fine humanity; and the former sympathy with the Turks in their lawful efforts to suppress the unjustifiable insurrection of their rebellious rayas was felt to be false to the spirit of the times, and traitorous to the rights of man. Before the insurrection, the Greeks had sent a deputation to St. Petersburg, to offer the crown of Greece to one of the Grand Dukes, in the hope of securing the support of so powerful a state to their cause. The offer was declined. During the war they sent another deputation to Paris, proposing that one of the sons of Louis Philippe — then Duke of Orleans — should be placed on the throne; here, again, they met with disappointment. Later still, they threw themselves on the protection of England, offering to confer the crown on Prince Leopold; but the proposition was at first coldly received. The successes of Ibrahim Pacha, and the prospect of having a powerful Egyptian government, independent of the Porte, established in Greece, had some effect in exciting the alarm of Europe, and the disturbance of commerce in the Levant became more and more serious. In 1826 Russia manifested a disposition to take the settlement of affairs into her own hands. Mr. Canning seized

the occasion of the mission of the Duke of Wellington to St. Petersburg, in that year, to communicate the readiness of the British cabinet to join in an arrangement for the pacification of Greece. The result of this communication was the signature of the protocol of the 4th of April. This was followed by a series of diplomatic discussions, leading to the treaty signed at London on the 6th of July, 1827, by the plenipotentiaries of Russia, France, and England, which provided that an immediate armistice should be established between Turkey and Greece, and proposed to place Greece on the footing of a tributary province, under the sovereignty of the Sultan, but with the right of electing her own governors, subject to the approval of the Porte. The feeble and wretched condition of Greece made it difficult for her to reject even these humiliating terms; but the Porte refused to allow any interference in its own affairs, and even to receive a written communication from the ministers of the Western powers.

§ 17. This obstinacy of the Porte, which was but too well justified by the previous assurances of the cabinets that they had no intention of interfering, induced England and France to augment their naval forces in the Mediterranean. Russia sent a squadron to join them. The British Admiral, Sir Edward Codrington, was instructed to prevent the landing of any forces in Greece from Egypt or Turkey. The Greeks had abstained from all military operations as soon as the treaty was known; but as Ibrahim continued his ravages, and violated a temporary armistice he had agreed to with Codrington, they again took up arms. The combined Egyptian and Turkish fleets lay concentrated in the harbor of Navarino, when, on the 20th of October, the English, French, and Russian squadrons entered the Bay, resolved, at all hazards, to put a stop to the enormities still perpetrated by Ibrahim, and to force him to comply with their proposals. He was required either to quit the Peloponnesus altogether, or at least to cease from devastating the country. The Turks were drawn up in order of battle, and having fired upon a boat with a flag of truce, and killed several persons on board, a terrible battle instantly commenced, which lasted four hours. The Turco-Egyptian fleet consisted of seventy-nine ships of war, and other vessels, amounting in all to one hundred and twenty, carrying two thousand two hundred and forty cannon; the fleet of the allies amounted to only twenty-six vessels, with thirteen hundred and twenty-four guns; but, though the battle was obstinate and bloody, it resulted in the utter defeat of the Turks and Egyptians. They refused to strike; some of their ships were burned, others driven on shore, and nearly all disabled; only twenty or thirty corvettes and brigs remaining in a sailing condition. Six thousand men perished. So tremendous a catastrophe caused for a moment an involuntary cessation of hostilities. Europe and America resounded with triumph and exultation; and the Greeks, filled with new hope, returned thanks to Heaven for so signal and unlooked for

a deliverance. But when the news reached Constantinople, it found the Porte still intractable and violent. "My positive, absolute, definitive, unchangeable, eternal answer," said the minister to the interpreters of England, France, and Russia, "is that the Sublime Porte does not accept any proposition concerning the Greeks, and means to persist in its own will for ever and ever, even unto the day of the last judgment." In this obstinate course of conduct the Porte was sustained by Austria, under the inspiration of Metternich, to whom the alliance between Russia, France, and England, and all the recent proceedings for the salvation of Greece, were in the highest degree distasteful. But it was impossible for the Porte long to hold out. In April, 1828, Russia declared war against her, and compelled the Sultan to turn his chief attention in this direction.

The President elect, Capo D'Istrias, having been dismissed from the Russian service, and having spent about ten months in St. Petersburg, Paris, and London, in order to come to a distinct understanding with the three protecting powers, and having effected a loan, then highly necessary to the new organization of Greece, arrived at Nauplia in January, 1828, and thence proceeded to Ægina, where the government had at that time established itself. While in England, he succeeded in winning the goodwill of the leading statesmen, except the Duke of Wellington, who persisted in thinking the battle of Navarino an untoward event. Immediately on his arrival he assumed the duties of his office, and set about the Herculean task of restoring order in the demoralized and disorganized condition of the country, with extraordinary activity and talent, having the aid of Mr. Tricoupès as Secretary of State. But the Porte still refusing to make peace, a French expedition sailed from Toulon, and Ibrahim Pacha was glad to accept terms and make his way back to Egypt with the remains of his shattered fleet. The last sail of the hostile armament disappeared from Greece on the 7th of October, and the last battle on land was fought in Bœotia, a year after, by Prince Demetrius Ypselantēs, who, with three thousand men, gained a brilliant victory over a force of seven thousand; thus triumphantly completing a struggle, which eight years before his brother Alexander had opened by a disastrous defeat. The Porte at last, terrified by the successes of the Russian arms, accepted the propositions of the great powers, and hostilities thenceforth ceased between the Turks and the Greeks.

On a general review of the contest now brought to a close, a few of the leading incidents of which have been thus briefly treated, we may venture to assert that the Greeks were right in commencing it, and justified in commencing it when they did; that they were entitled to the sympathy and support of Christian nations at the outset, — though, so far from receiving it, they were denounced by the Holy Alliance as rebels; that the course of the great powers was at first cold and cruel, and afterwards wavering; and that they ungenerously required the emancipated country, at the

moment of pacification, to acknowledge itself tributary to the Porte, when the Greeks had fairly entitled themselves, by their conduct and sufferings, to the guaranties of Europe for their national existence and their absolute and unqualified independence.

§ 18. The settlement of the affairs of the country now occupied the attention of the great powers. It was proposed at first to retain Greece under the sovereignty of the Porte, but to give it a separate administration on the payment of a large annual tribute; but this plan was found impracticable. It was next proposed to erect the country into an independent principality, and to give it a ruler from one of the reigning houses in Europe, under the title of Sovereign Prince. Prince Leopold, the present king of Belgium, was selected for this station, and the choice was an excellent one. The Prince accepted the appointment, but, for reasons equally honorable to his head and heart, four months afterwards, in May, 1830, abdicated the yet unoccupied throne. The principal reason which induced this step was the absurd boundary line on the north, proposed and insisted on by the protecting powers. Negotiations were again renewed; fresh protocols filled up another year; when, in October, 1831, Count Capo D'Istrias, who had been President of Greece for four years, with almost dictatorial power, was assassinated at Nauplia by two members of the Manote clan of Mavromichalēs, whose chief, Petros Bey, he had illegally imprisoned. This tragical event was followed by six months of anarchy. Augustine Capo D'Istrias, a younger brother of the murdered President, was nominally placed at the head of affairs. He found it impossible to stem the tide of opposition, and, resigning his office, on the 15th of April took passage with the dead body of his brother on board a Russian vessel bound for Corfou. These events made it necessary to bring the arrangements of the great powers to the speediest possible conclusion. The plenipotentiaries now turned their attention to Louis, king of Bavaria, who had always been a lover of Hellenic art, and had rendered generous aid to Greece in the hour of her distress. Finally it was determined to make a kingdom of Greece, and to raise Prince Otho to the throne, with all the honors and dignities of sovereignty. Otho was the second son of the king, born June 1, 1815; consequently only seventeen years old when charged with the august office of reconstructing a shattered state. The period of his majority was fixed at the age of twenty; in the mean time a regency of three Bavarian statesmen — Count Armandsparg, the Chevalier von Maurer, and General Heidecker — was appointed to carry on the government in the name of the youthful monarch. A loan of sixty millions of francs (\$ 12,000,000) was guaranteed by the three powers, and a Bavarian army of thirty-five hundred men enrolled, for the maintenance of order in the new kingdom. On the 8th of August, 1832, Prince Otho was solemnly acknowledged by the national assembly at Pronœa — a suburb of Nauplia — the whole assembly rising

and shouting with one voice, "A long life and a happy reign to Otho the First, King of Hellas." On the 6th of February, 1833, he landed at Nauplia, amidst the acclamations of the people; "a happy day," says a Greek writer, "on which the Hellenic nation, after three hundred and eighty years' bereavement of their imperial throne, had the happiness again to welcome their own monarch, and saw at length, with unspeakable exultation, and with profound gratitude to the Most High, their longings fulfilled, their patience rewarded, and the struggles of four centuries crowned with triumph."

The boundaries were determined by a treaty between the great powers and the Sublime Porte, in 1832. The northern line runs from the Gulf of Volo, or the Pagasean Gulf, on the east, along the chain of Othrys, and strikes the Gulf of Arta, or the Ambracian Gulf, on the west. The eastern line includes Eubœa, the Northern Sporades, and the Cyclades. Crete was ceded to the Pacha of Egypt, and the other islands of the *Ægean*, with the provinces north of the line above indicated, were replaced under the government of Turkey. The islands on the western coast still constitute the Septinsular Republic, under the protectorate of England. The country was organized within these boundaries, and the ancient divisions with the classical names restored. It was divided into ten *Nomoi*, or Provinces, thirty *Eparchias*, or Cantons, and 453 *Dēmoi*, or Communes, with their several local administrations. The first *Nome* embraces Attica and Boeotia; the second, Phocis and Phthiotis; the third, *Ætolia* and *Acarmania*; the fourth, Argolis and Corinth; the fifth, Achaia and Elis; the sixth, Arcadia; the seventh, Messenia; the eighth, Laconia; the ninth, Eubœa and the Northern Sporades; the tenth, the Cyclades.

The seat of government was at first established at Nauplia, but in 1835 it was transferred to Athens; and in the same year, the king, having attained his majority, assumed the reins of government, and addressed on the occasion a proclamation to the Greek people, which excited the liveliest hopes and the brightest anticipations of the future happiness of the country.

In the following year the king was married to the Princess Amelia, the daughter of the Grand Duke of Oldenberg, then seventeen years old, and one of the most beautiful princesses in Europe. The marriage took place on the 22d of November, 1836, and they arrived at the *Peiræus* on the 14th of February, 1837. The next day, the youthful pair entered Athens under triumphal arches, decorated with laurel and myrtle branches, amidst the huzzas of the whole population.

§ 19. The period has not yet arrived when the history of Otho's reign can be impartially written. In this brief sketch of events, it has not been intended to dwell much on details; and in what remains, only a few additional points will be considered.

The Greeks have always been an eminently constitutional people. The first step taken by them after the war broke out was to establish a

constitution; and during the war, although dissensions often prevailed, still the Greeks were in the main governed by constitutional forms. Prince Leopold, during the brief period of his nominal sovereignty, was urged by President Capo D'Istrias to recognize the constitutional rights of the nation. When Prince Otho was elected by the great powers, the national assembly began a revision of the constitution, but were prevented from completing their labors by the intervention of the king of Bavaria, and the Residents of the protecting powers. The treaty which placed Otho on the throne contains not a word about a constitutional monarchy; and it was well understood that Russia was hostile to constitutional governments everywhere, and France and England were perhaps indifferent. King Otho, therefore, was an absolute monarch, so far as the treaty defined his powers; and if his government was administered upon absolute principles during the first ten years of his reign, both by the regency and by his cabinets after he assumed the reins, the blame ought justly to be shared by the European powers, who neglected to guarantee a constitution to the people. It is not proposed to dwell upon the complaints urged against the Bavarian dynasty in general; but it must be admitted that the regency committed a grave error in not calling a national assembly, at an early date, to frame a constitution, and that the king, on attaining his majority, committed a similar error. At all events, the people became impatient for a constitutional government. The dissatisfaction of the country reached its height in 1843, and a universal determination was formed to have a constitution at all events, while there was an equally general purpose not to violate the respect due to their Majesties. Combinations and arrangements were entered into between the civil authorities and the military, to enforce the changes called for by the country, but to use no more force than was necessary for the purpose. The movement was headed by General Kalergēs, who had been a distinguished officer in the war of the Revolution, and was then inspector of the cavalry quartered at Athens.

Some intimation of the design reached the government, and several arrests were ordered on the night of the 14th of September, 1843. This action of the government was seized upon as the moment to carry out the long-meditated revolution. Kalergēs hastily summoned the officers and put the garrison in motion, amidst loud cries of *Long life to the constitution!* which were responded to by the large bodies of citizens now rapidly gathering from every quarter of the town. Kalergēs marched his troops, accompanied by the citizens, to the square in front of the palace; in a few moments the artillery came up, the guns were pointed at the palace, and the artillerymen cried out, *Ζήτω τὸ σύνταγμα!* *Long life to the constitution!* The king, appearing at the window, demanded the cause of the disturbance and of this parade of the garrison. Kalergēs replied, so as to be heard by the whole multitude, "The people of Greece and the

army desire that your Majesty will redeem the promise that the country should be governed constitutionally." The king ordered the troops to retire to their quarters, promising to consult with the ministers, the Council of State, and the ambassadors of the three protecting powers. But Kaler-gēs replied, that "neither the garrison of Athens nor the people would quit the spot until his Majesty's decision should be made known." The Council of State, meantime, had been discussing the great question, what was to be done in this emergency. They were not unanimous; but the constitutional party, led by General Church, Londos, and Rhēgas Palamedes, were in the majority, and at last all united in drawing up a proclamation, a list of a new ministry to be recommended to the king, and an address advising his Majesty to call a national assembly to prepare a constitution. Before the king's answer was given, the carriages of the foreign ministers appeared at the gates of the palace, but were politely though firmly refused admittance. All submitted quietly except the minister of Prussia, who persisted, with harsh and disrespectful language, in demanding admittance to his Majesty. Kalergēs, getting out of patience, finished the scene by telling the minister that "his advice had generally been unfortunate, and he was afraid the king had had too much of it lately." Upon this, the diplomatic gentlemen stepped into their carriages and drove off, amidst the laughter of the people, who maintained the most perfect good humor through the whole scene. The king signed the ordinances appointing a new ministry and convoking a national assembly. The troops, having been thirteen hours under arms, marched back to their barracks; the citizens dispersed to their homes; the business of the city was not interrupted an hour; the courts sat without the slightest obstruction; no tumults took place in the country; a chief, named Griziotēs, who was on his way from Eubœa to the capital with more than a thousand irregular troops, hearing that the object had been accomplished, enjoined his followers to return to their homes, and asked leave "to come alone to obey the law, and not to give it." The next night the city was illuminated, and great rejoicings celebrated the event, without a single act of violence. In the same moderate spirit of tranquil triumph, the great constitutional victory was commemorated all over the country, and the 15th of September was henceforth added to the national festivals. This revolution was accomplished without shedding a drop of blood; without even disturbing the quiet of a single citizen, except a person named Tzinos, who had made himself odious as chief of police, by the cruelties he had inflicted in the discharge of his functions. He took shelter in the palace, but was given up, and merely sent away to one of the islands; and the only uneasiness manifested anywhere was the opposition made by that island — Tenos — to receiving so odious a person on its shores.

The king and queen drove out the next day, as usual, and were cheered by the people. The new ministry entered upon their functions; the Ba-

varians were dismissed, and many of them took the Austrian steamer for home in less than a week. The national assembly was convoked for the 13th of November. The elections resulted most satisfactorily. The best men, almost without exception, were chosen. The assembly was opened on the 20th of November by the king in person, accompanied by his ministers, and in the presence of the diplomatic body, all of whom attended except the Russian legation. In fact, Russia had totally withheld her sanction from the constitutional proceedings, not only at Athens, but through her ministers at the other courts. The king's speech was conceived in a most excellent spirit, and raised his popularity to the highest point; and the marks of affection and respect everywhere accorded to their Majesties, then and whenever they appeared in public, deeply impressed them. The assembly, consisting of two hundred and twenty-five members, was organized by the choice of Mr. Panoutsos Notaras, an eminent patriot, who took arms at the opening of the Revolution, being then eighty-four years old. He had been a member of all the preceding national assemblies. At the age of one hundred and seven, he was chosen a member for his native province, Corinth, and was now elected president of the constitutional assembly, in the midst of the acclamations of his colleagues. Four vice-presidents were appointed, — Mavrocordatos, Metaxas, Collettēs, and Londos.

The draft of the constitution was submitted to the assembly on the 15th of January, and after being carefully discussed was laid before the king on the 4th of March. It was thoroughly studied by his Majesty, and returned by him with a few changes suggested, and on the 16th of March, 1844, to the great joy of the nation, the constitution was formally accepted. A deputation immediately waited upon his Majesty, and expressed, in fervid and eloquent language, the thanks and gratitude of the assembly.

The constitution embodies all the securities which were incorporated into the earlier forms, with such other principles as the actual state of the country made necessary. The settlement of Otho and his family on the throne is confirmed. The Oriental Church is the established religion, but all other religions are tolerated. Proselytizing and attacks upon the established religion are forbidden. All Greeks are declared equal in the eye of the law, and personal liberty is inviolable. No titles of nobility are to be created. It is declared that in Greece man is not bought and sold. A serf or a slave, whatever may be his nationality or his religion, is free from the moment that he sets foot on Hellenic ground. The press is free, and a censorship cannot be established. Public instruction is at the charge of the state; torture and confiscation cannot be introduced, and the secrecy of letters is inviolable. The legislative power is divided between the king, the Chamber of Deputies, called *Boule*, and the Senate, or *Gerousia*; but all money bills must originate with the

Deputies. The king has the usual powers, under the usual restrictions, of a constitutional monarch. His person is inviolable, but his ministers may be impeached for maladministration. He is the executive magistrate. In case of the failure of heirs, and the vacancy of the throne, provision is made for the appointment of a regent, and then for the election of a king by vote of the assembly. The deputies (*Βουλευταί*) are elected for three years. No one can be elected who has not reached the age of thirty years. The number of deputies is in proportion to the population, as regulated by law, but never to be less than eighty. The senators (*Γερουσιασταί*) are appointed by the king for life. A considerable number of conditions and qualifications are prescribed; the legal age is forty. The minimum number of senators is twenty-seven; but the king may, when he sees fit, raise it to one half the number of the deputies. The princes of the blood and the heir presumptive of the crown are senators by right, as soon as they shall have completed their eighteenth year, but they are to have no voice in the deliberations until they have completed their twenty-fifth year. The ministers are appointed by the king, with the usual responsibilities. Justice is administered by judges appointed by the king for life. Arguments before the tribunals are to be public, unless such publicity be deemed by the court dangerous to morals and public order. A judge can accept no salaried employment, except that of Professor in the University. The trial by jury in civil cases, and in cases of political crimes and offences of the press, is preserved. No oath can be exacted without a law which prescribes and determines it. All conflicting jurisdiction is to be reviewed and decided by the Areopagus, which is the supreme court, or court of final appeal.

§ 20. Greece has been under a constitutional government about eleven years. But the condition of the country is not yet such as its friends hoped and desired. Agriculture is still imperfect and rude. Roads are neglected. The public domain is badly administered, and the population has but slowly increased. Manufacturing industry has made some progress, but only in the larger towns, such as Athens, Argos, and Nauplia. The people are generally poor; but few, if any, beggars are to be seen. A large accession of capital is needed. The country is loaded with debt, and the system of taxation is at once oppressive and wasteful. It must be remembered, however, that scarcely a quarter of a century has passed since the country emerged from a most destructive war, which left no villages standing, and reduced the people to a state of destitution almost unparalleled in the history of the world.

Slow as the progress of Greece has been in material civilization, her zeal for education and literature is not surpassed by the most enlightened nations in the world. We have seen that one of the preparations for the Revolution was a rapid improvement in the schools, and a large increase of their number. During the war the provisional governments never lost

sight of this subject, and Count Capo D'Istrias gave to it much of his attention. The regency of Otho organized the system of public education more thoroughly than had previously been done. The Greeks also raised large sums by private subscriptions and by local taxes. Prince Demetrius Ypselantēs left his whole fortune to found a school in Nauplia, which annually educates several hundred scholars. Many schools for girls have been established in different parts of Greece. There are two or three in Athens; one under the charge of Madame Mano, a sister of Alexander Mavrocordatos; another, the justly famous missionary school of our countryman, Dr. Hill, which has been of incalculable service to the women of Greece. Private schools flourish in the principal towns. But doubtless the most characteristic feature is the scheme of public education, as it now exists in the system of public schools. Under this system are, —

1. The Demotic, or schools of mutual instruction, in which are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, with the elements of history, geography, natural philosophy, &c. to both boys and girls.
2. The Hellenic schools, in which are taught, in addition to the further study of the above-enumerated branches, the elements of the ancient Greek grammar, and translations from ancient into modern Greek and the Latin and French languages.
3. The Gymnasia, in which the Latin and Greek are continued, with philosophy, logic, ethics, physics, general history, mathematical geography, and the French, German, and English languages.
4. The University of Otho, which is organized with four departments, or faculties, — philosophy, theology, medicine, and law.

According to the reports of 1853, more than forty thousand children were taught in the Demotic schools; in the Hellenic schools, more than five thousand; in the Gymnasia, two thousand; in the University, above six hundred; — in all amounting to about fifty thousand. If we add the scholars of the numerous private schools, this number will be considerably increased. There were in 1853 three hundred and ten schools of mutual instruction, eighty-five Hellenic schools, and seven Gymnasia. Besides these, there is a teachers' school, a naval school, an agricultural school, and a polytechnic school. The University, organized in 1836, has a corps of nearly forty professors, and an excellent library of eighty thousand volumes. Among the professors are men who would do honor to any European university. The venerable Asopios expounds Homer with the vivacity of a Nestor. The lectures of Philippos Johannis, on moral philosophy, are admirable for purity of style and clearness of method. Rangabēs expounds the fine arts with learning and taste. Manousēs lectures eloquently on history. Pericles Argyropoulos, now the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is a most able professor of the law. Professor Kontogonēs is profoundly versed in Biblical literature, and expounds the Hebrew Scriptures to numerous and attentive classes. Many others might be mentioned in terms of great and just commendation.

§ 21. The Greek, as spoken at the present day, is substantially the language that was spoken in the Alexandrine and Byzantine periods; and its preservation is one of the most surprising instances of tenacious nationality. But there are important distinctions between the ancient and modern, which grow out of changes in the structure, no less than modifications of the meaning of words. Nearly all the words now employed by educated Greeks are the same words that were used by their ancestors; but the grammar of the language is modern. From the time of Homer, down to six or seven centuries after Christ, though the language underwent many modifications, it retained unchanged its essential characteristics; and for a still longer period, namely, to the middle of the fifteenth century, the grammatical structure of the language, as employed in literature, was still undisturbed, although the combination of rhythm and accent had some time before ceased to mark the pronunciation. This period embraces about twenty-five hundred years.

In the language spoken by the common people, the old system of grammatical forms — perhaps never existing in its completeness among the uneducated — was abandoned somewhere between the sixth and eleventh centuries. We cannot trace the changes step by step, for want of documents; but it is certain that the popular speech of the Byzantine Empire, before the twelfth century, possessed all the grammatical peculiarities which mark the language of Greece as spoken and written at the present day. The first poem published in modern Greek, was addressed by Theodore Ptochoprodromos, a contemporary of Anna Comnena, to the Emperor Manuel Comnenos; and this has not only the grammatical, but the rhythmical forms of the popular poetry at the present day. The changes that took place in the spoken language before the twelfth century are, —

1. Several tenses of the verb were formed by auxiliaries, as in the other modern languages, instead of being modified forms of the root of the verb; e. g. *ἔχω γράψει, θέλω γράψει, I have written, I shall write*, instead of *γέγραφα, γράψω*.
2. The increased use of prepositions to express the relations of cases, instead of expressing them by changes of termination in the words.
3. The disappearance of quantity as the principal rhythmical element in poetical composition, and the substitution of accent, as in the other modern languages, and perhaps the introduction of rhyme.
4. Various changes and corruptions in the sounds of the vowels and diphthongs, especially the representing the long *e* by six different letters or combinations of letters, *ε, η, ει, υ, ου, υι*, which originally, without doubt, were distinguished from each other. In the successive periods of the occupation of Greece by Romans, Goths, Slavonians, French, and Turks, many words from the languages of these races found a lodgement in the Greek; but at the present day they have nearly all disappeared from the language of good society. Among the uneducated people, as in all other countries, corruptions and vulgarisms prevail; but not more than in Eng-

land, France, and Germany. The general character of the language is the same at Constantinople, Athens, Thebes, and Delphi.

There is no subject to which more attention is given in the schools of Greece than the language. The present Hellenes are like the Greeks of old, in this respect; no small part of the business of education is devoted to the mother tongue. It will readily be perceived, that the language of the great body of the people is a popular language, and, as such, differs a good deal from that spoken in cultivated society. It will also be easily understood, that the state of things under the Turks was not favorable to the cultivation and maintenance of purity of speech, either among the learned or the unlearned classes; and one of the first cares of the scholars who inspired the country with the hope of regeneration was to settle the principles of the language, which was not only corrupted by the admixture of foreign words, but exceedingly irregular in its forms and chaotic in its constructions. Coraës was the first and the ablest of these reformers; and his system has been followed, with some modifications, by the majority of his educated countrymen. It recognizes the form and principles of the Greek as a modern language, but proposes to settle the usage and purify the language from Turkish, Italian, and other foreign mixtures, by substituting words of Greek derivation for these intrusive elements. There never was a time when even the popular speech was not, in by far the greater part of its words and phrases, genuine Greek. Some of the more enthusiastic in their classical zeal hoped to restore the language absolutely as it was spoken by Demosthenes. Mr. Buchon, with pleasant exaggeration, says: "Philology is the passion of all the Greek students, in whatever department. A physician, an advocate, a professor, has often become a minister of state, because he had a good mastery of his language. . . . Greek grammar is at the basis and summit of all instruction. . . . Not content with having eliminated all foreign words, the Athenians endeavor to approach the ancient language as near as possible, in words, in forms, in the shape of phrases, and in inversions. . . . The paladins of Greek philology march to the conquest of a grammatical form, as to a rich province. The dative had disappeared, — they have raised it from the tomb; the aorist had been nearly extinguished, — all are seeking to breathe into it a new life; at present they flatter themselves with the ardent hope of reconquering the infinitive, which had emigrated so long ago." This was written in 1843; the process of purification and reformation has gone steadily on; though the infinitive has not yet returned from its emigration, the aorist is restored to perfect health. In short, the usage of the language may now be considered as established. Several of the recent grammars — those now of the highest authority in Athens — are admirable specimens of philological skill. The course of nature has not been violated by forcing upon it the ancient constructions, while Turkish words,

like the Turks themselves, have been unceremoniously turned out of doors. In the mean time, the natural growth of the language, and its application to the larger range of thought required by the superior civilization of the age, has made it necessary to enlarge its vocabulary by copious drafts from other sources. Whence should these drafts be made? Obviously, not from English, French, or Italian; but naturally, as the Greek scholars instinctively decided, from the abundant wealth of the ancient Greek. Thus the word for steamboat was made of the two ancient words which signify *steam* and *boat*, ἀτμόπλοιοι, instead of τὸ τᾶπορε, as the people at first called it. The post is called τὸ ταχυδρομείον, instead of *posta*; the national bank is ἡ ἐθνικὴ τράπεζα; and the University is τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον. A cigar-shop is appropriately called καπνοπωλείον, a place for selling smoke; a barber's shop, as in ancient Athens, is called a κουρείον; a merchant tailor figures on his sign-board as an ἔμπορος ράπτης; a hotel is a ξενοδοχείον.

§ 22. There are published in Greece about thirty newspapers, two or three literary journals, and an archæological journal, most of them written with talent, and some, as the Panhellenion, which was commenced in 1853, quite equal in elegance of style and power of argument to the best journals of Paris and London. The text-books for schools, Gymnasia, and the University are very numerous, and will bear a favorable comparison with those used in the Prussian schools. The lists of books printed by the principal publishers, Koromelas and Blastos, are surprisingly large.* Works of a higher grade than text-books are beginning to appear. Professor Asopios is publishing a very elaborate history of Greek literature, and Professor Rangabēs another on Greek antiquities. The national history is much studied, and several very able and well-written works have recently appeared. Professor Paparrhégopoulos has written an excellent summary of the history of Greece, and Spyridon Tricoupēs is now publishing a History of the Revolution, which will take its place among the classics of his country.

With regard to the poetical development of the nation, there is a distinction to be made between the cultivated poetry and the popular poetry. The former has not yet attained its complete growth. Yet the works of Rhēgas, Soutsos, Rizos, Rangabēs, Zampelios, Zalacostas, and others, give rich promise for the poetical literature of Modern Greece. Christopoulos has written in the popular dialect naïve and charming songs, which depict the festive side of Hellenic life with infinite grace and vivacity.

§ 23. At present the most characteristic feature in the poetry of the Greeks is the popular songs. Like the ancients, the present Hellenic race have a vein of natural poetry, which breaks out on all the occurren-

* The number of copies annually published by Koromelas, of text-books for the schools Gymnasia, and the University, amounts to six hundred thousand.

ces of life, — birth, death, separation, departure for a foreign country, — in the most simple and unpremeditated style. A large proportion of these songs exist only on the lips of the people, most of them having never been reduced to writing at all. The first collection ever made was by Fauriel, published in 1824 and 1825, and the ballads excited great attention in Europe. Goethe, then the undisputed monarch of Continental literature, pronounced them the most genuine poetry of artless feeling and unsophisticated nature in our times. Since then, much has been added, commemorative of the events of the war, and several other collections have been made. It will not be long, however, before this period of popular poetry will have passed, and the dialects in which the songs are composed will have become, through the general diffusion of education, obsolete curiosities, for the researches of the mousing antiquarian. They ought, therefore, to be at once placed beyond the reach of casualty. The popular life, to which allusion has been made, includes that of the Klephts and Armatoles; life on the islands, as well as the mainland; life in the valleys, as well as on the mountains; and the poems which depict it run back indefinitely into the Turkish times. Love and marriage, funerals, feasts, the dying scene, the sorrow for absent love, the joys of victory and revenge, the fortitude which bears tortures without a groan, and the courage which defies and dauntlessly encounters an overwhelming array of foemen, — these, and every feature in every scene of this popular Hellenic life, and every feeling of this simple, fresh Hellenic heart, are rhythmically embodied. Among them we sometimes find strange echoes of old Greek poetry, still reverberating among the mountains. Charon, the ferryman of the Styx among the ancients, has become a mysterious minister of Death, hanging invisibly above the doomed, or sweeping like a storm over the mountains, on horseback, with the ghosts of the dead borne at his saddle-bow or marching at his side. The birds, whose voices and flight were full of omens to the ancients, and whose knowledge was proverbial, in modern poetry are endowed with speech and supernatural powers of vision, and often appear as collocutors in the abruptly changing dialogue. The measure in which most of these poems are composed is the accented iambic, of fifteen syllables, without rhyme.

We close this sketch with a few short specimens on different subjects, carefully abstaining from adding ornaments, and translating them line for line, in the same rhythm as the original. The brevity and abruptness of their style, the rapidity of the narrative, and the racy simplicity of their dialectic peculiarities, can scarcely be reproduced in another language; and the charm they possess when read or heard in the open air on the mountains of Greece, in the midst of the life they embody, and the scenery that suggested their coloring, can scarcely be imagined where these accessories to the picture are wanting.

LOVE DETECTED.

Maiden, we kissed, but 't was at night; and who think'st thou beheld us?
 The night beheld, the morn beheld, the moon and star of evening;
 The star dropped earthward from the sky, and told the sea the story;
 The sea at once the rudder told; the rudder told the sailor;
 The sailor sang it at the door, where sat his sweetheart listening.

Among the Klephts the passion of love was not looked upon with much favor, as appears by the following, entitled,

THE CAPTAIN IN LOVE.

"Conduct thee wisely, Nicholas, as well becomes a captain,
 Nor with thy children be at strife, nor venture to insult them;
 For they an evil plot have laid, resolving they will slay thee."
 "Who is it with my children talks, who is it tells them stories?
 Well! when the blooming spring shall come, and when shall come the summer,
 To Xerolibada I go, and to our ancient quarters.
 Thither I go to wed my love, to take a fair-haired maiden:
 With golden coins I'll deck my love, with strings of pearls adorn her."
 The Pallicars, they heard his words, and scornful was their anger,
 Three shots they gave him all at once, and all the three were fatal.
 "Down with the weakling fool!" they cried, "shoot down the worthless wanton!
 From us he took the golden coins to win the fair-haired maiden:
 Our fair-haired maid the pistol is, the sabre is our mistress."

The following describes the death scene of a Klepht, who for a wonder lived to old age, and died without being killed by a bullet. It combines, in a curious way, the strong contrasts and opposite feelings of the Klephtic character; it is a kind of compound of piety, powder, and simple love of nature. The hero of it is resolved, even after death, to have a shot now and then at the Turks. To understand its simple allusions, we must remember that such a family, living for the most part in the open air, would always select the bank of a running stream for their suppertable, and the sparkling water for their beverage.

THE DYING CHIEF.

The sun was setting in the west, when Demos gives his orders:—
 "Hasten, my children, to the brook, to eat your bread at evening;
 And thou, Lampakēs, nephew mine, come, take thy seat before me.
 Here! wear the arms that now I wear, and be a valiant captain;
 And ye, my children, take my sword, deserted by its master,
 And cut green branches from the trees, and spread a couch to rest me,
 And hither bring the holy man, that he may haste to shrive me,
 That I may tell him all the sins I ever have committed
 While thirty years an Armatole, and twenty-five a robber.
 But now the conqueror Death has come, and I for Death am ready.
 Build me a broad and spacious tomb, and let the mound be lofty,
 That I may stand erect and fire, then stoop and load the musket;
 And on the right hand of the tomb, a window leave wide open,
 That swallows in their flight may come, the early spring announcing,
 And nightingales, of lovely May, in morning song, may tell me."

The subject of the following is a dispute between Olympus and Kis-

savos — the ancient Ossa — on the right of precedence. The persons of the dialogue are the two rival mountains, an eagle, and the head of a slain warrior, each of whom has something characteristic to say. It is called

OLYMPUS AND KISSAVOS.

Olympus once, and Kissavos, two neighboring mounts, contended,
Which of the two the rain should pour, and which shed down the snow-storm;
And Kissavos pours down the rain, Olympus sheds the snow-storm.
Then Kissavos in anger turns, and speaks to high Olympus.

KISSAVOS.

Browbeat me not, Olympus, thou by robber feet betrampled,
For I am Kissavos, the mount, in far Larissa famous;
I am the joy of Turkestan, and of Larissa's Agas.

OLYMPUS.

Ha! Kissavos! ha! renegade! thou Turk-betrampled hillock;
The Turks they tread thee under foot, and all Larissa's Agas;
I am Olympus, he of old, renowned the world all over,
And I have summits forty-two, and two-and-sixty fountains,
And every fount a banner has, and every bough a robber,
And on my highest summit's top an eagle fierce is sitting,
And holding in his talons clutched a head of slaughtered warrior.

EAGLE.

What hast thou done, O head of mine, of what hast thou been guilty?
How came the chance about that thou art clutched within my talons?

HEAD.

Devour, O bird, my youthful strength, devour my manly valor,
And let thy pinion grow an ell, a span thy talon lengthen,
In Luros and Xeromeros I was an Armatolos;
In Chasia and Olympus next, twelve years I was a robber;
And sixty Agas have I killed, and left their hamlets burning,
And all the Turks and Albanese that on the field of battle
My hand has slain, my eagle brave, are more than can be numbered.
But me the doom befell at last, to perish in the battle.

The following ballad commemorates the bravery of Tsamados,* representing him as returning after death in the shape of a bird to revisit Georgakēs, a friend in arms, who expresses his wish to know what is passing at Mesolongi.

* In May, 1825, Ibrahim Pacha attacked Palæo-Castro and the little island Sphacteria, with a powerful fleet and army. Mavrocordatos had rushed to their defence. He threw himself with his suite into the island, which was at the moment held by a brave young Hydriote captain named Tsamados, and a small body of soldiers and sailors. Fifteen hundred Arabs landed on the island, but met with a desperate resistance from Tsamados and his gallant band. Tsamados was shot in the leg, but continued fighting on his knees until he was knocked down and killed. When this was known, the sailors, regaining their brig, on board which Mavrocordatos had already taken refuge, ran out through the Turkish fleet of thirty-four ships of war, and, having been exposed for more than four hours to their fire, escaped with riddled sails and rigging shot away, with two men killed and eight wounded. The surrender of Navarino followed; and not long after, the whole Morea, except the unconquerable Manotes, lay at the mercy of Ibrahim.

TSAMADOS.

I would I were a bird to fly and visit Mesolongi,
That I might see them wield the sword, and how they ply the musket;
How wage the war in Roumeli, her still unconquered vultures.
A bird then came, on golden wing, and said to me, in singing,
"Patience, Georgakēs mine! if thou for Arab blood art thirsting
Here too are Agarenes enow for even thee to slaughter.
Beholdest thou yon Turkish ships, now floating in the distance?
Charon is standing over them, and they shall burn to ashes."
My bird, where didst thou learn these things that thou to me art telling?
"I seem unto thine eyes a bird, but 't is no bird thou seest;
For in the island opposite to Navarino's haven
I yielded up my latest breath, against the Moslem fighting.
I am Tsamados, from the tomb back to the world returning;
For though from heaven where I dwell, I clearly can behold thee,
To come and see thee face to face my heart was ever longing."
And what wouldst see among us now, in our unhappy country?
Hast thou not heard what has befallen, how fares it in Morea?
"Georgakēs mine, be not downcast, nor lose thy manly courage;
If the Morea wars not now, the time again is coming
When they will fight like savage beasts, and chase away the foemen,
And blackened bones be strewn around the walls of Mesolongi,
And Souli's lions prowling there shall seize their prey exulting."
And then the bird resumed his flight, and mounted up to heaven.



Mount Olympus.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

BOOK I.—MYTHICAL AGE.

B. C.

- 1184. Capture of Troy.
- 1124. Emigration of the Bœotians from Thessaly into Bœotia.
- 1104. Return of the Heraclidæ. Conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians.
- 1050. Cumæ founded.
- 850. Probable age of Homer.

BOOK II.—GROWTH OF THE GRECIAN STATES.

- 776. Commencement of the Olympiads. Age of Lycurgus.
- 747. Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, celebrates the 8th Olympic games.
- 743. Beginning of the first Messenian war.
- 734. Syracuse founded by Archias of Corinth.
- 723. End of the first Messenian war.
- 720. Sybaris, in Italy, founded by the Achæans.
- 710. Croton, in Italy, founded by the Achæans.
- 708. Tarentum founded by the Lacedæmonian Parthenii, under Phalanthus.
- 700. Archilochus of Paros, the iambic poet, flourished.
- 698. Simonides of Amorgos, the lyric poet, flourished.
- 690. Foundation of Gela in Sicily.
- 685. The beginning of the second Messenian war.
- 683. First annual Archon at Athens. Tyrtaeus, the Athenian poet, came to Sparta after the first success of the Messenians, and by his martial songs roused the fainting courage of the Lacedæmonians.
- 670. Alcman, a native of Sardis in Lydia, and the chief lyric poet of Sparta, flourished.
- 668. End of the second Messenian war.
- 664. A sea-fight between the Corinthians and Corcyræans, the most ancient sea-fight recorded. Zaleucus, the lawgiver in Locri Epizephyrii, flourished.
- 657. Byzantium founded by the Megarians.
- 655. The Bacchiadæ expelled from Corinth. Cypselus begins to reign.
- 644. Pantaleon, king of Pisa, celebrates the Olympic games.
- 630. Cyrene in Libya founded by Battus of Thera.
- 625. Periander succeeds Cypselus at Corinth. Arion flourished in the reign of Periander.
- 624. Legislation of Dracon at Athens.
- 612. Attempt of Cylon to make himself master of Athens.
- 610. Sappho, Alcæus, and Stesichorus flourished.
- 600. Massilia in Gaul founded by the Phocæans.
- 596. Epimenides, the Cretan, came to Athens.
- 595. Commencement of the Ciriæan or Sacred War, which lasted ten years.
- 594. Legislation of Solon, who was Athenian archon in this year.
- 591. Ciriha taken by the Amphietyons.
- 589. Commencement of the government of Pittacus at Mytilene.
- 586. The conquest of the Ciriæans completed and the Pythian games celebrated. The Seven Wise Men flourished.
- 585. Death of Periander.
- 582. Agrigentum founded.
- 581. The dynasty of the Cypselidæ ended.

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579. Pittacus resigns the government of Mytilene.
 572. The war between Pisa and Elis ended by the subjection of the Pisæans.
 560. Peisistratus usurps the government of Athens. Ibycus of Rhegium, the lyric poet, flourished.
 559. Cyrus begins to reign in Persia.
 556. Simonides of Ceos, the lyric poet, born.
 548. The temple at Delphi burnt. Anaximenes flourished.
 546. Sardis taken by Cyrus, and the Lydian monarchy overthrown. Hipponax, the iambic poet, flourished.
 544. Pherecydes of Syros, the philosopher, and Theognis of Megara, the poet, flourished.
 539. Ibycus of Rhegium, the lyric poet, flourished.
 538. Babylon taken by Cyrus. Xenophanes of Colophon, the philosopher, flourished.
 535. Thespis the Athenian first exhibits tragedy.
 532. Polycrates becomes tyrant of Samos.
 531. The philosopher Pythagoras and the poet Anacreon flourished.
 529. Death of Cyrus and accession of Cambyses as king of Persia.
 527. Death of Peisistratus, thirty-three years after his first usurpation.
 525. Cambyses conquers Egypt in the fifth year of his reign. Birth of Æschylus.
 523. Chærilus of Athens exhibits tragedy.
 522. Polycrates of Samos put to death. Birth of Pindar. Death of Cambyses, usurpation of the Magi, and accession of Darius to the Persian throne. Hecatæus, the historian, flourished.
 514. Hipparchus, tyrant of Athens, slain by Harmodius and Aristogeiton.
 511. Phrynichus, the tragic poet, flourished.
 510. Expulsion of Hippias from Athens. The ten tribes instituted by Cleisthenes.
 504. Charon of Lampsacus, the historian, flourished.
 501. Naxos besieged by Aristagoras and the Persians. Aristagoras revolts from the Persians.

BOOK III.—THE PERSIAN WARS.

500. Aristagoras solicits aid from Athens and Sparta. Birth of Anaxagoras. First year of the Ionian revolt. Sardis burnt. Æschylus, aged twenty-five, first exhibits tragedy.
 498. Third year of the Ionian revolt. Aristagoras slain in Thrace. Death of Pythagoras.
 497. Fourth year of the Ionian revolt. Histieus comes down to the coast. Birth of Hellenicus of Mytilene, the historian.
 496. Fifth year of the Ionian revolt. Birth of Sophocles.
 495. Sixth and last year of the Ionian revolt. The Ionians defeated in a naval battle near Miletus, and Miletus taken.
 493. The Persians take the islands of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos. Miltiades flies from the Chersonesus to Athens.
 492. Mardonius, the Persian general, invades Europe, and unites Macedonia to the Persian empire.
 491. Darius sends heralds to Greece to demand earth and water. Demaratus, king of Sparta, deposed by the intrigues of his colleague Cleomenes. He flies to Darius.
 490. Datis and Artaphernes, the Persian generals, invade Europe. They take Eretria in Eubœa and land in Attica. They are defeated at Marathon by the Athenians under the command of Miltiades. Æschylus fought at the battle of Marathon, æt. 35. War between Athens and Ægina.
 489. Miltiades attempts to conquer Paros, but is repulsed. He is accused, and, unable to pay the fine in which he was condemned, is thrown into prison, where he died.
 486. Revolt of Egypt from the Persians in the fourth year after the battle of Marathon.
 485. Xerxes, king of Persia, succeeds Darius. Gelon becomes master of Syracuse.
 484. Egypt reconquered by the Persians. Herodotus born. Æschylus gains the prize in tragedy.
 483. Ostracism of Aristides.
 481. Themistocles the leading man at Athens.

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480. Xerxes invades Greece. He sets out from Sardis at the beginning of the spring. The battles of Thermopylæ and Artemisium were fought at the time of the Olympic games. The Athenians deserted their city, which was taken by Xerxes. The battle of Salamis, in which the fleet of Xerxes was destroyed, was fought in the autumn.

Birth of Euripides.

479. After the return of Xerxes to Asia, Mardonius, who was left in the command of the Persian army, passed the winter in Thessaly. In the spring he marches southward and occupies Athens ten months after its occupation by Xerxes. At the battle of Plataea, fought in September, he is defeated by the Greeks under the command of Pausanias. On the same day the Persian fleet is defeated off Mycale by the Greek fleet. Sestos besieged by the Greeks in the autumn and surrendered in the following spring.
478. Sestos taken by the Greeks. The history of Herodotus terminates at the siege of Sestos.

BOOK IV.—THE ATHENIAN SUPREMACY AND THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

478. In consequence of the haughty conduct of Pausanias, the maritime allies place themselves under the supremacy of Athens. Commencement of the Athenian ascendancy or empire, which lasted about 70 years,—65 before the ruin of the Athenian affairs in Sicily, 78 before the capture of Athens by Lysander.
476. Cimon, commanding the forces of the Athenians and of the allies, expels the Persians from Eion on the Strymon, and then takes the island of Scyros, where the bones of Theseus are discovered.
- Simonides, æt. 80, gains the prize in the dithyrambic chorus.
471. Themistocles, banished by ostracism, goes to Argos. Pausanias convicted of treason and put to death. Thucydides the historian born.
469. Pericles begins to take part in public affairs, forty years before his death.
468. Mycenæ destroyed by the Argives. Death of Aristides. Socrates born. Sophocles gained his first tragic victory.
467. Simonides, æt. 90, died.
466. Naxos revolted and subdued. Great victory of Cimon over the Persians at the river Eurymedon, in Pamphylia. Themistocles flies to Persia.
465. Revolt of Thasos. Death of Xerxes, king of Persia, and accession of Artaxerxes I.
464. Earthquake at Sparta, and revolt of the Helots and Messenians. Cimon marches to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians. Zeno of Elea flourished.
463. Thasos subdued by Cimon.
461. Cimon marches a second time to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, but his offers are declined by the latter, and the Athenian troops sent back. Ostracism of Cimon. Pericles at the head of public affairs at Athens.
460. Revolt of Inaros, and first year of the Egyptian war, which lasted six years. The Athenians sent assistance to the Egyptians.
458. The *Oresteia* of Æschylus performed.
457. Battles in the Megarid between the Athenians and Corinthians. The Lacedæmonians march into Doris to assist the Dorians against the Phocians. On their return they are attacked by the Athenians at Tanagra, but the latter are defeated. The Athenians commence building their long walls, which were completed in the following year.
456. The Athenians, commanded by Myronides, defeat the Thebans at Ænophyta. Recall of Cimon from exile. Death of Æschylus, æt. 69.
455. The Messenians conquered by the Lacedæmonians in the tenth year of the war. Tolmides, the Athenian general, settles the expelled Messenians at Naupactus. See B. C. 464. Tolmides sails round Peloponnesus with an Athenian fleet, and does great injury to the Peloponnesians.
- End of the Egyptian war in the sixth year. See B. C. 460. All Egypt conquered by the Persians, except the marshes, where Amyrtæus continued to hold out for some years. See B. C. 449.

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455. Euripides, *æt.* 25, first gains the prize in tragedy.
454. Campaign of Pericles at Sicyon and in Acarnania. Cratinus, the comic writer, flourished.
- 452. Five years' truce between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, made through the intervention of Cimon.
- Anaxagoras, *æt.* 50, withdraws from Athens, after residing there thirty years.
449. Renewal of the war with Persia. The Athenians send assistance to Amyrtæus. Death of Cimon and victory of the Athenians at Salamis in Cyprus.
448. Sacred War between the Delphians and Phocians for the possession of the oracle and temple. The Lacedæmonians assisted the Delphians, and the Athenians the Phocians.
- 447. The Athenians defeated at Chæroneâ by the Bœotians.
- 445. Revolt of Eubœa and Megara from Athens. The five years' truce having expired (see B. C. 450), the Lacedæmonians, led by Pleistoanax, invade Attica. After the Lacedæmonians had retired, Pericles recovers Eubœa. The thirty years' truce between Athens and Sparta.
444. Pericles begins to have the sole direction of public affairs at Athens. Thucydides, the son of Milesias, the leader of the aristocratical party, ostracized.
443. The Athenians send a colony to Thurii in Italy. Herodotus, *æt.* 41, and Lysias, *æt.* 15, accompany this colony to Thurii.
441. Euripides gains the first prize in tragedy.
440. Samos revolts from Athens, but is subdued by Pericles in the ninth month. Sophocles, *æt.* 55, was one of the ten Athenian generals who fought against Samos.
439. Athens at the height of its glory.
437. Colony of Agnon to Amphipolis.
436. Cratinus, the comic poet, gains the prize.
435. War between the Corinthians and Corcyræans on account of Epidamnus. The Corinthians defeated by the Corcyræans in a sea-fight.
434. The Corinthians make great preparations to carry on the war with vigor.
433. The Corcyræans and Corinthians send embassies to Athens to solicit assistance. The Athenians form a defensive alliance with the Corcyræans.
432. The Corcyræans, assisted by the Athenians, defeat the Corinthians in the spring. In the same year Potidæa revolts from Athens. Congress of the Peloponnesians in the autumn to decide upon war with Athens.
- Anaxagoras, prosecuted for impiety at Athens, withdraws to Lampsacus, where he died about four years afterwards.
- Aspasia prosecuted by the comic poet Hermippus, but acquitted through the influence of Pericles.
- Prosecution and death of Pheidias.
- 431. First year of the Peloponnesian war. The Thebans make an attempt upon Platæa two months before midsummer. Eighty days afterwards Attica is invaded by the Peloponnesians. Alliance between the Athenians and Sitalces, king of Thrace. Hellanicus, *æt.* 65, Herodotus, *æt.* 53, Thucydides, *æt.* 40, at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war.
- The *Medea* of Euripides exhibited.
430. Second year of the Peloponnesian war. Second invasion of Attica. The plague rages at Athens.
429. Third year of the Peloponnesian war. Potidæa surrenders to the Athenians after a siege of more than two years. Naval actions of Phormio in the Corinthian Gulf. Commencement of the siege of Platæa.
- Death of Pericles in the autumn.
- Birth of Plato the philosopher.
- Eupolis and Phrynichus, the comic poets, exhibit.
428. Fourth year of the Peloponnesian war. Third invasion of Attica. Revolt of all Lesbos, except Methymna. Mytilene besieged towards the autumn.
- Death of Anaxagoras, *æt.* 72.
427. Fifth year of the Peloponnesian war. Fourth invasion of Attica. Mytilene taken by

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- the Athenians, and Lesbos recovered. The demagogue Cleon begins to have great influence in public affairs. Plataea surrendered to the Peloponnesians. Sedition at Corcyra. The Athenians send assistance to the Leontines in Sicily. Aristophanes, the comic poet, first exhibits. Gorgias ambassador from Leontini to Athens.
426. Sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. The Peloponnesians do not invade Attica, in consequence of an earthquake. Lustration of Delos.
425. Seventh year of the Peloponnesian war. Fifth invasion of Attica. Demosthenes takes possession of Pylos. The Spartans in the island of Sphacteria surrendered to Cleon seventy-two days afterwards. Accession of Darius Nothus. The *Acharnians* of Aristophanes.
424. Eighth year of the Peloponnesian war. Nicias ravages the coast of Laconia and captures the island of Cythera. March of Brasidas into Thrace, who obtains possession of Acanthus and Amphipolis. The Athenians defeated by the Thebans at Delium. Socrates and Xenophon fought at the battle of Delium. Thucydides, the historian, commanded at Amphipolis. The *Knights* of Aristophanes.
423. Ninth year of the Peloponnesian war. Truce for a year. Thucydides banished in consequence of the loss of Amphipolis. He was twenty years in exile. The *Clouds* of Aristophanes first exhibited.
422. Tenth year of the Peloponnesian war. Hostilities in Thrace between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. Both Brasidas and Cleon fall in battle. The *Wasps* of Aristophanes and second exhibition of the *Clouds*. Death of Cratinus. Protagoras, the sophist, comes to Athens.
421. Eleventh year of the Peloponnesian war. Truce for fifty years between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. Though this truce was not formally declared to be at an end till B. C. 414, there were notwithstanding frequent hostilities meantime.
420. Twelfth year of the Peloponnesian war. Treaty between the Athenians and Argives effected by means of Alcibiades.
419. Thirteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. Alcibiades marches into Peloponnesus. The *Peace* of Aristophanes.
418. Fourteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. The Athenians send a force into Peloponnesus to assist the Argives against the Lacedæmonians, but are defeated at the battle of Mantinea. Alliance between Sparta and Argos.
417. Fifteenth year of the Peloponnesian war.
416. Sixteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. The Athenians conquer Melos.
415. Seventeenth year of the Peloponnesian war. The Athenian expedition against Sicily. It sailed after midsummer, commanded by Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus. Mutilation of the Hermæ at Athens before the fleet sailed. The Athenians take Catana. Alcibiades is recalled home: he makes his escape, and takes refuge with the Lacedæmonians. Andocides, the orator, imprisoned on the mutilation of the Hermæ. He escapes by turning informer.
414. Eighteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. Second campaign in Sicily. The Athenians invest Syracuse. Gylippus, the Lacedæmonian, comes to the assistance of the Syracusans. The *Birds* of Aristophanes.
413. Nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. Invasion of Attica and fortification of Decelæa, on the advice of Alcibiades. Third campaign in Sicily. Demosthenes sent with a large force to the assistance of the Athenians. Total destruction of the Athenian army and fleet. Nicias and Demosthenes surrender and are put to death on the 12th or 18th of September, sixteen or seventeen days after the eclipse of the moon, which took place on the 27th of August.

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412. Twentieth year of the Peloponnesian war. The Lesbians revolt from Athens. Alcibiades sent by the Lacedæmonians to Asia to form a treaty with the Persians. He succeeds in his mission and forms a treaty with Tissaphernes, and urges the Athenian allies in Asia to revolt.
The *Andromeda* of Euripides.
411. Twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war. Democracy abolished at Athens, and the government intrusted to a council of Four Hundred. This council holds the government four months. The Athenian army at Samos recalls Alcibiades from exile and appoints him one of its generals. He is afterwards recalled by a vote of the people at Athens, but he remained abroad for the next four years at the head of the Athenian forces. Mindarus, the Lacedæmonian admiral, defeated at Cynossema.
Antiphon, the orator, had a great share in the establishment of the Four Hundred. After their downfall he is brought to trial and put to death.
The history of Thucydides suddenly breaks off in the middle of this year.
The *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazuses* of Aristophanes.
Lysias returns from Thurii to Athens.
410. Twenty-second year of the Peloponnesian war. Mindarus defeated and slain by Alcibiades at Cyzicus.
409. Twenty-third year of the Peloponnesian war.
The *Philoctetes* of Sophocles.
408. Twenty-fourth year of the Peloponnesian war. Alcibiades recovers Byzantium.
The *Orestes* of Euripides.
The *Plutus* of Aristophanes.
407. Twenty-fifth year of the Peloponnesian war. Alcibiades returns to Athens. Lysander appointed the Lacedæmonian admiral and supported by Cyrus, who this year received the government of the countries on the Asiatic coast. Antiochus, the lieutenant of Alcibiades, defeated by Lysander at Notium in the absence of Alcibiades. Alcibiades is in consequence banished, and ten new generals are appointed.
406. Twenty-sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. Callicratidas, who succeeded Lysander as Lacedæmonian admiral, defeated by the Athenians in the sea-fight off the Arginuse islands. The Athenian generals condemned to death because they had not picked up the bodies of those who had fallen in the battle.
Dionysius becomes master of Syracuse.
Death of Euripides and Sophocles.
405. Twenty-seventh year of the Peloponnesian war. Lysander defeats the Athenians off Ægospotami, and takes or destroys all their fleet with the exception of eight ships which fled with Conon to Cyprus.
The *Frogs* of Aristophanes.
404. Twenty-eighth and last year of the Peloponnesian war. Athens taken by Lysander in the spring, on the 16th of the month Munychion. Democracy abolished, and the government intrusted to thirty men, usually called the Thirty Tyrants.
The Thirty Tyrants held their power for eight months, till Thrasybulus occupied Phyle and advanced to the Peiræus.
Death of Alcibiades during the tyranny of the Thirty.

BOOK V.—THE SPARTAN AND THEBAN SUPREMACIES.

403. Thrasybulus and his party obtain possession of the Peiræus, from whence they carried on war for several months against the Ten, the successors of the Thirty. They obtain possession of Athens before July; but the contest between the parties was not finally concluded till September.
Thucydides, æt. 68, returns to Athens.
401. Expedition of Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes. He falls in the battle of Cunaxa, which was fought in the autumn. His Greek auxiliaries commence their return to Greece, usually called the retreat of the Ten Thousand.
First year of the war of Lacedæmon and Elis.

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401. Xenophon accompanied Cyrus, and afterwards was the principal general of the Greeks in their retreat.
The *Œdipus at Colonus* of Sophocles exhibited after his death by his grandson Sophocles.
400. Return of the Ten Thousand to Greece.
Second year of the war of Lacedæmon and Elis.
The speech of Andocides on the Mysteries.
399. The Lacedæmonians send Thimbron with an army to assist the Greek cities in Asia against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. The remainder of the Ten Thousand incorporated with the troops of Thimbron. In the autumn Thimbron was superseded by Dercyllidas.
Third and last year of the war of Lacedæmon and Elis.
Death of Socrates, æt. 70.
Plato withdraws to Megara.
398. Dercyllidas continues the war in Asia with success.
397. Dercyllidas still continues the war in Asia.
396. Agesilaus supersedes Dercyllidas. First campaign of Agesilaus in Asia. He winters at Ephesus.
395. Second campaign of Agesilaus in Asia. He defeats Tissaphernes, and becomes master of Western Asia. Tissaphernes superseded by Tithraustes, who sends envoys into Greece to induce the Greek states to declare war against Lacedæmon. Commencement of the war of the Greek states against Lacedæmon. Lysander slain at Halicartus.
Plato, æt. 34, returns to Athens.
394. Agesilaus recalled from Asia to fight against the Greek states, who had declared war against Lacedæmon. He passed the Hellespont about midsummer, and was at the entrance of Bœotia on the 14th of August. He defeats the allied forces at Coronæa. A little before the latter battle the Lacedæmonians also gained a victory near Corinth; but about the same time Conon, the Athenian admiral, and Pharnabazus, gained a decisive victory over Peisander, the Spartan admiral, off Cnidus.
Xenophon accompanied Agesilaus from Asia and fought against his country at Coronæa. He was in consequence banished from Athens. He retired under Lacedæmonian protection to Scillus, where he composed his works.
393. Sedition at Corinth and victory of the Lacedæmonians at Lechæum. Pharnabazus and Conon ravage the coasts of Peloponnesus. Conon begins to restore the long walls of Athens and the fortifications of the Peiræus.
391. The Lacedæmonians under Agesilaus ravage the Corinthian territory, but a Spartan mora is cut to pieces by Iphicrates.
The *Ecclesiastus* of Aristophanes.
Expedition of Agesilaus into Acarnania.
Speech of Andocides "On the Peace." He is banished.
390. Expedition of Agesipolis into Argolis. The Persians again espouse the cause of the Lacedæmonians, and Conon is thrown into prison. The Athenians assist Evagoras of Cyprus against the Persians. Thrasybulus, the Athenian commander, is defeated and slain by the Lacedæmonian Teutias at Aspendus.
389. Agyrrius sent, as the successor of Thrasybulus, to Aspendus, and Iphicrates to the Hellespont.
Plato, æt. 40, goes to Sicily; the first of the three voyages.
388. Antalcidas, the Lacedæmonian commander on the Asiatic coast, opposed to Iphicrates and Chabrias.
The second edition of the *Plutus* of Aristophanes.
387. The peace of Antalcidas.
386. Restoration of Platæa, and independence of the towns of Bœotia.
385. Destruction of Mantinæa by the Lacedæmonians under Agesipolis.
384. Birth of Aristotle.
382. First year of the Olynthian war.
Phœbidas seizes the Cadmæa, the citadel of Thebes.

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382. Birth of Demosthenes.

381. Second year of the Olynthian war.

380. Third year of the Olynthian war.

The *Panegyricus* of Isocrates.

379. Fourth and last year of the Olynthian war.

The Cadmæa recovered by the Theban exiles in the winter.

378. Cleombrotus sent into Bœotia in the middle of winter, but returned without effecting anything. The Lacedæmonian Sphodrias makes an attempt upon the Peiræus. The Athenians form an alliance with the Thebans against Sparta. First expedition of Agesilaus into Bœotia.

Death of Lysias.

377. Second expedition of Agesilaus into Bœotia.

376. Cleombrotus marches into Bœotia, and sustains a slight repulse at the passes of Cithæron.

The Lacedæmonian fleet conquered by Chabrias off Naxos, and the Athenians recover the dominion of the sea.

375. Cleombrotus sent into Phocis, which had been invaded by the Thebans, who withdraw into their own country on his arrival.

374. The Athenians, jealous of the Thebans, conclude a peace with Lacedæmon. Timotheus, the Athenian commander, takes Corcyra, and on his return to Athens restores the Zacynthian exiles to their country. This leads to a renewal of the war between Athens and Lacedæmon.

Second destruction of Platæa.

Jason elected Tagus of Thessaly.

373. The Lacedæmonians attempt to regain possession of Corcyra, and send Mnasippus with a force for the purpose, but he is defeated and slain by the Corcyreans. Iphicrates, with Callistratus and Chabrias as his colleagues, sent to Corcyra.

Prosecution of Timotheus by Callistratus and Iphicrates. Timotheus is acquitted.

372. Timotheus goes to Asia. Iphicrates continued in the command of a fleet in the Ionian sea.

371. Congress at Sparta, and general peace (called the peace of Callias), from which the Thebans were excluded, because they would not grant the independence of the Bœotian towns.

The Lacedæmonians, commanded by Cleombrotus, invade Bœotia, but are defeated by the Thebans under Epameinondas at the battle of Leuctra. Commencement of the Theban Supremacy.

Foundation of Megalopolis.

370. Expedition of Agesilaus into Arcadia.

Jason of Pheræ slain. After the interval of a year, Alexander of Pheræ succeeds to his power in Thessaly.

First invasion of Peloponnesus by the Thebans. They remain in Peloponnesus four months, and found Messene.

367. Embassy of Pelopidas to Persia.

Second invasion of Peloponnesus by the Thebans.

Expedition of Pelopidas to Thessaly. He is imprisoned by Alexander of Pheræ, but Epaminondas obtains his release.

Archidamus gains a victory over the Arcadians.

Death of the elder Dionysius of Syracuse, after a reign of thirty-eight years.

366. Third invasion of Peloponnesus by the Thebans.

The *Archidamus* of Isocrates.

365. War between Arcadia and Elis.

364. Second campaign of the war between Arcadia and Elis. Battle of Olympia at the time of the games.

362. Fourth invasion of Peloponnesus by the Thebans. Battle of Mantinea, in June, in which Epaminondas is killed.

Xenophon brought down his Greek history to the battle of Mantinea.

361. A general peace between all the belligerents, with the exception of the Lacedæmo-

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nians, because the latter would not acknowledge the independence of the Messenians.

Agæsilæus goes to Egypt to assist Tachos, and dies in the winter, when preparing to return home.

Birth of Deinarchus, the orator.

360. War between the Athenians and Olynthians for the possession of Amphipolis.

Timotheus, the Athenian general, repulsed at Amphipolis.

BOOK VI.—THE MACEDONIAN SUPREMACY.

359. Accession of Philip, King of Macedonia, æt. 23. He defeats Argæus, who laid claim to the throne, declares Amphipolis a free city, and makes peace with the Athenians. He then defeats the Pæonians and Illyrians.

358. Amphipolis taken by Philip. Expedition of the Athenians into Eubœa.

357. Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium revolt from Athens. First year of the Social War.

The Phocians seize Delphi. Commencement of the Sacred War. The Thebans and the Locrians are the chief opponents of the Phocians.

Dion sails from Zacynthus, and lands in Sicily about September.

356. Second year of the Social War.

Birth of Alexander, the son of Philip and Olympias, at the time of the Olympic games.

Potidæa taken by Philip, who gives it to Olynthus.

Dionysius the Younger expelled from Syracuse by Dion, after a reign of twelve years.

355. Third and last year of the Social War. Peace concluded between Athens and her former allies.

354. Trial and condemnation of Timotheus.

Demosthenes begins to speak in the assemblies of the people.

353. Philip seizes upon Pagasæ, and begins to besiege Methone.

Death of Dion.

352. Philip takes Methone and enters Thessaly. He defeats and slays Onomarchus, the Phocian general, expels the tyrants from Pheræ, and becomes master of Thessaly.

He attempts to pass Thermopylæ, but is prevented by the Athenians.

War between Lacedæmon and Megalopolis.

The first Philippic of Demosthenes.

349. The Olynthians, attacked by Philip, ask succor from Athens.

The Olynthiac orations of Demosthenes.

348. Olynthian war continued.

347. Olynthus taken and destroyed by Philip.

Death of Plato, æt. 82. Speusippus succeeds Plato. Aristotle, upon the death of Plato, went to Atarneus.

346. Peace between Philip and the Athenians.

Philip overruns Phocis and brings the Sacred War to an end, after it had lasted ten years. All the Phocian cities, except Abæ, were destroyed.

Oration of Demosthenes on the Peace.

345. Speech of Æschines against Timarchus.

344. Timoleon sails from Corinth to Syracuse, to expel the tyrant Dionysius.

Aristotle, after three years' stay at Atarneus, went to Mytilene.

The second Philippic of Demosthenes.

343. Timoleon completes the conquest of Syracuse.

Disputes between Philip and the Athenians.

The speech of Demosthenes respecting Halonnesus.

The speeches of Demosthenes and Æschines *Περί Παπαναρκεσίας*.

342. Philip's expedition to Thrace. He is opposed by Diopieithes, the Athenian general at the Chersonesus.

Aristotle comes to the court of Philip.

Isocrates, æt. 94, began to compose the Panathenaic oration.

Birth of Epicurus.

341. Philip is still in Thrace, where he wintered.

B. C.

341. The oration of Demosthenes on the Chersonesus, and the third and fourth Philippica. Philip besieges Selymbria, Perinthus, and Byzantium.
339. Renewal of the war between Philip and the Athenians. Phocion compels Philip to raise the siege both of Byzantium and Perinthus.
- Xenocrates succeeds Speusippus at the Academy.
333. Philip is chosen general of the Amphictyons, to carry on the war against Amphissa. He marches through Thermopylæ and seizes Elatæa. The Athenians form an alliance with the Thebans; but their united forces are defeated by Philip at the battle of Chæronæa, fought on the 7th of Metageitnion (August). Philip becomes master of Greece. Congress at Corinth, in which war is declared by Greece against Persia, and Philip appointed to conduct it.
- Death of Isocrates, æt. 98.
336. Death of Timoleon.
- Murder of Philip, and accession of his son Alexander, æt. 20.
335. Alexander marches against the Thracians, Triballi, and Illyrians. While he is engaged in this war, Thebes revolts. He forthwith marches southwards, and destroys Thebes.
334. Alexander commences the war against Persia. He crosses the Hellespont in the spring, defeats the Persian satraps at the Granicus in May, and conquers the western part of Asia Minor.
- Aristotle returns to Athens.
333. Alexander subdues Lycia in the winter, collects his forces at Gordium in the spring, and defeats Darius at Issus late in the autumn.
332. Alexander takes Tyre, after a siege of seven months, in July. He takes Gaza in September, and then marches into Egypt, which submits to him. In the winter he visits the oracle of Ammon, and gives orders for the foundation of Alexandria.
331. Alexander sets out from Memphis in the spring, marches through Phœnicia and Syria, crosses the Euphrates at Thapsacus in the middle of the summer, and defeats Darius again at Arbela or Gaugamela on the 1st of October. He wintered at Persepolis.
- In Greece Agis is defeated and slain by Antipater.
330. Alexander marches into Media, and takes Ecbatana. From thence he sets out in pursuit of Darius, who is slain by Bessus. After the death of Darius Alexander conquers Hyrcania, and marches in pursuit of Bessus through Drangiana and Arachosia, towards Bactria.
- The speech of Æschines against Ctesiphon, and the speech of Demosthenes on the Crown. Æschines, after his failure, withdrew to Asia.
- Philemon began to exhibit comedy during the reign of Alexander, a little earlier than Menander.
329. Alexander marches across the Paropamisus in the winter, passes the Oxus, takes Bessus, and reaches the Jaxartes, where he founds a city, Alexandria Eschaté. He subsequently crosses the Jaxartes and defeats the Scythians. He winters at Bactra.
328. Alexander is employed during the whole of this campaign in the conquest of Sogdiana.
- He marries Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, a Bactrian prince.
327. After the subjugation of Sogdiana Alexander returns to Bactria, from whence he marches to invade India. He crosses the Hydaspes and defeats Porus. He continues his march as far as the Hyphasis, but is there compelled by his troops to return to the Hydaspes. In the autumn he begins to sail down the Hydaspes and the Indus to the ocean, which he reached in July in the following year.
326. Alexander returns to Persia, with part of his troops, through Gedrosia. He sends Nearchus with the fleet to sail from the mouths of the Indus to the Persian Gulf. Nearchus accomplishes the voyage in 129 days.
325. Alexander reaches Susa at the beginning of the year. Towards the close of it he visits Ecbatana, where Hephæstion dies. Harpalus comes to Athens, and bribes many of the Greek orators.
324. Alexander reaches Babylon in the spring.

B. C.

824. Demosthenes, accused of having received a bribe from Harpalus, is condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents. He withdraws to Trœzen and Egina.
823. Death of Alexander at Babylon, in June, after a reign of twelve years and eight months.
Division of the satrapies among Alexander's generals.
The Greek states make war against Macedonia, usually called the Lamian war. Leosthenes, the Athenian general, defeats Antipater, and besieges Lamia, in which Antipater had taken refuge. Death of Leosthenes.
Demosthenes returns to Athens.
822. Leonnatus comes to the assistance of Antipater, but is defeated and slain. Craterus comes to the assistance of Antipater. Defeat of the confederates at the battle of Crannon on the 7th of August. End of the Lamian war. Munychia occupied by the Macedonians.
Death of Demosthenes on the 14th of October.
Death of Aristotle, æt. 68, at Chalcis, whither he had withdrawn from Athens a few months before.
821. Perdiccas invades Egypt, where he is slain by his own troops. Partition of the provinces at Triparadisus.
Menander, æt. 20, exhibits his first comedy.
818. Death of Antipater, after appointing Polysperchon regent, and his son Cassander chiliarch.
817. War between Cassander and Polysperchon in Greece. The Athenians put Phocion to death. Athens is conquered by Cassander, who places it under the government of Demetrius Phalereus.
817. Death of Philip Arrhidæus and Eurydice.
Olympias returns to Macedonia, and is besieged by Cassander at Pydna.
816. Antigonus becomes master of Asia. Cassander takes Pydna, and puts Olympias to death. He rebuilds Thebes.
815. Coalition of Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus against Antigonus. First year of the war.
Polemon succeeds Xenocrates at the Academy.
814. Second year of the war against Antigonus.
Death of the orator Æschines, æt. 75.
813. Third year of the war against Antigonus.
812. Fourth year of the war against Antigonus.
811. General peace. Murder of Roxana and Alexander IV. by Cassander.
810. Ptolemy appears as liberator of the Greeks. Renewal of hostilities between him and Antigonus.
808. Ptolemy's expedition to Greece.
807. Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, becomes master of Athens. Demetrius Phalereus leaves the city.
806. Demetrius recalled from Athens. He defeats Ptolemy in a great sea-fight off Salamis in Cyprus. After that battle Antigonus assumes the title of king, and his example is followed by Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Cassander.
Epicurus settles at Athens, where he teaches about thirty-six years.
805. Rhodes besieged by Demetrius.
804. Demetrius makes peace with the Rhodians, and returns to Athens.
803. Demetrius carries on the war in Greece with success against Cassander.
802. War continued in Greece between Demetrius and Cassander.
801. Demetrius crosses over to Asia.
Battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, about the month of August, in which Lysimachus and Seleucus defeat Antigonus and Demetrius. Antigonus, æt. 81, falls in the battle.
297. Demetrius returns to Greece, and makes an attempt upon Athens, but is repulsed.
Death of Cassander and accession of his son Philip IV.
295. Death of Philip IV. and accession of his brother Antipater.
Demetrius takes Athens.

B. C.

296. Civil war in Macedonia between the two brothers, Antipater and Alexander.
Demetrius becomes king of Macedonia.
291. Death of Menander, *æt.* 52.
290. Demetrius takes Thebes a second time. He celebrates the Pythian games at Athens.
287. Coalition against Demetrius. He is driven out of Macedonia, and his dominions divided between Lysimachus and Pyrrhus.
Demetrius sails to Asia.
Pyrrhus driven out of Macedonia by Lysimachus, after seven months' possession.
286. Demetrius surrenders himself to Seleucus, who keeps him in captivity.
286. Ptolemy II. Philadelphus is associated in the kingdom by his father.
283. Demetrius, *æt.* 54, dies in captivity at Apamæa in Syria.
Death of Ptolemy Soter, *æt.* 84.
281. Lysimachus is defeated and slain by Seleucus, at the battle of Corupedion.
280. Seleucus murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus seven months after the death of Lysimachus.
Antiochus I., the son of Seleucus, becomes king of Asia, Ptolemy Ceraunus king of Thrace and Macedonia.
Irruption of the Gauls and death of Ptolemy Ceraunus.
Rise of the Achæan league.
279. The Gauls under Brennus invade Greece, but Brennus and a great part of his army are destroyed at Delphi.
278. Antigonus Gonatas becomes king of Macedonia.
278. Pyrrhus invades Macedonia, and expels Antigonus Gonatas.
272. Pyrrhus invades Peloponnesus, and perishes in an attack on Argos. Antigonus regains Macedonia.
262. Death of Philemon, the comic poet, *æt.* 97.
261. Aratus delivers Sicyon, and unites it to the Achæan League.
248. Aratus, a second time general of the Achæan League, delivers Corinth from the Macedonians.
241. Agis IV., king of Sparta, put to death in consequence of his attempts to reform the state.
239. Death of Antigonus, and accession of his son, Demetrius II.
236. Cleomenes III. becomes king of Sparta.
229. Death of Demetrius II., and accession of Antigonus Doson, who was left by Demetrius guardian of his son Philip.
227. Cleomenes commences war against the Achæan League.
226. Cleomenes carries on the war with success against Aratus, who is again the general of the Achæan League.
225. Reforms of Cleomenes at Sparta.
224. The Achæans call in the assistance of Antigonus Doson against Cleomenes.
221. Antigonus defeats Cleomenes at Sellasia, and obtains possession of Sparta. Cleomenes sails to Egypt, where he dies. Extinction of the royal line of the Heracleidæ at Sparta.
220. Death of Antigonus Doson, and accession of Philip V., *æt.* 17.
The Achæans and Aratus are defeated by the Ætolians. The Achæans apply for assistance to Philip, who espouses their cause. Commencement of the Social War.
217. Third and last year of the Social War. Peace concluded.
216. Philip concludes a treaty with Hannibal.
213. Philip removes Aratus by poison.
211. Treaty between Rome and the Ætolians against Philip.
208. Philip marches into Peloponnesus to assist the Achæans.
Philopomen is elected general of the Achæan League, and effects important reforms in the army.
207. Philopomen defeats and slays Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmon, at the battle of Mantinæa.
205. The Ætolians make peace with Philip. Philip's treaty with Rome.
200. War between Philip and Rome.
197. Philip defeated at the battle of Cynosephalæ.

B. C.

196. Greece declared free by Flamininus at the Isthmian games.
 192. Lacedæmon is added by Philopœmen to the Achæan League.
 Antiochus comes into Greece to assist the Ætolians against the Romans. He winters at Chalcis.
 191. Antiochus and the Ætolians defeated by the Romans at the battle of Thermopylæ.
 189. The Romans besiege Ambracia, and grant peace to the Ætolians.
 188. Philopœmen, again general of the Achæan League, subjugates Sparta, and abrogates the laws of Lycurgus.
 183. The Messenians revolt from the Achæan League. They capture and put to death Philopœmen.
 179. Death of Philip and accession of Perseus.
 171. War between Perseus and Rome.
 168. Defeat and capture of Perseus by Æmilius Paulus.
 Divisions of Macedonia.
 167. One thousand of the principal Achæans are sent to Rome. Polybius is among the Achæan exiles.
 151. Embassy of the three philosophers to Rome. Return of the Achæan exiles.
 147. War between Rome and the Achæans.
 146. Destruction of Corinth by Mummius. Greece becomes a Roman province.



Colonial Coin of Corinth. On the obverse, the head of Antoninus Pius ; on the reverse, the port of Cenchrææ. The letters C. L. I. COR. stand for Colonia Laus Julia Corinthia, the name given to the city when Julius Cæsar founded a colony there in B. C. 46.

BOOK VII. — GREECE FROM THE ROMAN CONQUEST TO THE PRESENT TIME.

B. C.

87. Sylla lays siege to Athens.

A. D.

- 117–138. Hadrian embellishes Athens.
 267. The Goths appear in Greece.
 330. Constantinople built.
 361. The Emperor Julian ascends the throne.
 364. Division between the Eastern and Western Empires.
 447. Walls of Constantinople rebuilt.
 476. Western Empire terminates, at the close of the reign of Romulus Augustulus.
 527. Justinian's reign commences.
 717. Accession of Leo the Isaurian.
 746. The pestilence depopulates the East.
 1081. Robert Guiscard passes from Brindisi to Corfu.
 1146. Invasion of Greece by Roger of Sicily.
 1203. Fourth Crusade.
 1204. Constantinople taken by the Crusaders.
 1205. The Dukedom of Athens established.
 1360. Adrianople taken by the Turks.

A. D.

- 1452. The Emperor Constantine unites himself to the Catholic Church.
- 1453. Ottoman army leaves Adrianople. Constantinople besieged and taken in May.
- 1458. The Sultan makes a campaign in the Peloponnesus.
- 1460. Conquest of Greece completed.
- 1461. Conquest of Trebizond by the Turks.
- 1478. Armistice between the Venetians and the Turks.
- 1670. Crete conquered from the Turks by the Venetians.
- 1680. Conquests of Morosini.
- 1687. Athens taken by the Venetians, under Morosini.
- 1699. Peace of Carlowitz.
- 1715. The Peloponnesus invaded by Achmet III.
- 1718. Peace of Passarowitz.
- 1768. War between Turkey and Russia.
- 1769. The Russian fleet, under Orloff, appears on the coast of the Peloponnesus.
- 1787. War renewed between Russia and Turkey.
- 1792. Peace concluded between Russia and Turkey.
- 1803. The Souliotes make terms with Ali Pacha.
- 1821. The insurrection breaks out in Greece. Prince Ypselantēs raises the standard of revolt in Moldavia, and is defeated at Dragaschan. Bloody scenes at Constantinople. Tripolitza taken.
- 1822. National Assembly at Epidaurus. Proclamation of Independence. First National Constitution. Massacre of Scio.
- 1823. National Assembly at Astros. Death of Marcos Botzarēs. Loan negotiated by Lou-riottēs. Lord Byron sails for Greece.
- 1824. Lord Byron arrives at Mesolongi. His last illness and death.
- 1825. Ibrahim Pacha arrives in Greece. Mesolongi besieged and taken.
- 1826. Athens taken. Karaiskakēs killed.
- 1827. National Assembly at Trœzene. Capo D'Istrias chosen President. Treaty of London, 6th of July. Battle of Navarino.
- 1828. Arrival in Greece of President Capo D'Istrias. Departure of Ibrahim Pacha.
- 1829. Protocol of March 22. Peace between Russia and Turkey. Cessation of hostilities between the Greeks and the Turks.
- 1830. Independence of Greece decided on by England, France, and Russia. Leopold selected as Sovereign Prince. He abdicates.
- 1831. Assassination of the President, and subsequent disturbances.
- 1832. Prince Otho of Bavaria is selected as King of Greece. He is formally proclaimed by the Assembly at Pronœa. The territory of Greece includes Acarnania, Ætolia, Phocis, Locris, Bœotia, Attica, Peloponnesus, Eubœa, with the adjacent islands and the Cyclades.
- 1833. The King arrives in Greece, with a Regency and a Bavarian army.
- 1835. The Government is transferred from Nauplia to Athens.
- 1836. Marriage of King Otho and the Princess Amelia of Oldenburg. The University of Athens organized.
- 1843. Political revolution. Constitutional Assembly. Formation of the Constitution.
- 1844. The Constitution accepted by the King, and a Constitutional Monarchy finally established in Greece.



Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes at Athens. (See p. 544.)

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